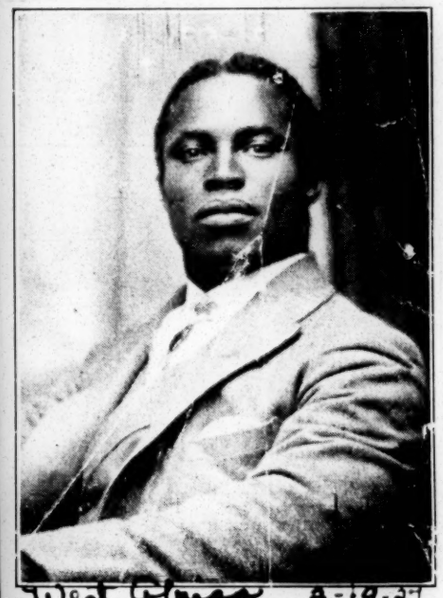
Race Problem - Africa - 1937
Lawyers - 1937

Africa



West Africa 8-19-37

Mr. E. O. Asafu Adjaye, the first Ashanti (as described elsewhere) to be called to the Bar. He leaves for the Coast on March 7.

Race Relations-1927 Race Problem-1927. Africa

~~Race Relations-1927~~

~~Meetings, Conferences, etc.,~~

South Africans Meet in Interracial Conference

Cape Town, South Africa, April 29. —A report of the council of Dutch Reformed churches in which natives and Europeans met to confer on the Hertzog bills published in The Friend, organ of the Society of Friends, states that 80 Bantu and 50 European delegates attended. Davidson Jabavu, a native leader, took a prominent part in the discussions.

The conference declared itself in favor of native land ownership and lease farming; against the economic exploitation of the native, recognized the close interrelation of the races, and approved the development of native councils and the giving of additional representation in parliament.

Race Relations - 1927 Race Problem - 1927 Africa

Improvement of

INTER-RACIAL CO-OPERATION IN AFRICA

In all the colonies of Africa, we read that the white governments there have come to the conclusion that to co-operate with the natives and to have their co-operation, instead of trying to take undue advantage of them, is the best way to get results as they seek to develop that one-time darkest continent.

National Negro Voice

The white governments, consequently, are beginning by establishing schools of secondary and higher education for the education of all the natives, in order that these may have sufficient intelligence to cope with the new duties and responsibilities which are sure to come to them as they become more enlightened—to say nothing of the fact that these white governments know that the more enlightened the natives the better they can deal with them in business, in industry and in commerce; and thus create a thorough teamwork of co-operation between whites and natives, which can never obtain while one people remain in ignorance.

Aside from the native educational activities, these white governments are establishing some of the finest hospitals to be found anywhere in the world—with modern equipment throughout. Natives are being given medical training and taught expert nursing—so that within the next decade not only will there be thousands of natives with a fair degree of general learning, but with practical medical training as well—and in the several industries, such as mining, agriculture—and in all the useful trades.

From all sources come the information that the natives are quick thinkers, that they grasp an idea readily and are progressing very rapidly.

So, as it is becoming in this country, in Africa equal opportunity is offered the natives through education and industry as they become better prepared to shoulder the new obligations and responsibilities of a rounded citizenship.

Race Problem - 1927, Africa.

Race Relation 1927
Improvement of

Race Relations

Those of us who live in this world today are of all the men who ever lived most fortunate. There have, to be sure, been incidents and experiences in other days which gave the same feeling to men and women who lived in that time, but the vagaries of the human mind have never been so much exercised as is the case today. Most fortunate are these times then for out of all the questions of the day there are to come soul-solutions which will redound to the eternal glory of God and the amelioration of much of the confusion which places us in the disagreeable presence of a "Hating World." 2-1-27

South Africa no less than, and perhaps more than most other places has its share of confusion; a confusion which has made it supersensitive to the inquiries from those whom she regards as aliens to her troubles. Happy might she well become that TROUBLE KNOWS NO UITLANDER; in these times the world has been so closely knitted together by the annihilation of distances that there has steadily been developed a feeling of kinship between all sections of the globe. It has made for South Africa's interesting growth that she has not been left alone, indeed, it would present a spectacle of utter desolation if her advancement had not felt the economic touch of those who knew what contribution to make in the period of dire need. Or has this country never felt that need? Was there never a time when she was torn into factional and sectional fragments which threatened her very life? Was there never the day when it appeared that the settlers might lose that for which they had fought so dearly? Was there never for her the hour of weeping as she sat in abject despair in contemplation of her doom? But out of that very sea of turmoil and disaffection grew that calm which resulted in a form of stability, and as might have been expected, induced the feeling that today South Africa has reached her majority and would desport herself in meeting internal issues free from the suggestions, advice, counsel, or help from quarters where, long before rational governments had been established or workable programs had been evolved for the direction of human affairs, had started tremendously difficult tasks of formulating principles which might serve as an international code That governmental forces have met with a goodly measure of success in their pronunciamentoes none can satisfactorily gainsay and that South Africa needs feel herself beyond the help that the experiences of others may give her as she battles with the awful questions which are hers today is nothing short of preposterous!

Our newspapers have been too full of accounts of crime of one sort or another on the part of Natives; and unfortunately the accounts have been too often coloured by the prejudices of the writers. The fact is that one sometimes wonders at the glaring inconsistencies of the press in certain sections. It is regretable as it is provocative of sympathy that so many of our people should yield to thecall of the baser things in life; and we bow our heads in utter shame that we should so often be held up to what many regard as necessary public reprimands for our sins, — even though they are often the very same sins common to all men. It is interesting to note that one day we are The Black Peril and the next day there are so many of us in a given area that the surprise is that there are not more criminals among us! But in the presence of the stupendous problem? Which we are said to be; how deeply have men thought of the conditions which give rise to criminals tendencies in any people? Where are the criminal among the white people usually found? Who, as a rule are the murderers, the burglars, the thieves, the drunkards among the Europeans? Are they in wholesome environments? Are they found among the classes who live under the spell of the church or Christian infuences? Are they in surroundings where opportunities are given for the developement of recreational expression?. Never! Look for the degenerate bestial, depraved, immoral classes in homes of squallor; look for them in the tenement blocks; look for them in the dirty, filthy, unsanitary lanes whose odours are a stench in the nostrils of decent society. And even so is it true of the black man!

America gives a splendid example of how society might be improved and how even the better nature of the criminally inclined might be appealed to, — no, it is not argued that she is the only country that has successfully projected the experiment, but she has met the issue and seen the good results that come rfom studying and answering the call, the natural call, of Man.....whether he be white or whether he be black. She threw open certain streets and secured the services of play leaders to direct the energies of her children; she opened up her community centres where the people gathered and under proper leadership expressed themselves in terms of normal recreation; she started propaganda to transplant her saloons and worked wonders with the appetites of men whose very homes had been made to reel under the liquor spell; she in numberless cases changed a beast into a god, as it were, by the supervised appropriation of the workers' leisure hours. All of which goes to emphasize the belief of many a white man and black man in South Africa that we are as bad as we are because we are fearfully neglected. Visit our cities, if you please; beautiful cities they are for the most part, see the facilities that are made for the spare moments of the European child.....everything is his! The hundreds of pounds symbolized in richly endowed recreational buildings; the public swimming pools, the swings, the Zoo, the Museum, the Public Library, the concert halls, and so many avenues organized for the express purpose of those normal tastes which make for development and the improvement of society Deprivewe ourselves would not continue a prey for the conscienceless European renegade nor would we make prey of the stranger along the highways. Our children run wild in the public thoroughfare; our poverty-stricken men knock down the innocent passer-by because some white man is all he is today!

Race Problem - 1927. Africa.

~~Race Relation 1927~~

~~Improvement of~~

Race Relations

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men beat them out of an honest living; our women walk the streets seeking to beguile because their wages are out of all proportion to the demnads of even their modest needs; our schools are mere grinding machines because our appropriations are too meagre to meet the modern requirements; our churches are shanties, in most cases, because we are hampered by one thing or another.

It is not special privliege we seek; we do not even ask the European to go out of his way to help us, but we do believe that there are in South Africa big-hearted, sympathetic white men and women who, in helping their own will help us if they once conceded that we are eager for development along the right lines. The Bantu Men's Social Centre has given a splendide xample of what can be done under supervised recreation, but, useful as it is, we need some forms of outlet that will help the down and out to "Come Back;" that will make it possible for the lowering tendency of many of our people to get a start toward the better life. Our churches are limited in their scope; ministry are, in the majority of cases, no prepared to look after the social and recreational growth of our people, hence, the ministry end with singing, preaching and praying.....it is not enough! The white people who scold us; they who frown upon us; they who deride us; they who declare us HOPELESS; they who say and think we have no souls are yet to give us a chance to prove what we can be when they give us the right opportunity! IMPOSSIBLE?

"God loves with a great love the man whose heart is bursting with a passion for the impossible."

Minnie E. Coleman is a coloured teacher of a Public School in Richmond Virginia, U. S. America. She has written a most interesting book of poems and short stories which she modestly styles "Amateur Efforts."

Race Problem - 1927

Liberia

And He Didn't Even Ask for Cancellation or Discount



WASHINGTON, July 6 (AP).—Liberia Wednesday became the second Nation to pay its entire war debt to the United States, turning over to the Treasury a check for $35,610. Cuba is the other Nation which has wiped its war debt slate clean.

President King's Liverpool Visit.

As announced in WEST AFRICA last Saturday, the Hon. C. D. B. King, President of Liberia, at present on a Continental tour, is to complete his European tour by a visit to Liverpool during the week beginning October 10. It is hoped the President will spend several days in the metropolis of the West African trade, but until he returns to this country the arrangements cannot definitely be drawn up. Up to the present it has been arranged that the President will take his departure from Liverpool on Wednesday, October 12, by the Elder Dempster motor vessel Accra, and on the evening prior to his sailing, Tuesday, October 11, Col. Wm. Nicholl, the chairman, and the members of the African Trade Section of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce, will entertain his Excellency at a banquet at the Adelphi Hotel, while on the day of his departure the Lord Mayor of Liverpool (Councillor F. C. Bowring, J.P.) will entertain the President at luncheon at the Town Hall, when a large number of Liverpool's distinguished guests, including many members of the West African trade, will have an opportunity of meeting his Excellency. Other details will, it is expected, be arranged, notably a tour of the Liverpool docks and the newly-opened Gladstone Dock, and these will be announced later.

PIONEER-PRESS
ST. PAUL, MINN.

JUL 31 1927

LIBERIA has set an example of thrift and economy and a straightforward policy in paying off its war debt to the United States that the rest of our war debtors might well emulate. Liberia is an independent Negro republic, with an area of about 40,000 square miles and 1,500,000 population. Its chief commerce and industry consists in the raising, manufacture and exportation of rubber, palm oil, palm kernels, piassavi fiber, coffee, cocoa, ginger, chillies, ivory, annatto seed, dye and camwood—a hard dyewood. It is a busy little nation, run on business principles. During the World war it borrowed $35,000 from the United States government to help maintain the Liberian marines, who aided in guarding the Allies' communication lines along the African coast. Now Liberia has sent a check to the United States Treasury department discharging its obligation in full, including interest. It never protested the payment of the war debt. Some of the other nations please take note.

LIBERIA TURNING AGAINST HER OWN AS SHE PROSPERS

Liberians, Descendants of American Negroes, Forget Source of Beginning

It seems that Liberia is forgetting her own as she begins to prosper. She should not forget that no matter how great her industrial expansion may grow, no matter how important her financial potentiality, no matter how strong her military and naval forces, no matter how significant her diplomatic and international relations, no matter how numerous her population may become, nor how thorough her educational system, the American Negroes prompted the establishment of the Liberian Republic, that most of the pioneers or founders of that republic were American born Negroes; and that the subsequent citizenry of that republic, according to the American conception, are descendants of those founders; and that above all, the American Government, the alleged adviser and guardian of the interests of the people of that republic, is watching to see if they will develop into a haughty, arrogant people, ungrateful to, and forgetful of the source from whence they came.

The republic, it is true, has her African millions from which to supply her needed population, should she enjoy a speedy and continuous industrial, commercial and civic advancement; but however things may go, these descendants of the pioneer Liberians are imbibed with American thought and American ideals, and her swelling population will always tend towards American thought and American ideals through a constant admixture of American Negroes coming fresh from the fountain of American thought and American ideals, or else there will develop in that republic, customs and habits contrary to American thought and American ideals. What then?

Let the Liberians persist in refusing missionary aid, which has served as a means of moral balance to her citizens and as an inspiration to her educational efforts, let her continue to burn American Ngeroes for avoidable causes, as it is alleged that she has done, let her continue to show preference to all excepting American Negroes, let her continue to grow overly arrogant and forget the source of her beginning, then who knows but what the American Government may consider that its

friendly attitude towards the tiny republic is not apreciated and change its mind as to the manner of guarding the interests of the Liberian people.

Again the American Negroes will not always be as they are, as the signs of Negro industrial and commercial advancement substantiate. The day must come when the Negroes in this country will come from special schools with thorough knowledge of technical and industrial training—then from the Pacific to the Atlantic and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, there will be factories, foundries, mills flourishing plantations,, big dairy farms, poultry farms—wholesale and retail stores of every description, banks and other financial institutions, all owned and operated by Negroes, supplying employment to their own—in that day there will be plenty of Negro millionaires, sufficient, perhaps to buy Liberia and sell it again. When that day comes, will the Liberians refuse the American Negroes' aid, or will they have need of some of their millions of dollars and of their American thought and American ideals?

LIBERIA RULER IS IN LONDON

Greeted By Representative of King and Queen Upon His Arrival. Government Receives Him

LONDON, July 20.—(Special) The President of Liberia, Charles D. B. King, arrived in London Tuesday on a short visit. He was greeted at the station by the Earl of Lucan, representing the King and Queen, and by representatives of the Foreign Office.

President King will be entertained by the Government and take part in a number of semi-public functions. He said his visit was mainly for recreation purposes, but he also wanted to study the system of road and road making. There were no important official subjects to discuss, he said, but anything affecting the two countries might arise for consideration.

ENGLAND GIVES ROYAL WELCOME TO PRES. KING

Liberian Ruler Guest Of King George And Queen Mary At Garden Party.

LIBERIA HAPPIEST LAND FRANCE COMES NEXT

Vacation Due Him, Says President Before Serving A Third Term.

LONDON, Eng.—President C. B. D. King, of Liberia on visit here is a philosopher, says the Evening News.

He reads Dickens and Shakespeare, has barely heard of trade disputes, and is not perturbed about the past, present, or future of the Negro race.

He sat in a large armchair, and wore a morning coat, horn-rimmed spectacles, white spats, and patent shoes when he chatted with me this afternoon in London (writes an "Evening News" representative). He said: "For eight years I have been President of Liberia. My doctor, since I have been elected President for another four years, suggested that I should take a holiday. This is part of it.

The Happiest Country

"France, from which I have just arrived, strikes me as being the happiest country, excepting my own, through which I have passed on this visit to Europe. My own country is exceedingly happy. There is no rent to pay, and few social troubles.

"The workmen are keen to work for a shilling a day and to retire to their farms every three months of the year to gather their crop of rice.

"The one thing that has struck me about England is its extraordinary sense of justice. I read the other day of an English judge who, when some ex-criminal brought an action, commented that even a criminal should have the right of the road. That struck me as essentially British.

"I am working for the Liberian nation, not for the black race. The black race was there before Liberia. "It is a thing indestructible, is this black race, whereas, the nationality of Liberia needs fostering and developing, and with its advancement the black race automatically advances. I am for keeping the young colored men of my country at home.

English Beauty

"I have been struck since I have been in London—a matter of hours—with the staid, conservative beauty of English women. One sees women in France and Italy just as attractive, just as beautiful, but they are essentially modern whereas there are types who personify that quiet, staid, balanced English type of mind.

Mrs. King In Party

Mrs. King, the president's wife and their three children, two boys and a girl, are in the party. Mrs. King was formerly Miss Adeline Cooper, "Addie" she was to students at Morgan college and Howard university in America, twenty years ago. Colonel Elwood Davis of Liberian army is aide to the president.

Arrival In England

Describing the President's arrival in London from Paris, the "African World" says:

"From the time the Earl of Lucan bade him welcome on behalf of His Gracious Majesty at Victoria, last Tuesday evening, there has been a hectic week of exciting engagements, all of the greatest interest and most of them under the most influential auspices.

The early hours of Wednesday morning were filled by visits to England's greatest Shrine, Westminister Abbey, where at the tomb of the Unknown Warrior and on the Cenotaph near by, Liberia's President laid beautiful wreaths on behalf of his Government and people in remembrance of the dark days of Armageddon. Visits to the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House to the House of Commons and House of Lords were followed on Wednesday evening by an impressive banquet given by the Niger Co

"Thursday provided a very full programme in an inspection of the great new arterial road to the east under the guidance of Sir Wilfred Ashley. A luncheon with the Lord Mayor and Trinity House Members at the Mansion House was succeeded by an afternoon at Imber Park, Thames Ditton, when the great Police Sports and Horse Show were according to the President's own opinion, a delightful and most unique experience, under the expert guidance of General Horwood and the Earl of Lonsdale, a most interesting afternoon being spent.

Official Banquet

In the evening the Liberian Minister gave an official banquet at the Legation. Yesterday (Friday) the President was received by His Majesty King Fuad of Egypt, followed by an official visit to Sir Austen Chamberlain at the Foreign Office. The subsequent Government luncheon at Claridge's at which Sir Austen presided, was a most enjoyable and very informal function.

Royal Garden Party

His Excellency at Buckingham Palace; and he was taken to the Royal Garden Party, a function which is in full progress as this brief review of the week is going to press. Last evening the directors of the Bank of British West Africa entertained our eminent visitor at the Carlton Hotel to a banquet, at which Lord Selborne presided, with a subsequent visit of the whole party to the Palladium, where the Liberian National Flag and Anthem played an important role.

"Today's luncheon by Messrs. Elder Dempster, and tomorrow's African World river trip from Windsor to Marlow, with a visit to the beautiful home of Lord Desborough at Taplow Court, will conclude a wonderful week's programme."

Liberia Pays in Full

(From the Sun.)

Liberia has paid in full its war debt to the United States. The Liberian Consul-General, Dr. Ernest Lyon, handed to Ogden L. Mills, Acting Secretary of the Treasury, a draft for $5,610.46 on July 7, in payment of principal and unpaid interest. Previous payments on account of interest had amounted to $861.10; now Liberia is cleared on the books of the United States on account of money advanced for war purposes.

It was not a big debt in the first place—as such things are commonly reckoned—but Liberia is not a big or a rich country. But the debt might have been much heavier. At the time of the armistice a credit of $5,000,000 had been arranged for Liberia. The war came to an end before the money was needed and the Liberians used only $26,000.

As long as the great war was confined to other nations than the United States Liberia remained neutral. But when the United States got in Liberia got in, too. As Dr. Lyon has reminded the American public, the services performed for the common cause were not unimportant. Liberian marines helped maintain communications along the African coast after Europeans had withdrawn. The Germans resented this and once sent a submarine around to make trouble.

In a letter to Dr. Lyon Secretary Mellon acknowledged the importance of Liberia's contribution and felicitated that republic on the ability of its statesmen and the industry of its people, which have made it possible for Liberia to strengthen its economic system and regain financial stability. These are felicitations in which all Americans share.

SAYS LIBERIA HAS NO REDS

LONDON, July 21 (AP).—"We have no Reds in Liberia; only whites and blacks," said Dr. Charles Burgess when asked whether the Communist influence had spread to his republic.

"We are not interested in trade disputes in Liberia," he added. "We haven't reached that stage yet. We haven't a railway yard in the whole country, but we are progressing with good roads. I have built 250 miles so far."

President King, who is on a visit to England, was entertained at the House of Commons yesterday.

PRESIDENT KING OF LIBERIA, GUEST OF BRITISHERS

Head of Black Republic On Ceremonial Visit to England Highly Entertained

Special to the Journal and Guide

New York, July 20—London has arranged several festivities for President C. B. King of Liberia, who arrived in that city Monday for a week's ceremonial visit, during which he will be received by the King of Buckingham Palace and King Fuad of Egypt, who is at present staying in London, according to news dispatches reaching this city.

Besides being officially received upon his landing at Dover and upon his arriving at Victoria Station, President King is to be the guest of the Government at the Foreign Office, to visit the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House and to meet the leading statesmen of the House of Commons. Commercial interests have also arranged to do him honor. The Bank of British West Africa will entertain him at a banquet, as will the Niger Company. The President himself is giving an official banquet at the Liberian legation at which all the principal foreign ambassadors have accepted invitations.

Race Problem - 1927

Africa

FIRESTONE, JR., RETURNS; PRAISES LIBERIA HIGHLY

Liberia Rubber Venture Is Past Experimental Stage He Says. Praises Character And Habits Of Liberians. Will Employ 300,000

NEW YORK, Jan., 19.— (Specia release) Harvey S. Firestone Jr. Vice president of the Firestone Plantations Company, arrived Saturday on the French liner Paris. He has spent three months in Liberia in connection with the 1,000,000 acre rubber plantation which the firestone interests are developing as an offset to the so-called British rubber monopoly which was brought to the attention of the public a few years ago by the statements of Secretary of commerce Herbert Hoover.

Firestone, Jr., Elated

"Rubber planting in Liberia has passed the experimenting stage and become an accomplished fact," said Mr. Firestone Plantations Company now has more than 200,000 mature rubber trees which yield about 100,000 pounds of rubber monthly. Thousands of acres have been cleared and planting has been started. The trees will be ready for tapping in five years. The 200,000 matures trees were planted in 1910, which furnish seeds for the development.

Pleased With Natives

"I may say that Liberia is exactly suited to become a great rubber-producing territory for the United States Contrary to the usual ideas about Africa, Liberia is a healthful and pleasant country. We have plans for extensive sanitation. One of the biggest problems in any rubber growing country is that of labor. We expect ultimately to employ 300,000 men, and the character and habits of the Liberian natives go far to assure us we will be able to do so.

"Our plans provide for the construction of a harbor at Monrovia We have plantation development begun or projected in half a dozen places. By degrees, the whole concession of 1,000,000 acres it to be brought under cultivation. When that is done our production will represent half of American consumption. We are convinced that Liberia is to be the great source of rubber and in time will free the American automobilists from foreign tribute."

Mr. Firestone was asked why he did not establish plantations in the Philippine Islands, which were directly under the American flag.

"We had hoped to enter the Philippines and made our first investigations there three years ago," he said. "We found the soil and climate well suited to rubber growth, but conditions of Government prevented us from entering the field."

Liberia Next

Acting on the theory that American investments in foreign countries must be protected even if it means armed intervention, the United States has intervened in Haiti, San Domingo and more recently the Central American Republic of Nicaragua, where the United States some time ago had purchased the right of an inter-oceanic canal for $3,000,000.

In addition American interests own several million dollars worth of fruit and sugar concessions in the Central American republic which is endangered by revolution.

With the example of protecting American interests in these other two countries before us it looks as if the United States Navy must be prepared to protect American Capital where it is invested all over the world.

Mr. Harvey S. Firestone, president of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, of Akron, answering a question in the House Committee last year regarding the extent to which government backing would be necessary for his proposed development of the rubber plantation in Liberia said,

"I do not know as I could give you a concrete suggestion except that we need the cooperation of our government in a country where our capital is invested in order to safe guard the returns."

The Nicaragua incident seems to be a warning to Liberians and all other small countries where American capital is invested, and which at the same time can be easily spanked, that any political unrest or revolution is going to be followed by the quick appearance of American warships and American marines.

Liberia

Liberians Love Frequent Litigation

New York, Jan. 31.—According to Mr. Hudson, former Liberian Consul in San Francisco and now fiscal agent of the newly organized Bank of Liberia, one of the chief sources of interest in the Hinterland of Liberia is the holding of court trials or palavres. These trials are frequently held under the auspices of local chiefs who have the economic interest in furthering them. Important trials often have representatives of the Liberian Government to supervise the proceedings. Appeals in important cases are made to the Paramount Chiefs or to the Secretary of the Interior. The most trivial cases a[illegible] and the natives take gre[illegible] in participating [illegible]son, who has recently returned from an extensive tour of the Liberian Hinterland, tells of the many trials he observed in the February number of The Messenger, a Negro magazine published in New York City. Says he:

"Notwithstanding the fact that the Liberian Government has long since brought all of the several tribes of its Hinterlands under the dominations of its laws, tribal laws and customs still obtain among the natives, the lesser offenses and petty civil affairs are still punished and redressed by these laws, with governmental sanction. The tribesmen, seldom if ever, have controversies with the civilized Liberians or with a foreigner, but they will institute a palavre (trial) against each other for the most trivial cause. The Natives are very cunning, diplomatic and astute in these controversies, and the astonishing thing to the ousider is that these controversies are seldom, if ever, accompanied with malice or hate, and are generally instituted for purely material or commercial gain and advanatge. The person against whom judgment is rendered generally takes same philosophically, with the declaration: 'Someone will make up for it,' inferring that he will soon get a palavre on someone else to even up the account. In short, they are much like other people."

Mr. Hudson then describes several trials. He also gives an interesting account of the manner of settling domestic

LIBERIAN GOVERNMENT NOW WELCOMES ALL MISSIONARIES

Chicago, Feb. 5—(ANP)—Efforts to confirm the report that Liberia through President C. B. D. King, had requested all missionaries to leave Liberia, proved futile. Leaders of various denominations and foundations supporting missionary work were interviewed Friday by representatives of the Associated Negro Press, and the unanimous opinion was tha the report was unfounded and that missionary work in general was flourishing in Liberia.

According to James L. Sibley, educational advisor to the American Missionary Society, who recently returned to the States from Liberia, the Liberian government is very cordial in their attitude toward and courteous in the treatment accorded the missionaries.

Dr. L. K. Williams, president of the National Baptists Convention, under which extensive missionary work is carried on, declared that he had received no information, whatever, concerning any hostile attitude to missionary work or to the missionaries. "Our work" said the doctor, "in Liberia is flourishing and we are now making plans to extend its scope." Dr. Williams spiked the opinion being circulated that the Firestone Rubber Company was responsible for the alleged expulsion of missionaries, when he related an interview he had with an official of the company who stated that the Firestone Company, had no interest pro or con in any of the missionary work.

Probable Causes

Two probable causes of the rumor were set forth by other leaders, one being the failure of the various denominations to abide by the decision of the Liberian Educational Commission, which assigned to each the privilege of developing a certain kind of educational institution, and the other being the friction between the government and the Lott Carey Home and Missionary Society.

Each denomination, according to the reports, is ambitious to foster the school which produces the leaders in Liberia, and to curb this ambition and to assure Liberians of actual benefit from the missionary efforts, an Educational Commission was organized composed of representatives of the government and each denomination. Through the ruling of this committee, to one denomination was delegated the privilege of fostering a college, to another industrial educational institution and so on, but in spite of this decision some of the denominations have disregarded it and are functioning to suit their own ambitions. The reported friction between the government and the Lott Carey Home and Missionary Society, had its genesis some years ago when representatives visited Liberia and upon the return to America wrote a series of articles depicting Liberia and Liberians in a manner that aroused the ire of the Liberian government.

HARVEY FIRESTONE, JR., BACK FROM LIBERIA, IS ALL ENTHUSIAM

Rubber planting in Liberia has passed the experimental stage and is an accomplished fact, according to Harvey S. Firestone, Jr., tire manufacturer and vice-president of the Firestone Plantation Company, who returned a few days ago on the French liner Paris after a three months' study of his company's plantations in Liberia.

"We now have more than 200,000 mature rubber trees there, yielding about 100,000 pounds monthly," he said. "When our whole concession of 1,000,000 acres is under cultivation our production will represent more than half the American consumption. I am convinced that Liberia will be the next great source of rubber, and in time will free the American automobilist from foreign tribute."

Liberia is ideally suited to become a great rubber-producing territory for the United States, Mr. Firestone said, because of its unlimited labor supply, its healthful climate and the friendly attitude of its government to American enterprise.

Labor Offers No Problem

"One of the greatest problems of rubber growing, that of labor, is made simple for us by the character and quality of the Liberian natives," Mr. Firestone continued. "They are healthy, powerful fellows, eager for steady remunerative work. Groups of 800 to 1,000 men, some of whom have treked for eighteen days through the jungle, come to our plantations seeking work. I saw a number who had just completed a 100-mile march, showing no fatigue and arriving in a happy, active mood. We expect ultimately to employ 300,000 men."

Mr. Firestone said his firm had considered the Philippines as a field for rubber development, but had decided that governmental conditions there were too unstable to warrant large scale investment.

Liberia Expels Missionaries

FOLLOWING closely in the footsteps of President Calles, of Mexico, President King, of Liberia, has also decided to give "that good old-time religion the gate." In a message to the Liberian Congress, the Chief Executive of the West African republic says:

"Every nation, like every individual, must know God for itself and not for another. As a people we Liberians are most appreciative of the religious guidance and assistance we have received from our foreign spiritual directors and teachers, and recognize the measurable benefits which have accrued to us therefrom; but the hour has arrived for Liberia's spiritual freedom and religious independence. . . . The control of foreign religious bodies must be withdrawn, as well as their financial support, from the churches in Liberia."

ALMOST from the beginning, in 1821, when the Colonization Society located the colony, missionaries have had a hand in its development—such as there has been—and President King's message, which indicates the desire of Liberia to "know God for itself and not for another," and expresses appreciation for the assistance already given the republic, at the same time stamps the work of these missionaries as deficient in its ability to render the kind of assistance it needs most.

LIBERIA seems to be trying to find herself and the present move may not be one of retrogression. Our interpretation of Christianity has been derived wholly from the white race — an interpretation which willingly lent itself to the subjugation of the Negro peoples, and which, even now, does little to remove the injustices from which they suffer throughout the world.

LIBERIA SEEKS FREEDOM FROM ALIEN CHURCH

Every Nation, Says Pres. King, Must Know God For Itself

MISSIONARIES THANKED FOR SUPPORT IN PAST

Withdrawal of Foreign Religious Control and Financial Support Urged

Foreign support and control of religious organizations in Liberia W. Africa is presaged by President C. B. D. King in his annual message to the country.

Copies of the message became available today through the office of Dr. Ernest Lyon, Liberian Consul General.

President King declares Liberia must find God for itself and he adds that control of foreign religious bodies, as well as their financial support must be withdrawn.

Carrying out this notion will affect religious bodies in America and Europe which are spending a quarter of a million dollars yearly in Liberia. The A. M. E. Church spends about $50,000 annually, the M. E. Church, $65,000 and the P. E. Church, $75,000. All of these churches have bishops in Liberia who will be affected.

Pres. King's message reads in part:

"Before concluding this Message I cannot but point with patriotic pride and pleasure, to the new thought now moving through the Nation towards Liberia's religious independence by complete severance from all foreign Ecclesiastical control.

Church Servitude

The incompatibility of political freedom with religious servitude the Liberians are now beginning to realize.

"The British Nation realizing this incompatibility, threw off the Ecclesiastical yoke of Rome for Spiritual freedom and declared the Established Church of England. For the same reason the Protestant Episcopal Churches of that great Nation refused to submit to the continued Ecclesiastical Government and control of their respective parent bodies under their own appointed American Ecclesiastical Heads in keeping with the Republican spirit and genius of their country and their government.

Withdraw Control

The Churches in Liberia in their awakening to national and racial consciousness must and will proceed upon these very lines. The control of foreign religious Bodies must be withdrawn, as well as their financial support, from the Churches in Liberia. If the former why not the latter?

Since we are supporting and maintaining our own Government, we ought to be able to support and maintain our own churches. In fact, this is a duty and responsibility devolving upon us as a free, sovereign and independent People. No self-respecting, independent Nation would desire otherwise.

Must Have Own God

Every nation, like every individual, must know God for itself and not for another. As a people, we Liberians are most appreciative of the religious guidance and assistance we have received in the past from our foreign Spiritual directors and teachers, and recognize the measurable benefits which have accrued to us therefrom: but nevertheless, we hear the deep, loud and reverberating sounds of the great bell of time announcing the fact that the hour has arrived for Liberia's spiritual freedom every true Liberia's spiritual freedom and religious independence. To this call of freedom every true and patriotic Liberian must respond irrespective of his religious faith or creed?

BIG RUBBER INTERESTS ATTACKED

Consternation is rife among religious workers and churches because of the report that Liberia, through President King, has run all missionaries out of Liberia. It is said that President King has declared for free and unhampered government of his people, declaring at the same time that missionaries are useless in a country seeking to govern itself independently of any foreign influences.

If the report is correct, and Liberia drives out all missionaries the American churches and Missionary Agencies will be dealt an unkind blow for all the work already done at great expense and sacrifice in Liberia. Among the more prominent and influential agencies in this country maintaining missionaries in Liberia is the Lott Carey Home and Foreign Mission Society. Dr. C. S. Brown of Winton, North Carolina, is the president of Lott Carey and has been for twenty-six years. When The Pittsburgh Courier sought to have the report from Liberia confirmed by Dr. Brown, he stated that no one had been able to confirm the report to him. He is anxiously awaiting something definite on the report.

Lott Carey has spent thousands of Dollars in Africa, and just recently Dr. A. A. Graham, Treasurer of Lott Carey, sent a saw mill to Liberia to aid in house building and general economic improvement. Dr. Graham, talking from New City, where The Courier succeeded in locating him, said he was unable to confirm the report. Almost every church denomination has missionaries in Liberia.

Dr. Ernest Lyon, resident Consul for Liberia in this country was sought, but at press time, he had not been interviewed.

It is the general opinion that if President King has ordered all missionaries out of Liberia, some other and new influence is back of the order. Some seem to think that Firestone interests have begun work to reduce Liberia to subjection as a part of the scheme to control all Liberian rubber fields. Firestone interests, it will be recalled, hold extensive land leases on Liberian territory for the purpose of growing rubber for automobile tires. This American interest is something new in Liberia, and just what influences it will have on President King and his country is a question of great moment to all black peoples of the world.

Race Problem - 1927

Liberia.

Africa.

The Police of Monrovia

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In a recent letter to *The Nation* appeared the following, over the signature of Thomas L. Dabney, organizer of the American Negro Labor Congress:

> America is a land of oppression, murder, lynching, and crude civilization. Nowhere, so far as I know, are police so ignorant, arrogant, crude, and uncivil as in America. For my own part I have long since lost faith in America to lead the world in anything except mob rule, murder, race prejudice, and oppression.

Nation

Good, brave men seldom become policemen, and such are subject to an extremely corrupting environment. But police methods tend everywhere to be brutal through mere consciousness of power in the minds of inferior men. Negroes are no exceptions. In Liberia, Africa, last December, very near a monument dedicated to the nation, on which a legend reads: "The Love of Liberty Brought Us Here," I saw the chief of police of Monrovia, a Negro, torture a Negro boy with scourge and fire (hippopotamus-hide whip and lighted candle) merely to cause him to confess complicity in a trifling theft. Scourging is the commonest torture among the Liberian gove class. I would not condemn the Liberian Republic *in toto* this. One might remember that these Liberians, many of them descendants of American slaves, learned whipping in the fields of the South. They have not forgotten their lesson.

Sausalito, California, October 20 FREDERICK O'BRIEN

Liberian Goverment Invites American And West Indian Negroes To Settle In Republic

Invitation Published In Liberia Express Received By Journal and Guide

A copy of the Liberia Express, published at Monrovia, and dated September, 1927, has been received by the Journal and Guide in which is published an invitation to Negroes of the United States and the West Indies to come and settle in Liberia.

The article states that the government and people of Liberia are now ready to take up the immigration problem and deal with it in a concrete manner. There has been formed in the country an acclimating station, known as the Matilda Newport Station, whose purpose is to see to it that all immigrants landing in Monrovia are located through its advisory committee without profiteering. The article further gives notice that "the government welcomes cheerfully American and West Indian Immigrants, just so they come with full intention to accept the situation as they find it."

The text of the article in full reads

IMMIGRATION FOSTERED

The publication of the above Act of the Legislature of the Republic of Liberia, is done with express purpose of bringing before the minds of the citizens of Liberia, whose parents come originally from the United States, through the instrumentality of the American Colonization Society, and who are preparing to return home to their fatherland, such as God will permit came The Matilda Newport, Acclimating Station organized by Mrs. W. A. Corbin, and her husband, also supported by an honorable group of Liberian citizens.

We most especially call the attention of all American and West Indian Negroes to the fact that the government and people of Liberia are now ready to take up the immigration problem and deal with it in a concrete manner. The Matilda Newport Station is preparing to take care of all immigrants who come according to the regulations of the government.

Communicate directly with the Commissioner of Immigration at Monrovia, and all necessary information via, and all necessary information will be given you.

The Matilda Newport Acclimating Station will see to it that all immigrants landed at Monrovia are located through its Advisory committee without profiteering; the government will not allow profiteering upon immigrants, but on the other hand we will see that all immigrants are protected from speculation of any sort

We give official notice to all to whom it may concern, that the government welcomes cheerfully American and West Indian immigrants; just so they come with full intention to accept the situation as they find it, and come with the intention to assist the government and people in building up on these shores a great Negro nationality.

Come, for this is your home. The Constitution of the Republic of Liberia gives you this guarantee, so agreed upon between the Republic of Liberia and the American Colonization Society, and upon that agreement the American Colonization Society withdrew. So you need have no intimidation or doubts concerning your rights in Liberia, the county belongs to you. We are merely its trustees, under God, and the nations of christendom, to turn the land over to you as soon as you are ready to possess it.

President King in his first inaugural address made this fact plain to all, and he stands committed to a policy favoring immigration under reasonable conditions. We want immigrants. We need immigrants. We welcome immigrants, but we want, need, and welcome only such as come imbued with the love of race, country and God in their hearts, determined to make good for Democracy and Liberia.

In coming to Liberia bring everything that you can possibly transport with safety. You will need them here. The government is opening the country so that the American farmer will find here in our hinterland soils equal to the soils of the Mississippi river basin.

The Commission of Immigration appeals to the Negro Press and Pulpit of the United States to give wide publicity to this publication for the benefit of all those who have made up their minds to come to Liberia.

We know that all will not come, nor would it be wise for such an exodus, but as many as will come, we throw open the door and gladly welcome you home. We are in need now of farmers, artisans, skilled laborers, machinists, civil engineers, carpenters, blacksmiths, doctors, dentists and all classes of professional men. As for politicians, we have too many now.

The New Liberia wants you. Come.

With the view of facilitating immigration to the Republic, the Liberian Congress in 1925 passed the following act establishing the Bureau of Immigration.

AN ACT, ESTABLISHING THE BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION IN LIBERIA

Whereas by both agreement with the American Colonization Society in 1847, and by a clause in the Constitution of the Republic of Liberia, immigration of persons of Negro decent into the Republic of Liberia from the United States, the West Indies, and other foreign countries was foreseen and safeguarded, and

Whereas no official machinery is now in operation for dealing with immigration and assisting persons desirous of settling in this State, therefore,

It is enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Liberia, in Legislature assembled:

Sec. 1. That from and after the passage of this Act, there shall be established by the President in the Department of Interior, supervised by the Secretary of Interior to deal with entrance into, and settlement of all immigrations in the Republic. Said Bureau shall have charge of all correspondence on the subject of persons desiring to settle in the country and give permits for handling of their effects, (duty free) to supervise all allotments and surveys of lands granted them under existing statutes. And the Secretary of the interior approving shall promulgate all necessary administrative regulations.

Sec. 2. The Secretary of the Interior shall see to it that immigrants be pereferentially directed to the counties of Grand Bassa, Sinoe, Maryland and Cape Mount.

Sec. 3. The president of the Republic of Liberia, approving shall set up or cause to be set up the said Bureau of Immigration during the year 1925. And said Bureau shall be placed in charge of the Commissioner of Agriculture without increase of salary.

Any law to the contrary notwithstanding.

Approved January 14, 1925.

COLUMBUS, O.

The moving picture description of the average African chief, savage or civilized, as Lewis claims, is a gross misrepresentation. Today the chief is not a wild cannibal, but a man who dons a Hart Schaffner & Marx suit, bites on his big Havana, and toots the Lizzie's horn on the wide avenues of Monrovia. The missionaries have given them a start and American entertainments, like the movie, complete their civilization.

The ambition of the president, the intellectuals, and the missionaries of the republic is to educate the people. For this purpose numerous missionary schools have been founded throughout the land, and three colleges have been established: the Monrovian College, the Methodist Episcopal Missionary College, and West African Negro College. Throughout the country there are missionary elementary schools representing different denominations from America.

Monrovia, the capital, according to Lewis, enjoys the distinction of being one of the most cosmopolitan towns on the West African coast. Ministers and representatives of practically every great power, as well as some of the smaller nations, reside there. Of the different business firms in Liberia, the Akronites, like Harvey S. Firestone, are leading.

Before coming to Ohio State Lewis attended Wilberforce College, Wilberforce, O., from which school he was graduated.

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Automobile Largely Responsible for Progress of Negro Republic

"If you are a professional office seeker, stay away from Liberia," says William H. Lewis, Negro graduate student in history. "There they have a unique feature in political science which provides that only Negro citizens may vote or hold governmental positions."

Liberia can be listed among the most progressive miniature republics of the world, according to Lewis, the only Liberian on the campus. The black republic is almost an Utopia when compared with a country like Mexico.

President King has received the support of the majority of the people for the third time, something unheard of in Mexico (if the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz is excepted). Among other politicians the American Negro plays an important part in Liberian politics.

Lewis stated that the automobile industry is chiefly responsible for the development of his native country. Rubber plantations have been established on an unprecedented scale, railroads constructed, highways built, particularly in the last decade. Everywhere the two and a half millions of natives have better opportunities to make a living. However, employment is scarce since the recent slump of the automobile upon which the Liberians are dependent.

The Fort Hare College.

Some time ago we reported in these columns that owing to the lean times generally the Native College at Fort Hare required strengthening both as regards the capital endowment fund and enrolment of students. We are therefore pleased to learn that the public is making an excellent response with reference to the provision of new scholarships to enable students to join the College. From the estate of the late Rev. Mr. Stirling of Emgwali Mission there is a sum of £50 to be devoted to a theological reference library for Fort Hare students taking the ministerial course. In the new College Calendar we are pleased to note that the admirers of the late editor of this journal have founded the "John Tengo Jabavu Scholarship" of £5 a year—a very appropriate memorial to his services in connection with the propaganda for the foundation of Fort Hare. Then Miss Helen Girdwood, daughter of the well-known u Gadudu (Rev.Wm.Girdwood) of Tutura fame proposes in the meantime to a provide scholarship of £15 per annum for the benefit of a Transkei Xosa-speaking student taking the medical course. The Greenslade medical scholarship of £50 per annum was announced earlier in the year.

The Transkei Bùnga has established scholarships of £30 each for students from its territories, seven of these to be available annually. The Basutoland Pitso has founded one of £30 for a Mosuto from the Crown Colony to proceed to Fort Hare. Mr. Max Yergan has secured ten scholarships of £10 each through the International Y.M.C.A. of the United States of America to be available for Fort Hare students in 1927 and 1928. The Natal Native Education Department has provided two scholarships of £30 each for the benefit of Zulu students at Fort Hare. (We wonder if the Cape and the other Provinces could not do likewise?). The Glen Grey Council has recently arranged to provide a scholarship of £30 a year for a student at Fort Hare from its own district. The Pondoland Council has decided to provide three scholarships of £30 each per annum for Pondo students at Fort Hare. Our eleventh item is that Mr. W. H. Robson M.A. and his wife, formerly of Cape Town, and now of U.S.A. have made provision in their will for a scholarship to be held at Fort Hare and available for Coloured students from the Salt River training college who will thus be enabled to share in the advantages of Fort Hare. All this is good news. We gather from the Principal that the country is constantly making enquiries for qualified men in all the courses (Teaching, Business, Ministry, Medicine) and at present the College is working at top pressure, being unable to satisfy the growing demand. Therefore he needs students, students, students. We hope also that the new Councils and other interested individuals will emulate the fine example shown above and confer real blessings on the Bantu through the channel of a sound education.

Race Problem - 1927
Africa.

Firestone Attends Conference and Discusses Liberian Education

(By Allen B. Dogett, Jr.

Hampton Institute, Va., March 5 In an endeavor to plan a program of education for Liberia based upon community needs twenty-five missionaries and educators from the Republic met Feb. 8-18 at Hampton Institute under the leadership of James L. Sibley, educational advisor to mission boards and colonization societies interested in Liberia. Both white and Negro organizations having missionaries and teachers in Liberia were represented at this conference.

The interest of the conference centered in methods of education tried successfully in America, especially in the South by the Jeanes supervisors, as typified by the work of Virginia Randolph in Henrico County, Va. It is realized, according to Mr. Sibley, that the work of the missionaries must shift from evangelical work to educational work and that the various groups in the field must fit themselves to bring to Liberia the type of education that will help in community life.

The first week of the conference was devoted to discussions of educational work carried on in America by the public health nurse, the rural school teacher, the Jeanes supervisor, and the farm and home demonstration agents. The second week, spent largely in visiting schools and other community work, spent largely in visiting schools and other community work, presented practical applications of the problems discussed the first week.

Vital Subjects Discussed

Among the interesting series of topics brought before the conference might be mentioned: cooperation between missionary agencies and the government in the educational program; redirection of educational work, with emphasis upon community needs; re-organization of mission schools in keeping with those needs; selection and training

ctive part in ... ference discussions, but used the opportunit, afforded by the conference to be come acquainted with workers i that mission field and to further his plans of cooperation with thos interested in the welfare of Liberia by a closer knowledge of the problems discussed.

A number of secretaries and representatives of interested boards visited the conference. Among these were representatives from the Protestant Episcopal Church, Lott Carey, Methodist Episcopal Church, United Lutheran Church, African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, Phelps-Stokes Fund, Slater Fund, General Educational Board, and the American, New York and Boston Colonization Societies.

LIBERIA SEEKS A NEW LOAN, REPORT

NEW YORK CITY, April 13.—It was learned here late today that the Liberian government is seeking to float a $5,000,000 loan. The project is being pushed by Harvey Firestone, who is constructing a 10,000,000 acre rubber plantation in the country. The present bonded indebtedness of that country is approximately $1,000,000. Three years ago a loan of $1,700,000 was floated by New York bankers. The present plan is to improve the roads and make other neces-

The Liberian Church

Foreign support and control of religious organizations in Liberia, West Africa, was presaged by President C. B. D. King in his annual message to the Liberian Congress.

Copies of the message which became available through the office of Dr. Ernest Lyon, Liberian consul general, were first published in the AFRO-AMERICAN three weeks ago and created a sensation throughout the country.

President King's remarks, however, should create no uneasiness, if examined carefully.

"Every nation," says the President, "like every individual must know God for himself. The churches in Liberia in their awakening to national and racial consciousness must and will proceed along the same lines as churches in other countries. The control of foreign religious bodies must be withdrawn as well as their financial support from the churches in Liberia."

Liberia, says the President, realizes the incompatibility of political freedom with religious servitude.

The president's message, however, merely marks the trend of public opinion. The legislature has passed no new laws barring alien missionaries and clergy.

Eventually, of course, this will be done and Liberia will require all clergymen, bishops and others connected with its church to be natives.

A similar step was taken by Mexico, our sister republic south of the Rio Grande this year and any number of foreign Catholic bishops and clergy were required to leave the country.

While we commend President King and the Liberian people for their independence in this matter, we question their wise statesmanship.

If the missionaries in Africa were busy only with their church work we would agree with President King that the sooner Liberia were left to find God for itself the better.

As a matter of fact, practically all of the educational work in republic is carried on by these missionaries.

Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones' report of 1921 shows only 7,513 children in school in Liberia. All of them are enrolled in missionary schools. The government's appropriation for education that year was $873.75.

Dr. Jones estimated that there were 10,000 of civilized parents, 200,000 to 400,000 children of native parents eligible or of school age.

The best figures available indicate that alien denominations are spending $250,000 every year in missionary work in Liberia. Most of this, of course, is for the schools.

President King in his message recognizes the value of the missionary work in his own country. He declared:

"As a people, we Liberians are most appreciative of the religious guidance and assistance which we have received in the past from our foreign spiritual directors and teachers and recognize the immeasurable benefits which have accrued to us therefrom.

"But nevertheless, we hear the deep, loud and reverberating sounds of the great bell of time announcing the fact that the hour has arrived for Liberia's spiritual freedom and religious independence. To this call of freedom every true and patriotic Liberian must respond irrespective of his religious faith or creed."

Firestone Wants Hindu Slavery In U. S.

"Cheap Labor" for Southern Rubber Plantations

PALM BEACH, Fla., March 17.—Not content with buying out Liberia and enslaving the Liberian population, Harvey Firestone, rubber magnate, proposes to establish a Liberia or Belgian Congo in the United States.

"If the problem of labor costs can be solved", he and his side-kick, Thomas A. Edison, propose to raise rubber for commercial purposes. The waste cotton lands of the South can be used for rubber production, it is said.

Americans Not Docile.

Fearing that American labor cannot be exploited savagely enough to yield Firestone the huge profits which he is seeking, the importation of Hindu labor has been suggested. "These laborers can be brought over for a period of three to five years and paid at the same rate that they are being paid at home, with their board and keep provided," according to Captain A. H. Vaughan-Williams, who as a British Army officer has acquired an acquaintance with methods of enslaving and exploiting Indian labor.

Handful of Rice Per Day.

By feeding the Hindus on a "handful of rice a day" and thus "keeping down labor costs", the Edison-Firestone-Williams triumverate hopes to reap handsome profits. "Hindus can live on a handful of rice a day and it would cost little to keep them", declared Captain Vaughan-Williams who is at present in Palm Beach.

The plan openly advocates a state of peonage for the Hindu laborers. By "providing board and keep for them," the rubber magnates propose to force the Hindu workers deb and to keep them docile.

British Cooper...

The British government will cooperate with the rubber magnates in establishing a slave colony in the United States, it is said. "I am quite sure that if this country were to ask the British government for permission to import several thousand Hindu laborers from India such permission could be obtained easily enough", Captain Vaughan-Williams declared.

The proposal for using southern cotton lands for rubber-growing has long been contemplated by Edison and Firestone. Firestone has also been planning to establish extensive rubber plantations in the Phillipines, but has thus far been balked by the Phillipine land laws.

Hindu More Profitable.

The obstacle in the way of rubber-growing in the United States has been the refusal of American workers to live on a handful of rice a day. The exploitation of Hindu labor is far more profitable for the Firestone-Edison clique.

FRAUD, TRICKERY IS CHARGED IN KING'S ELECTION

Rival Says Liberia Chief Used Modern Crooked Methods To Win

MONROVIA, LIBERIA, June 7.—Wholesale corruption, including the padding of registration rolls, the stuffing of ballot boxes before voting day and other irregularities are charged to Liberian officials by Hon. T. J. R. Faulkner, defeated candidate for presidency of the Peoples' Party of that republic.

President King is now on a visit to France.

These charges, according to Faulkner, may be aired in the courts and have been set forth in an open letter directed particularly to President-elect C. B. D. King. In this letter Mr. Faulkner cites a bill of particulars in in which he holds the president responsible for gross irregularities and fraud during elections.

Fictitious Names

Government officials, he says, have appeared at the registrar's office with lists of fictitious names which they have had recorded as registering and which on the day of election are applied to men who appear at the polls and are voted over and over again until the names are exhausted.

Ballots, printed on thin tissue paper and rolled together in bundles of from 10 to 100, have been voted by

one individual, he charges, and hundreds of tickets were put into the ballot boxes before the voting began. Strange returns, in which the tally sheets showed 300 names with 1,500 tickets in the box, have been revealed, according to Mr. Faulkner.

Clandestine Convention

Calling the recent convention of the Whig Party, at which the President C. B. D. King was nominated a clandestine and surreptitious meeting, it was also stated that a trick was used by the chairman which prevented delegates from the various sections of the province from expressing their will in the organization. The convention ha been scheduled to convene at 2 p. m., he states, but with less than 50 people present, a surprise meeting was held at 11 o'clock in the morning and the cut and dried nomination of President King put through.

With more than 35 per cent on their way to the convention and many others waiting until the afternoon session, they were surprised to learn that the convention had been held and the work completed by 11:45 in the morning. This action on the part of the chairman was not rebuked by President King, according to Mr. Faulkner, and is interpreted as being according to his wishes.

In concluding his letter, which was published by Liberian newspapers, Faulkner declared that the courts would be resorted to in an effort to curb these abuses.

King Comments

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BALLOT BOXES "PADDED" AT LIBERIAN POLLS

Defeated Candidate For President Explains Tricks Used In Election

BALLOTS IN BOXES BEFORE POLLS OPEN

Convention To Nominate King Completed Its Work Before Office Hours

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Fictitious Names

Government officials, he says, have appeared at the registrar's office with lists of fictitious names which they have had recorded as registering and which on the day of election are applied to men who appear at the polls and are voted over and over again until the names are exhausted

Ballots, printed on thin tissue paper and rolled together in bundles of from 10 to 100, have been voted by one individual, he charges, and hundreds of tickets were put into the ballot boxes before the voting began. Strange returns, in which the tally sheets showed 300 names with 1,500 tickets in the box have been revealed, according to Mr. Faulkner.

Clandestine Convention

Calling the recent convention of the Whig Party, at which the President C. B. D. King was nominated, a clandestine and surreptitious meeting, it was also stated that a trick was used by the chairman which prevented delegates from the various sections of the province from expressing their will in the organization. The convention had been scheduled to convene at 2 p. m., he states, but with less than 50 people present, a surprise meeting was held at 11 o'clock in the morning and the cut and dried nomination of President King put through.

With more than 35 per cent on their way to the convention and many others waiting until the afternoon session, they were surprised to learn that the convention had been held and the work completed by 11.45 in the morning. This action on the part of the chairman was not rebuked by President King, according to Mr. Faulkner, and is interpreted as being according to his wishes.

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CONSUL SAYS LIBERIA WAS NOT REFUSED A LOAN

Insists That U. S. Was Not Principal Creditor In The Previous Loan

NEW YORK, JUNE 22.—Dr. Earnest Lyon, Liberian Consul to the United States in a statement here Saturday declared that he doubted the authenticity of the recent report that the $5,000,000 loan recently granted to his country has been countermanded by American authorities pending the repayment of the loan granted in 1912.

The loan in 1912, he said, was an international loan privately subscribed by a number of European countries and the United States. The bonds were sold and the interest payments have been kept up. He declared there should be no reason why the bond holders be dissatisfied with their investment. And too, he said, as consul of that country, he would have been informed by the Liberian government of anything as important as countermanding the loan.

THE PRESIDENT FIRM

It has been currently reported that there was a movement on foot to have the President name a white man Minister to Liberia to succeed our Colored Minister as the news came to the attention of the President that the movement was on foot and had received—possibly semi-official encouragement at the Department of State, the President promptly called a halt, and had it understood that he would not under any circumstances break down the long established precedent of sending a race man to represent our government at the Liberian post.

The President had it promptly understood that he would not name a white man, but would send a colored man in keeping with the time-honored policy of his illustrious predecessors, without regard to politics, of sending a colored Minister to the Liberian Republic.

If Mr. Coolidge stands for anything, he stands for common sense conservatism, and following the well established principles and policies of the Republican Party. He is one of the biggest Presidents we have ever had. He knows no color line in the discharge of his public duties. With Calvin Coolidge, a man is a man for a that. He believes that all groups of people entering into the cosmopolitan population of our country should have a voice in the making of the laws and the selection of the personnel to enforce the laws. He believes that the right to vote carries with it the inherent right to be voted for and to hold office. He will not refuse to appoint a man to office on the ground of color or appoint to office on the ground of race or color. Calvin Coolidge is a Christian statesman—his one aim is to serve the public, and he doesn't care who is the instrumentality that renders the service, just so it is efficient and satisfactory.

A Negro will be named as Minister to Liberia and the Georgia Republican organization presents the name of Dr. William Percival Harris, of Athens, Georgia. Dr. Harris is a capable, efficient business man, ripe in experience, young and energetic; and will make as fine a representative of his government as any who may apply. There is no color line in Georgia in the presentation of Dr. Harris' name to the President. Georgia is unanimous for him. The Governor of our state, several of our congressmen and many business men without regard to race have asked for his appointment. The doctor is an alumnus of Howard University and is a gentleman of the highest character, with a family of a wife, two children and bids fair to carry out the Rooseveltian idea of contributing his quota to America's citizenship, as well as the Biblical injunction, "Be ye fruitfully multiply."

Race Problem - 1927
Africa.

Liberia.

CHARGES OF WHOLESALE CORRUPTION MADE BY DEFEATED CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENCY OF LIBERIA AGAINST PRESIDENT KING AND OTHER OFFICIALS IN RECENT ELECTION

Mr. T. J. R. Faulkner in Letter to Liberian Press Declares Registration Rolls Were Padded and Ballot Boxes Stuffed Before the Voting Day—Holds President-Elect King Responsible

Explains Tricks Used by Government Officials to Return Unpopular Candidate to Power—Charges to Be Aired in the Courts—Even Nomination of King Obtained by Fraud

(From the Afro-American)

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King Leaves Liberia Secretly as People, Charging Fraud, Clamor for New Election

Monrovia, Liberia, and, indeed, all Liberia, is seething with discontent over the recent Presidential elections but the cause of all the trouble is far away, vacationing in France and talking about "Liberia never playing Uncle Sam false, like Nicaragua and Haiti did."

Charles Dunbar Burgess King, it will be remembered, was recently elected President of Liberia for a third term, his success, it is charged, being due to one of the worst voting scandals that has ever disgraced any country. Steps are being taken to have the scandal aired in the courts, his defeated opponent, Hon. T. J. R. Faulkner, openly declaring that registration rolls were padded and ballot boxes stuffed with the connivance of the President-elect and other officials.

Immediately after the election President King, with his wife and son, left Liberia secretly, few of his dissatisfied subjects being aware of his intention to leave the scene of his questionable triumph until he was far out to sea. News now comes from Liberia that daily the demands of the people for a new election are gathering momentum, and the President may find it necessary to cut short his Paris holiday.

A recent dispatch from Paris says:

PARIS, June 20.—Liberia is a tropical country which is waiting anxiously for American penetration and would never play Uncle Sam false, like Nicaragua and Haiti did, according to Charles Dunbar Burgess King, Negro President of the world's only African Negro republic.

President King is vacationing in Paris, after a strenuous election in his African domain. He surprised his interviewers by being neither a painted chieftain with flags in his hair nor a doctrinaire type of Negro publicist like Dr. Dubois or Booker T. Washington.

Although born and educated in Liberia, President King speaks English and French perfectly. He has been in America several times, once as a guest of President Wilson. He is representative of that type of African who is outwardly Europeanized, but still is a genuine black.

"I like to think of Liberia as a door to West Africa through which American capital, manufacture and opinion may enter all of Africa," he said. Then he sketched the progress of Liberia so far, whereby many thousand acres of jungle have been turned into productive areas through American economic penetration.

Anti U. S.

Homecoming travellers from Liberia report the existence of an Anti-American feeling in the West African republic which is increasing at an alarming rate.

The AFRO has reported this year the arrest of Bishop W. Sampson Brooks, American missionary on charges of debt, following his dismissal of a Liberian teacher at his school. More recently, an American was shot to death following a quarrel with Liberia militiamen, and Major Moody Staten, U. S. Military Advisor, was arrested for demanding immunity of one of his men.

The Liberian "Agricultural World," realizing the gravity of the situation urges thotfulness on the part of citizens who cast "reflection upon Americans by referring to them as newcomers."

"Newcomers" from the U. S. Like Elijah Johnson and Lott Carey, it recalls, founded the republic and made possible in Liberia a home and a flag. The "newcomer" not only made Liberia, it adds but Liberia's future success depends upon him.

It concludes with the sensible reminder "Think twice before you speak, when you begin to discuss the newcomer. All are newcomers except the aborgines."

Radical Liberians recite that the United States has done very little to build up their country "commercially, economically or financially until the coming of the Firestone Rubber Company."

To them the late Queen Victoria, first to recognize the country as a republic, is a patron saint. England, Germany and Holland are regarded as better friends than America.

The pro-American Liberians are represented by T. J. R. Faulkner, defeated candidate for president who giving his views on immigration before government officials recently, admitted that new settlers are desirable but unlikely "unless better treatment is accorded those already here."

Col. Davis, Aid to President King, Says Wealthy American Negroes Welcome in Africa

Courier Correspondent Sees President King Honor French Unknown Soldier; Says Liberia Is Credit to Race

By J. A. ROGERS

PARIS, June 23.—In spite of a heavy rain, a large crowd of Parisians flocked to the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile here to witness the ceremony of the laying of a wreath on the tomb of the Unknown Soldier by President C. D. B. ing of Liberia, now on a European tour.

Accompanying the president were his aide-de-camp, Col. T. Elwood Davis of the Liberian army, Charles T. King, son of the president, and secretary to Col. Davis, Miss E. A. King, Miss Ellen King, Master C. B. D. King, Jr., and Miss M. D. Ketter of Liberia. In addition there were the attaches of the Liberian Legation, Baron Rudolph Lemaire and Baron Bogarde, and the Baronnesse Bogarde, as well as several leading French officials.

The president, dark, tall, a striking figure in a black coat, with Col. Davis on his right in a well-fitting military uniform descended from his automobile at the hour set for the ceremony and walked up to the tomb between the ranks of the bright-colored French Republican guards. Here after a short silent prayer, he laid the wreath, a magnificent one of roses and hyacinths, with the colors of the Liberian Republic, on the tomb under the great arch, while the crowd stood by reverently with doffed hats. The ceremony, though simple, was a very touching one—this head of the single republic in Africa paying his tribute to the valor of the leading republic on a neighboring continent.

At the conclusion of the ceremony, the crowd which had been kept back by the gendarmes flocked to the president's carriage to get a closer glimpse of him, while photographers levelled their cameras at the party.

The Liberian ladies were becomingly dressed in spite of the rain, in styles, which if not Parisian, in cut showed that the ladies of the far republic are not a whit behind the French capital in matters of elegance. All in all the ensemble and bearing of the Liberian party was one that generally reflected credit on the Negro race, everywhere.

President King, as was said, is here with his party on an European tour, arriving recently in Paris from Bordeaux, where a special car was provided for him by the French government. Leaving Monrovia, the French steamship line, Chargeurs Reunis, placed the entire first class deck at his disposition.

Arriving at the St. Lazare station, Paris, President King and party were met by Col. Phillippe, aide-de-camp to President Doumergue, Deputy Blaise Diagne of Senegal; Col. Becq de Fouquieres, and other French officials. Several functions have been given here in honor of President King.

Later the Paris representative of the Pittsburgh Courier called on President King for an interview chiefly relative to the migration of American Negroes to Liberia. The president, who was engaged in a conference directed his aide, Col. Davis to speak for him.

As to the matter of immigration, Col. Davis, who is a native of Indiana, said that American Negroes were very welcome in Liberia, and that business opportunities were unusually good. Nevertheless, he pointed out, that any immigration to Liberia would at this time have to be a selective one, just as in the case of white colonies to Canada and Australia. "Liberia," said Col. Davis, "is not in a position to care for dependents. What it needs in the matter of immigration are persons with capital, and most of all skilled farmers. There are splendid opportunities for persons with from five to six thousand dollars. Right now there is a fine opening for a haberdashery and a tailoring and cleaning establishment."

Another requisite, said Col. Davis, is that immigrants should be of a type sympathic to the republic, as persons of the radical discontented type were likely to embroil the government with neighboring European powers, some of whom are anxious for any pretext to seize Liberian soil. "That was one of the reasons," he said, "why the Liberian government had to oust the Garvey movement, and prevent the landing of Garvey's officials on Liberian soil.

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A FRIEND OF LIBERTY.

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The Legislature has granted President King six months leave of absence—for rest and change—to prepare him to face another four years of administrative labour for which he is pre-eminently fitted by nature. Dignified in character and posture, slow to speak or make any promise, but very faithful when once he has given his word; a born and gifted diplomat, so deep—yet so plain and easy of access—and willing to give a hearing when appealed to.

He leaves for France by a special steamer from South Africa calling at Monrovia especially to take him and suite on the 18th of this month. He goes with the prayers and well-wishes of all Negroes.

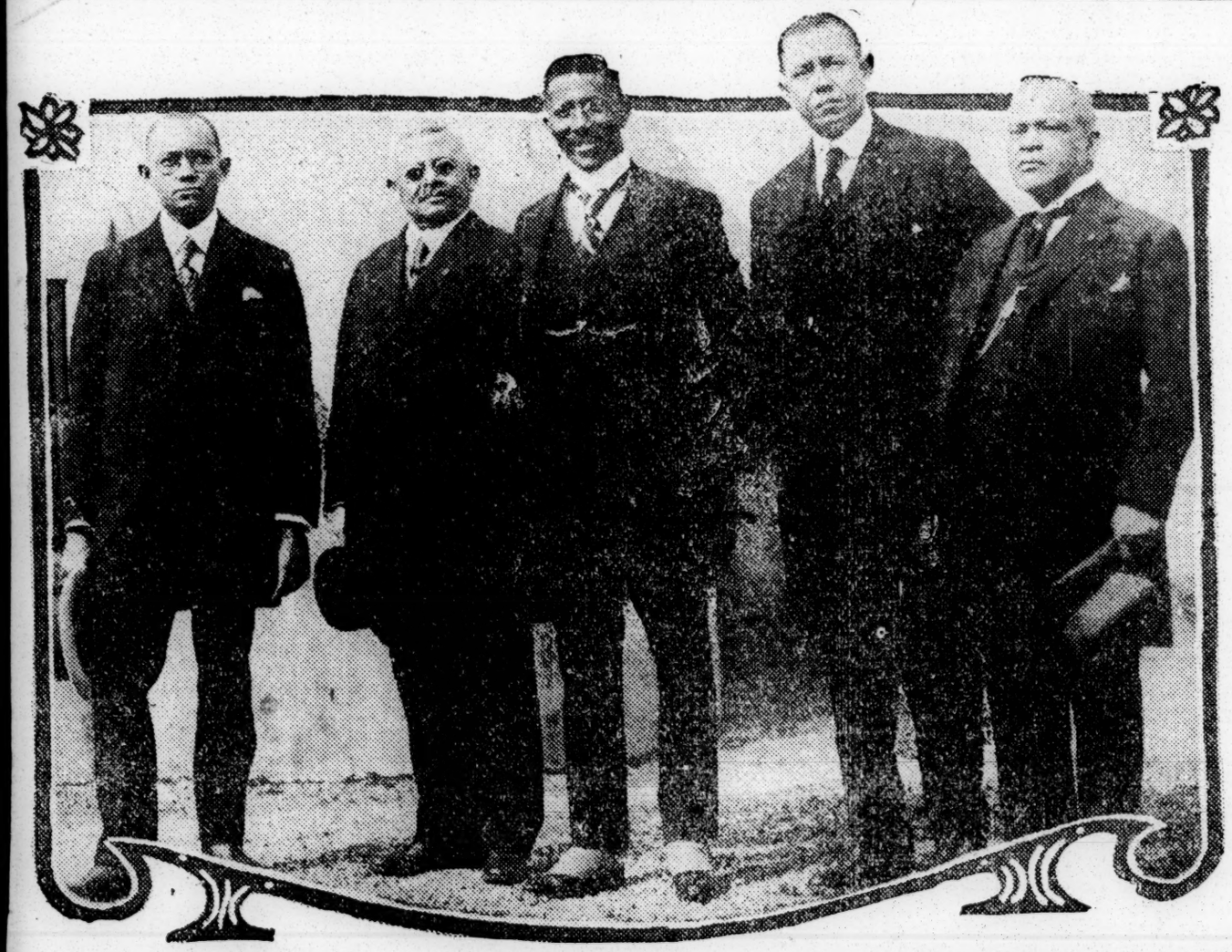
"Thus shall it be done to the man whom the King (of Heaven) delighteth to honour."

A FRIEND OF LIBERTY.

Race Problem - 1927

Liberia

Liberian Head Is Feted By King George



More than 13,000 guests, including Americans, reigning monarchs, eastern potentates and colonial visitors attended the royal garden party given at Buckingham palace recently. President E. D. B. King of Liberia and King Fuad of Egypt were both among the honored guests and were received with much pomp and ceremony by the King and Queen. The above photo was taken of President King (in center) and his colleagues during his last visit to America.

LIBERIAN POST GIVEN FRANCIS, ST. PAUL NEGRO

(By The Associated Negro Press)

Washington, D. C.—The appointment of William T. Francis of St Paul, Minnesota, as minister to Liberia by President Coolidge last week is recognition of that younger group of colored men who have fitted themselves by education and training for such recognition.

For nineteen years Mr. Francis was employed in the law department of the Northern Pacific Railroad at St. Paul, Minnesota. He has been following the general practice of law in the city of St. Paul. He was presidential elector for Minnesota in 1924 and was graduated from St. Paul College of Law in the class with Senator Thomas D. Schall of Minnesota.

He served as chairman of the western district of the Colored People's National Headquarters at Chicago from September 1, 1924, during the Coolidge-Dawes campaign with general supervision of the campaign activities among the colored people of the entire western section of the United States, from Ohio to the Pacific coast... He had the endorsement of the colored members of the advisory committee of the Republican national executive committee.

Colored people generally, throughout the country will hail the president's appointment of Mr. Francis with great favor because of the rumor formerly circulated that his last diplomatic post was to be withdrawn from the race... They are also pleased that a man of such training, ability, and outstanding importance, representative of the younger group of colored Republicans, has been selected for this important post.

High Points In Visit Of President King To London

LONDON, ENGLAND (African World)—Liberia's ruler on official visit welcomed by the King, House of Commons, and Lord Mayor; banquetted by organizations, the press and officials.

Tells England we are not associated with any movement (Garvey) toward antagonizing or driving foreign races out of Africa.

Other striking paragraphs from his addresses:—I discourage any native seeking education abroad before receiving a thorough grounding in Liberia. If people go to Europe or America without that grounding, they tend to become denationalized and to return with ideas that are not practical.

Liberia has a great future as a rubber growing country. The Firestone Company has leased 1,000,000 acres and employs from 8000 to 10,000 natives. No monopoly has been granted them. This is a small concession. There is room for English firms to secure leases on similar terms and labor is plentiful at 24 cents a day.

At present Liberia has 300 miles of motor roads but not a mile of railway. I am glad to give facilities to any industrial group which will construct a railway and a harbor.

"It should not be forgotten that we are Africans and attempting to build up a Negro nationality. Liberia represents an effort on the part of the Negro towards self-government. We are not expected to duplicate Europe in Africa. We want to take such portions of European civilization and culture as are necessary for the ingrafting of African culture and civilization. Africa has its own culture and civilization, and a careful study of African institutions will verify this fact.

"God in His all-wise Providence has elected to each race its own mission and duty to perform. You can liken the different races to a beautiful bouquet of flowers of different hues and different colours. As with the bouquet so it is with the different races, each proceeding along its own lines. We are seeking to maintain Africa, and you can contribute towards assisting Africa in developing on African lines. Do not destroy African culture. Much is not understood about African institutions. Do not term it mere superstition and idolatry, but make an effort towards studying the question, and you will find after all there is a seeking in the darkness for the good which they comprehend not. Everything in Africa is not idolatry.

CITES NEED FOR UNITY IN LIBERIA

Lack of System Holds Nation Back

By EVANGELINE ROBERTS

Five years ago, Bishop W. Sampon Brooks of the A. M. E. church at an estimated cost of $100,000 opened up a tract of land in Monrovia, Liberia, that had been a flourishing growth of brush and weeks.

To-day, Monrovia college stands on that site as one of the most beautiful spots in the country. The commencement exercises in May drew an overflow crowd. More than two hundred students were enrolled during the session. The curriculum offers a course of study from the grades through the high school. One advanced student completed college subects this year.

Rev. D. A. Graham, president of the college for two years has pastored many of the largest A. M. E. churches in the United States. His wife, who has been assisting him, is on her way to her home in Seattle, Wash., for a rest and visit with her children. Mrs. Graham, through courtesy of Lady Astor, while in England attended the house of commons. She will attend the general conference which convenes in Chicago next May, as the first woman elected from Africa as an active member of that body.

It is expected that in keeping with public sentiment, Dr. Graham will be returned to Africa as bishop over that diocese, as those interested in the college feel that he is especially fitted to carry on the task started by Bishop Brooks.

"No other person could have done the work that Bishop Brooks did, it has meant the use of untold strength patience and courage in the face of unreasonable opposition," Mrs. Graham said.

In the discussion involving the much talked of republic she held that the lack of organization and system, spreads an attendant lack of cooperation on the part of the citizenry which retards progress.

Factional Jealousies Hinder

Factional ealousies make issues out of little things that should not be

noticed. There is also a wall of defense thrown up by the natives who interpret the presence of missionaries as an intrusion. This spirit will have to be broken down by sympathetic understanding and a tangible demonstration of the need filled by the educators.

Mrs. Graham explained that Monrovia college lays greatest stress where all the schooling in Africa should be laid, upon fundamental promptness, accuracy and thrift and that the wrong idea has been introduced from the start.

The youth of Liberia is eager to embrace the new order of things and the work of aiding in their development is engrossing.

A forceful factor in the work his parents are doing is Lorenz B. Graham, son of Dr. and Mrs. Graham. He left his senior college work in the University of Southern California, and went with his mother to Africa. He is an accomplished linguist, musician and an important public figure. He also serves in the American legation.

Mrs. Graham feels that system and unity of effort, on the part of all who are striving to help in the uphill climb of the republic, with a better use of funds sent, will mean a development of which all may be proud.

PRESIDENT KING OF LIBERIA EXPLAINS MISSIONARY POLICY IN LETTER

In a letter from President King of Liberia to Rev. W. W. Matthews, missionary secretary of the A. M. E. Zion Church, and editor of the Missionary Seer, the president said, "The will and desire of any group of Liberian Christians to establish a church free from foreign control will be encouraged, the establishment of such an organization should not be accepted as indicating the wish for the withdrawal of foreign missionary interests."

This letter came in response to an inquiry from Rev. Matthews in January shortly after President King had made public his address to the Liberian Congress calling for the establishment of a Church of Liberia. At the time, his utterances greatly disturbed the foreign religious bodies for fear that they would be excluded from the Negro republic, where for years, they have done missionary work.

President King, in explaining his position, said, "From the colonial days of the country until now, the government of Liberia has always taken the keenest interest in, and has afforded every protection and encouragement to foreign religious societies operating within the borders of the Republic and it has cooperated by making large grants of public domain to these societies good will of the government will in the future remain unaltered provided the missionary agents will observe and comply with the laws of the Republic.

"It is hoped that all institutions interested in the unlimited welfare of Liberia, will look upon any movement for the establishment of a Liberian Church with religious pride."

The letter was transmitted to Rev. Matthews by the President's secretary.

Rev. Matthews, expressed himself as being well satisfied with President King's letter. He knows the Liberian field intimately. He has spent several years there in the interest of his church. Rev. Matthews is a leading candidate for the bishopric at the next general conference and it is his hope, that if successful, he will be sent to take charge of the work in Liberia

LIBERIA NATIONAL DAY, JULY 26, 1627.

NEXT Tuesday will bring again to the people of the Negro Republic of Liberia and their friends and supporters another milestone for rejoicing as well as serious reflection on the achievements they have made towards the road to progress. The year now closed has been one of great importance not only with regards to the continuous developments the policy of an open door has created, but it has been also the year when after much keenly contested election an unprecedented mark of confidence has been registered in favour of the progressive and coolheaded president His Excellency C. DUNBAR KING, who for the third time has been returned as president with an overwhelming majority of 250,000 votes.

It marks a spirit of determination on the part of the people of Liberia to carry out the very same and stable policy of advancement which has been accredited by world wide recognition as the best and most assured way to the continued existence of Liberia as an independent African State. The celebration of National Day will meet the distinguished President and his amiable consort absent from their seat of Government. They with their children are away in Europe on a mission for promoting the material and economic welfare of their Country. We regret that for some time the Honourable Mrs. KING has not enjoyed good health. President KING has not enjoyed a rosy bed during the last two years. There have been those who by party feelings have taken the course of misrepresenting his policy as an attempt to sell the Republic for European gold American dollar. In spite of the steady improvement they have been witnessing the making of roads thereby connecting several portions of the country which hitherto had remained difficult of approach, in spite of the improvement in the revenue which is due to the expansion in trade brought about by the President's policy of encouraging foreigners to avail themselves of the untold riches which remain undeveloped for lack of financial ability. These detractors of the President have continued their campaign of vilification and mischievous misrepresentation. But it is cheering to note that the President has continued to carry on and there have not been lacking ample support and encouragement from the people as a whole.

On the 30th May last, the President was in Paris where he has been endeavouring to interest the French Authorities who are his neighbours in the development of the resources of Liberia for mutual benefit. He has marked out his progamme of advance which includes development of means of communications, hygienic protective works and increased production. The President has since paid a visit to London, and hopes to be away for six months. We join in happy felicitations to our kinsmen of the Republic and would congratulate them for the upright look and steady hand pointing the way of their destiny. There ought to be a strong bond of sympathy and good will between Sierra Leone and the land of the Lone Star and Stripes for their aspirations are the same and they have in the past shared the same experience as Negroes amidst the stiff competition for supremacy and domination which just now the world is plagued with.

ALL HAIL LIBERIA!

LONG LIVE PRESIDENT KING.

LIBERIA'S INDEPENDENCE DAY.

President King Interviewed in Paris.

The eighteenth anniversary of Liberia's Independence Day was suitably celebrated in Paris at the Liberian Legation, and at the President's residence, beautiful mansion in the Rue Octave Feuillet. The Hon. Sir King and the Baroness Lehmann, wife of the Liberian Minister, did the honours at the respective receptions, which were attended by Monsieur Briand, representatives of the highest French official departments, Monsignor Maglione, Papal Minister and Doyen of the Diplomatic Corps, Representatives of the American Embassy and many other distinguished personalities in the official and diplomatic world.

Interviewed on Wednesday in Paris by the Editor of THE AFRICAN WORLD, President King said his visit and cordial reception at London would be an indelible remembrance of his European holiday tour.

He was much grieved at the news of Sir Harry Johnston's passing, and telegraphed instructions at once to place a wreath on the bier with the inscription "A tribute of deepest respect from the President of Liberia." He also referred to Dr. Aggrey's death as an irreparable loss to Africa and her people.

The President hopes to be in London, with Mrs. King and his family, en route to Liverpool, by the end of September, after a visit to Italy and Spain.

LIBERIANS WANT U. S. IS RUMORED

President King Is Reported Seeking To Have Colony Adopted Again By United States

PARIS, Aug. 13.—A rumor is circulating in Paris to the effect that President King of Liberia has come to Europe to get in touch with the American diplomatic representatives in Paris and London with a view to persuading the United States government again to take his country as a colony, believing that this relationship would bring prosperity to his people, says a special dispatch in the Sunday Los Angeles Times.

Although the American school books scarcely mention it, Liberia was an American colony until July 26, 1847, when the colored inhabitants there threw off their allegiance.

The country is large enough to supply all tropical products, like rubber, that America needs.

Race Problem - 1927

Liberia.

Africa

Wants Skilled Men *for* Liberia

BROOKLYN EAGLE
AUG 21 1927



Rev. S. S. Sevier

By Denton Carter

FROM the jungles of equatorial Africa, where he was born a member of the Goupou family, to a position of importance as a leader of the negro race as the Rev. S. S. Sevier, is the unusual career of one of the few aboriginal colored men in the United States.

"I was born on the west coast of Africa in the negro Republic of Liberia," he says, "and received my early education in the city of Monrovia, the capital of the country. Like other natives, my family was engaged in farming, but on occasion was wont to go back from the coast to gather ivory, rubber, cocoa, palm oil and other African products from the hinterland tribes. My uncle was a leading trader in this work and would sell the gathered goods to the white men who stopped at the coast for barter.

"I was considered to be a bright boy, so when a white missionary, the Rev. Dr. Isaac N. Randall, selected from among three Liberian tribes ten boys to come to America, I was one of the three from the Bassa tribe. At that time my benefactor gave me the name of S. S. Sevier.

"I spoke nothing but the local Bassa tongue, and a few words in English. There had never been any education in our family, and no member had ever been in the United States, nor had any one from my tribe been to this country. No one of my family knew English to any great extent, except just a little for trading purposes.

"Arrived in this country when still in my teens, I learned English from Pennsylvania Quakers. On the way to this nation we boys that were being brought here to be educated had had to depend on interpreters among the crew to make ourselves understood to Americans.

"I am one of the very few aborigines of Liberia ever to come to this country.

"I was enrolled at Lincoln University, in Chester County, Pennsylvania, and studied there the regular college course and then took the theological course. This college is one of the leading schools for negroes that exist in the North.

"I studied English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, physics, chemistry, trigonometry, and all such subjects, four years in all, and then three more in theology. There are from 300 to 400 students at the college now, I believe. I was graduated fourth in rank in a class of forty students.

"After graduation I returned to Monrovia, Liberia, and taught there for four years, then came back to this country.

"On my return here I taught and preached in the South, and settled and married at Greensboro, N. C. Recently, however, I was in Liberia on a four months tour of inspection under the auspices of the International Alliance of Negroes, Inc., with headquarters in Philadelphia.

"I am convinced that Liberia is the most hopeful spot on the African Continent, to which American negroes must eventually go to achieve their fondest hopes.

"It is the only ideal country in which negroes may work out their lives unafflicted by the prejudices and other hindrances to their development that exist in other countries.

"I am now engaged in an appeal for financial aid to enable the International Alliance of Negroes, Inc., to complete its preparations for sending twenty-five young men, technically trained in various trades, to Liberia.

"I am not in favor of a mass movement of negroes from America to Liberia at this time. There is not enough room for them all under present conditions. What must first be done is to send to that country technically trained young college graduates who are able and willing to begin the development of the unlimited resources within its borders.

"After reclamation of the swamps and the dense inland thickets, there will be ample room and opportunities for all who desire to become citizens of our negro republic.

"English was not spoken there generally in 1880, when I first left the country, but now it is, so that American colored people would find no difficulty in being understood.

"My recent visit there has made me enthusiastic in support of the 'Back to Africa' movement. I am convinced that the Republic planted by a few abolitionists under the auspices of the Colonization Society in 1847 is firmly established.

"Little did its founders realize their far-reaching vision would materialize in such a stable government. It is patterned after the United States, and is democratic in all of its functions—a sovereign independent state with its Lone Star glimmering in the constellation of the nations of the earth. Its founders had a purpose. A member of the colonization society in 1860 addressing an audience in the city of Boston said: 'We are not here simply to send a few negroes to Africa and to occupy with them a few swampy regions on the margin of a distant country, but we are endeavoring to stimulate for a race and a continent their potentiality of unlimited development.'

"In like manner I am not seeking to awaken the masses of the negroes to migrate to Liberia, neither am I soliciting men to go to invade that republic for commercial gain, but want to awaken and to stimulate a deeper interest in the hearts and minds of some of the young men who are continually coming out of our agricultural and technical schools, throughout the United States, to a country whose vast domains with unlimited resources are inviting their attention.

"In commercial matters the republic is hopeful. The agriculture of the country is rapidly on the increase. Liberian coffee is considered among the best in the world and the people are now turning their attention toward its cultivation. In all Africa Liberia has the only rubber producing soil. Rubber companies in Europe and America have already leased from the government millions of acres for the development of that product. In commercial matters it presents everything encouraging to the nations of the earth. The most opportune time is now for the aggressive American negro to migrate to Liberia. He is needed there. There he has a ripe field upon which to operate in every pursuit of his endeavor.

"Through the International Alliance of Negroes, Inc., preparations have been made to send, in the near future, twenty-five industrious handicraft technically trained young men of various trades to that Republic. These young men have been carefully selected. They will be under the supervision of the Liberian Government when they reach there, until they become acclimatized to the country. I shall go with them and introduce them to the officials of that Republic and see that they are located."

The Rev. Mr. Sevier is a man of medium height, vigorous in speech and action, dynamic in personality. He talks well, eloquently, uses excellent English, and with an air of authority.

LIBERIA PAYS IN FULL

OF ALL THE WAR DEBTS, that of Liberia, the little negro republic on the coast of Africa, deserved cancellation mos , observes the Des Moines *Register*. Yet Liberia is the second nation to pay its war debt to the United States in full; Cuba was the first. True, the debt was not a large one, as debts go; a mere $35,610.46. But the point made by the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* is that this tiny nation, no larger than Ohio and populated chiefly with the descendants of American slaves, is the second of the nations associated with us in the World War to pay its debt. "She has set an example that larger nations might well emulate," notes the Cincinnati *Enquirer*. Meanwhile, we are reminded by the Baltimore *Evening Sun*:

"England has haggled and paid only bits. France has let us have a few millions out of a total of several billions, and Italy has paid five millions only to borrow a hundred. Poland, Czechoslovakia, and all the rest have signed agreements to pay, but the money has come in very slowly.

"Under the ircumstances, special honor should be given to Liberia by all American taxpayers. Liberia didn't owe much, but what it owed it paid. And by the extent to which it paid is John Smith's burden lightened."

"When the population and poverty of Liberia are considered, and we recall the amazing historical background of that little independency, we can realize that it was not an easy matter for Liberia to discharge this debt," points out the San Francisco *Chronicle*. The present population is about 1,500,000, and, according to the Manchester *Union*:



AND HE DIDN'T EVEN ASK FOR A DISCOUNT

—Knott in the Dallas *News*.

"Their ancestors were forcibly removed from Africa and sol into slavery in America. Rescued from this slavery by purchas with funds provided by certain philanthropists, and take back to the ancestral continent, the great-grandparents of th present ruling elements of Liberia established a government o American lines.

"The pioneers in this country of ours had a constant commu nication with their own people in the old country. The Englis at Plymouth had the Indians and the forest in front of them, but beyond the sea was England. These poor black people founding Liberian civilization had no government, no moral support o their race, to fall back upon."

To the Kansas City *Star*, however, the payment of this debt indicates that "statesmanship" in Liberia is at a very low ebb

"The Powers first took favorable notice of Liberia when i got a loan from the United States. The Powers said to each other at that time that Liberia showed distinct promise and should be encouraged. True, it got only a small loan, but by firmly declining to pay it back and otherwise cultivating its credit, it seemed to the Powers that Liberia might go far.

"But now it has spoiled its chance. It has paid its debt and must henceforth be regarded with scorn. As a country it may have improved its credit, but what does that amount to when its statesmanship has no credit at all?

"But probably the dangers which fearful minds might apprehend from Liberia's amazing action will be avoided. No other country is likely to be corrupted by her example."

Head Of Liberian Frontier Forces Home On Vacation, Has 10-Months Old Chimpanzee As Pet For His Son

Major Moody Staten, Who Succeeded Col. Chas Young, Attracts Wide Attention With Rare Forest Beast Given By Native Soldiers

Major Moody Staten, who for the past four years has been in charge of the Liberian Frontier Forces, Liberia, West Africa, is in this country on leave of absence, and is the guest of his brother and family, Mr. and Mrs. Ira Staten of 244 West 137th street. Major Staten is accompanied by his wife, Mrs. Lulu Staten, and their 18-months old son, Moody jr. They also brought with them a ten months old chimpanzee, Venus, given him by the native soldiers as a token of their esteem.

There are comparatively few chimpanzees in captivity, largely because they usually resign themselves to death when taken from their kind. But Venus was captured when only two months old and has known human beings all her life. She stands at present 18 inches high and weighs 30 pounds. When fully grown she may be five feet tall, and weigh more than a hundred pounds. A chimpanzee reaches its full growth when seven years of age.

Road Building Progress.

According to Major Staten, Liberia is making exceptional progress in road building and other internal improvements. He praised the work of the Frontier police, organized in 1922 by the late Col. Charles Young. These police, said he, are doing splendid work in maintaining order both among the tribesmen in the interior and along the coast.

Major Staten is a former member of the 25th U. S. Infantry, but was transferred during the World War to the 365th Infantry. He went overseas as commander of the 317th Military Police. He has been in the army for 15 years.

Major Staten will proceed to Washington next week to report to the War Department. He is not certain he will be returned to Africa, but if his leave of absence continues several weeks longer, he and his family expect to visit his former home at Spokane, Washington.

Race Problem - 1927
Africa

Weekly News
7-9-27
Sierra Leone

SLAVERY OR "SACRED TRUST."

IV.

WHEN we turn our attention from the policy obtained within several parts of the British Empire in relation to the "Servitude of Colour" to the principles regulating land tenure in different sections of the Empire in which the interest of coloured people or Natives are concerned, we are smitten at the startling inconsistencies these policies reveal. It appears to us that one dominant principle which governs the attitude of the various Dominions or Colonies is how far these possessions could be made suitable for the permanent domicile of the white man or otherwise. Invariably, if it is found that in spite of what modern medical science has done it would be impossible for the white man to make any given Colony his permanent home, then one law so far as the rights of the indigenous native goes, is promulgated and held sacred with the veneration of the utmost religious sanctity. But if it comes to this that such parts are suitable for the permanent dwelling of the white man and his family, then we may be sure the principle will be quite different. This has been most forcefully demonstrated by the Author. In the first place, the Land Question in British West Africa is regulated by principles of very high order, and such is the scrupulous exactitude with which the British Government has enforced it that it would be very fresh to recollect what passage of arms took place between Sir HUGH CLIFFORD and the late Lord LEVERHULME just before the decease of the latter. Now, anyone outside the British Empire noting such outright attitude so far as British West Africa is concerned must be struck with the startling differences which he would discover either in South or East Africa.

Now the principle of Native Land Tenure the world over has been most clearly defined and acknowleged by the civilised world. In brief, the attachment of the Native to his land may be summarized by the expression "Take my Land and you take my Life." All lands are invested in the Tribal Authorities and the right of disposal is vested in the Chief whose duty it is to allot suitable lands to members of the community in the relation, not of ownership but of beneficial occupancy.

The relation of the white man in regard to the use of the land of the Native has indeed proved of great advantage to the country and people. Large sums of money have been invested and to-day these Colonies and Dominions have been what they are through the brains and capital of the white man. But whilst this has been so, many abuses have crept in arising from the alienation of lands from native races. This exploitation has been caused by an intense desire to possess either the existing virgin wealth of the surface or sub-surface minerals with its consequent evils and wrongs to the Native.

Our Author has pointed out that "it was the available gold and stones which led to the martyrdom of the Inca Indians, it was the raw rubber of the virgin forest of Africa which led to the enslavement of the Natives in French and Belgian Congo. It was the scintilating gleam of gold in the rock strewn grounds of Matabeleland that forced Sir STARR JAMEISON in his nefarious deed of brutality and shame." Whilst we have admitted that the white man has benefitted these possessions by pouring into them enormous amount of wealth there is on the other hand an important fact to bear in mind and that is "the raw material" of the tropical and sub-tropical regions can be produced only by hands that are black or brown, the legitimate and indeed the only profitable sphere for hands that are white is that of instruction and not production. To study the policy of the British Government in British West Africa, is to arrive at one definite decision which will undoubtedly stimulate admiration of the highest degree of justice and consideration for Native feelings which the scrupulous care of the Government would inspire. But to make a transit to other parts of the Empire, say, the Dominions of South Africa and such places in East Africa as Kenya, Rhodesia and Tanganyika, is to come to the revelation of palpable wrongs done under the majesty of mocked justice and blighted trust. In South Africa we are told that from time immemorial the native tribes have never been in inalienable possession of their lands "every reason, every excuse, every species of chicanry and fraud has been practiced in order to dispossess these people of the lands they have every right to regard as their own . . . . The land policy of South Africa finds no parallel in native policy in any other country in the world. Under the principle of Native Reserves, Nyasaland and Kenya have by legislation fixed certain areas for natives but out of a total population of one million natives in South Rhodesia not more than *ten* were in possession of lands during the hearing of the Rhodesian Case by the Privy Council. It has been pointed out that although by legislation a native may purchase and sell or hold any land upon equal terms with the white man, yet in practice this law is as much a dead letter."

Kenya Colony is a storm centre of controversy because its land policy differs radically from that of other British Crown Colonies. Says our Author:

> "In all its shameful nakedness the policy of Kenya envisaged by Lord Delamere is that the native is not wanted as a wealth producer for Kenya, but as a hired labourer to gather wealth for the immigrant white, and that the shortest and surest route to that objective is by way of dispossessing the native of his land the Natives have not sold their lands, they have not lost them by conquest and they have not forfeited titles through insurrection and rebellion . . . . . The blunt truth is that the natives have lost their title to large areas of their best lands in very much the same way that Naboth lost his vineyard."

This land obsession which appears to have plagued the sense of justice of those responsible for administering justice to the Natives of these British Possessions has been mainly the cause of all the unrest and troubles which has plagued the world for sometime. Even Missionaries were not exempt from this nefarious plunder. Says Archdeacon OWENS, reputed to have been a loyal friend of the native:—

> "After twenty-two years in Uganda and Kenya I can look back on many situations in which I belived at the time I was acting justly, but now know that I was mistaken and mistaken in my own interest. For one thing I cheerfully took over for the Church lands already owned for long generations by Africans and that too without any compensation."

It is such examples that make the educated Africans now and again fidgety and whimsical in his faith in the assurances that are given of unsoiled and disinterested championship of the rights of the untutored and illiterate section of the Community in which he lives. His attitude may not be welcome, he may be regarded as an intruder and every step may be taken to keep him away from any contact with the Chiefs and influential members of the Tribes around.

All such precautions may be alleged to have been taken as safeguards to the interest of the uneducated Native. But with all that Mr. HARRIS has given us of the policy of various Representatives of the British Government in such places where European settlement is possible, it ought to be appreciated why there is so much resentment and protest made by the educated African. The great care which is taken to exclude the Sierra Leonean from participation in any of the plans of the development now being in augurated in the Protectorate could only be explained by what has now been discovered as the cause of the line of action in South and East Africa. Particularly when it is borne in mind that before the proclamation of the Protectorate the two people lived in harmony and mutual helpfulness. There was no cause for suspicion. The Sierra Leonean was helpful to the Protectorate Native. There was much friendliness and even just at the time of the proclamation of the Protectorate it is known that the Government at the time appeared to have been seriously apprehensive of the relation which existed, that the natural attitude which the unofficial members of the Legislative Council took at the time was open to grave suspicion. It becomes a wonder that for such a short space of time the pendulum could have so swung on the other side that the suggestion is being circulated that the Educated African in this Colony looks down on the people of the Protectorate. All we could say is that in different parts of the Empire different propaganda are used to carry out the same purpose—unmolested dominance and unquestionable sway over the rich and prosperous estate of Africa—the Blackman's Country.

WHAT WE THINK.

AFRICAN AND EASTERN CORPORATION.

In spite of adverse trade conditions Mr. J. H. Batty, the chairman of the company, was able to give shareholders at the annual meeting a very encouraging account of the prospects of the company, confirmed by maintenance of the customary dividend at the rate of 8 per cent. per annum. The company is largely interested in manufacturing undertakings in this country and, consequently, suffered from the labour dislocations which overshadowed last year, while the decline in the market value of cotton and other tropical products affected its earning capacity overseas. The value of cotton has been undermined by over-production and the state of China, which has temporarily closed one of the best markets for home textiles. The present low level is, however, encouraging buyers, and the outlook for the main industry of Lancashire is not discouraging. Turning to the prospects of tropical produce, Mr. Batty pointed out that Nigeria exported two grades of cotton—American and native. The latter was of low value, and the Government is experimenting to evolve an improved strain which will command a higher export value. It is believed that such cotton will be found in the strains of improved Ishan selected by the botanist at Ibadan, and as soon as these can be multiplied to a commercial scale it is hoped to bring about a considerable improvement in the cultivation of native cotton. In order to assist the young cotton industry the railway administration is carrying the crop at a nominal rate, while ginning and other charges have also been reduced. By these means it is hoped to maintain the interest of the native cultivator in the growing of cotton in spite of the present low price. The opening up of the country will also be assisted by the policy of adding some 400 miles of roads each year during the next five years and extending the railway system by 100 to 150 miles each season. A new branch of the company's activities was indicated by the attention being given to the cultivation of the oil palm, and if the Government carries into operation the proposal to lease relatively large areas, of, say, 2,000 to 3,000 acres for the formation of plantations on the fringes of the oil palm belt, where oil palms are scarce and the population scanty, the board will take steps to locate suitable areas for cultivation, not only because of their probable profit-earning capacity, but for the educational effect upon the natives, who would soon realise that up-to-date methods of cultivation and extraction lead to larger profits. In the Gold Coast it was unfortunate that the improvement in the value of cocoa did not occur during the period covered by the company's accounts, but the results should be reflected in the profits for the current year. The ramifications of the company are so numerous that while its interests may reflect any setback taking place in the internal trade of this country and in the changing value of tropical produce, its interests are so well distributed and balanced that the accounts should be comparatively free from wide variations in profits, the confidence of shareholders being retained by reasonable dividends, with prospects gradually widened and sustained by capable and enterprising management under the guidance of its distinguished chairman.

During the recent journey through the Congo Sir Maurice Lippens, the former Governor-General of the Colony, who is now in control of some very important industrial companies, such as the new sugar refining company in the Lower Congo, took the occasion to point out some of the new methods devised to attract native labour to their enterprises. The provision of a good hot meal served at midday was a popular initiation, whilst the introduction of various comforts in the arrangement of the workmen's quarters in the tribal villages was another feature. By these novel and creditable methods, says the "Congo Mission News," the company had secured no fewer than 2,000 native labourers, and this number without any services by recruiters. This remarkable result was attained in a region where railway and other works had created an almost critical labour shortage. It is a great object-lesson in various directions, and should be a warning to those interests who are putting pressure on the Belgian Colonial Administrators to undertake what amounts practically to a forced labour recruitment for private enterprises—a subject on which the Government holds a very unfavourable view. Sir Maurice Lippens and his esteemed consort, whose splendid work in providing hospital boats for the Congo has made them beloved amongst the inhabitants of the great Colony, has by his latest fine innovation added largely to his great record as an African administrator.

ITALY AND THE UNION.

The energetic effort made by the leading commercial interests of Italy to establish direct trade relations with the Union under the auspices of their Government culminated recently in the cordial welcome given by Durban to the Italian Trade Exhibition ship "Sistiana." After spending a week at the Natal port city the steamer proceeded to East London, Port Elizabeth, and Cape Town, where the entire exhibition was to be landed for subsequent display in up-country towns. Count Labia, the energetic Consul-General and Minister of the Italian Government at Cape Town, when at Durban during mail week stressed the great importance of strengthening trade relations between the two countries. Italy needed for her ever-increasing industries and population vast quantities of raw material, which South Africa could supply in almost unlimited quantities. "The industrial progress of Italy had already been most remarkable, and the order and discipline of the entire nation," Count Labia said, "was due to the wonderful action of the Fascist Government, under the leadership of our beloved Duce, Benito Mussolini. Everything pointed to the certainty that Italy would continue without stopping in her march of progress." Count Labia's emphatic and significant words will doubtless be considered very seriously by the leading commercial groups of South Africa who desire expansion of business.

THE LAW OF AVERAGES.

Agriculturists throughout the Union are perturbed, and not without reason. No really general rains have fallen since the commencement of the present season, and this prolonged drought has naturally given rise to serious anxiety as to crop prospects. What little rain has fallen in recent months came too late to save the bulk of the mealie crop, and altogether farmers in the Union are going through as difficult a time as they have ever experienced. This state of affairs is the more to be regretted when one remembers the influx of new settlers who have come to try their fortune in the Sub-Continent, and who have had the singular ill-luck to arrive in the country just at the beginning of this extraordinary season. It is a tribute to the grit and determination of these newcomers that very few of them—no more than a few isolated cases, in fact—have "gone under"; the great majority have shown a praiseworthy resolve to take the rough with the smooth, and to see it out until the pendulum swings back. Black as the immediate outlook may appear, the country has weathered worse storms, both economic and political; and, if the law of averages holds good, the present depressing phase will be followed by one of those bounteous seasons which make the Sub-Continent one vast garden, and which will justify the unshaken faith of her sons in a land so richly dowered by Nature.

AFRICANS SEEK AMERICAN HELP

Dr. Hayford, Descendant of African Kings, Comes to Plead for Help in Advancing Civilization Among the Natives

WEST AFRICA is sorely in need of more educational and benevolent agencies, says the Rev. Dr. Mark C. Hayford, who has come to America to present the case of his countrymen and to plead for the financial assistance necessary to the furtherance of the civilizing work to which he has devoted his life. Dr. Hayford, a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, is founder and head of the largest church and mission of native origin on the Gold and Ivory Coasts and is the son of a negro minister. He is also a direct descendant of the line of West African kings.

The church and mission—Baptist in principle but interdenominational in its work—has forty-five stations. Education and sanitation are vital concerns. As a pioneer in the former field, he is the President of the School and Training College, which has been established for "the preparation of men and women for the evangelization and education of the Gold Coast and other parts of West Africa, and for the dissemination of useful knowledge among the masses there." This institution provides for 296 students of all grades, several of whom have already passed the London College of Preceptors' examinations with distinction. The aim is to qualify a number for mission, pastoral and educational work.

The Christian Army.

Some idea of the dearth of educational facilities in that part of the world may be had from the fact that, although on the Gold Coast alone there is a school population conservatively estimated at 300,000, fewer than 40,000 can be taken care of at present. Conditions on the Ivory Coast are even worse. One of the chief objectives of the School and Training College is to save the coming generation from ignorance and disease. The problem of the children of European and African parentage is also an urgent one that demands solution.

Connected with the church and mission of Dr. Hayford is an organization known as the Christian Army of the Gold Coast, which has for its purpose reclamation and benevolent work among the masses. He says that hundreds of thousands live in very insanitary surroundings. The towns are often without underground sewerage of any kind, and have few or no hospitals. There is an alarmingly high death rate, especially among infants in the country regions. According to the best medical estimates, this death rate is between 300 and 400 per 1,000 births. Dr. Hayford has been made a member of the Royal Sanitary Institute and a Fellow of the London Federation of Medical and Allied Services in recognition of his hygienic labors in British West Africa.

Seeks Half a Million.

An endowment of $500,000 is being sought as the minimum needed to insure the future of the School and Training College; $50,000 is needed for a chapel and $55,000 for a home and mission hospital for the sick and destitute. Both President Coolidge and President Doumergue of France have received Dr. Hayford and endorsed his work among his countrymen. King George V sent a message stating that he "more than realizes the remarkable work achieved by him on behalf of the spiritual and material welfare of the people of the Gold and Ivory Coasts of West Africa."

The American endorsers of Dr. Hayford's work include Andrew W. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury; Bishop Manning, Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, Dr. Charles E. Jefferson, George W. Wickersham, George A. Plimpton and Miss Jane Addams.

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A "WHITE" POLICY STIRS AFRICANS

Parliament of the Union Is Called Upon to Solve the "Native Problem"—The Four Native Bills Advocated by the Premier

AT the coming session of the South African Parliament the famous four native bills, introduced by Prime Minister Hertzog, promise to be the most important legislation in the direction of a "white" policy so far enacted by the Union. The bills, which are aimed at the ultimate segregation of the 5,500,000 negroes within certain reservations to be set aside, comprise a comprehensive program for solving the so-called native problem. Under the new legislation, license fees and certain color restrictions would make it difficult or impossible for the natives to receive employment in "white" territory in the future.

Only twenty-five years ago, when one of the Colonial Administrators, G. H. Nicholls, now a member of the Legislative Assembly, went to govern a territory adjacent to the Congo, he found that he was the first white man seen by many of the natives. Despite their seemingly savage condition, Mr. Nicholls discovered they had a developed code of law and a logical system of government. After five years of administration he recorded their enlightenment in the following terms:

"Gradually I saw the change come over them as they came more in contact with economic life. The tone of the villages began to change. The old hospitality of the roads vanished. Chiefs who before had never thought of the value of the food they grew * * * began to demand payments for the slightest help. The returning workers brought back to their simple kraals the economic standards * * * of civilization."

It is alleged that for more than a quarter of a century a policy compelling the natives, by taxation and other devices, to work for Europeans has been maintained; that natives have been absorbed in the agricultural and industrial life of the nation, chiefly in the former. It is now felt that the policy has been a mistake.

The proposed native legislation, which would undo this policy, is set forth in measures known as the Representation of Natives in Parliament bill, the Union Native Council bill, the Colored Persons' Rights bill and the Native Land Act Amendment bill. This legislation follows closely upon the Color Bar act passed last session, the white labor policy and the Natives' Land act of 1913. The last-mentioned act provided for segregation, which is to be carried out under the proposed new legislation.

Fears for the Act.

The Color Bar act, it is asserted, will prevent natives from rising in the industrial scale beyond the most menial position by prohibiting their employment at any process that "receives, transmits or generates natural or artificial power." Finally, there is the white labor policy, which, its opponents assert, is designed to replace all natives in Government employment by Europeans.

Of the four bills the most important is the Land Amendment act. The underlying ideas in it are these: That natives should be allowed to reside outside the scheduled reserves only as servants under the Masters and Servants act, and that squatters (most of the natives on the farms work under this system) are to leave all farms. This is to be effected by means of license fees.

The Representation of Natives in Parliament bill and the Union Native Council bill must be considered together, as they are designed to complement each other. Their underlying principle is that the natives have not yet reached the stage of development when they can be trusted with powers of local government; nor can they be entrusted to elect representatives to Parliament. The franchise enjoyed by the natives in the Cape for the last fifty years is canceled; as a substitute for their former rights, a native Parliament will be set up in which the aspirations of the educated natives may be satisfied. Moreover, they will be given a communal vote by proxy in the Federal Parliament.

Rights of Natives.

Finally, the Colored Persons' Rights bill. This provides for the registration of all natives who desire to become future voters. Education tests will have to be passed, however, before natives are qualified to vote.

The arguments favoring the above legislation are somewhat as follows: Contact between the natives and white population has proved bad for both; it has had a demoralizing effect on the European and has prevented the native from developing along his own particular lines. The natives have set low standards of production, yet because of their cheap labor they constitute the agricultural laboring class of the nation. There is consequently no place for the poor white population in the economic life of the Union, and conditions grow constantly worse. As there are about five and a half million natives, as compared with one and a half million white persons, the potential danger of native domination and an inevitably inefficient civilization exists.

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SOUTH AFRICAN RACE PROBLEM IS AGGRAVATED

Drastic Legislation Aimed at Status and Right of Natives Is Sponsored by Premier

By Lester A. Walton

Proposed drastic legislation aimed at the status and rights of the natives, sponsored by Gen. Hertzog, the Nationalist-Labor Prime Minister, has greatly aggravated the race problem in the Union of South Africa.

How to make and keep the 472,347 square miles within its borders a "white man's country" is the ever-present and disquieting question confronting the Government and the underlying cause of the present controversy.

The dominion has a population of approximately 6,900,000, classified as follows: Natives and colored, 5,400,000; white, 1,500,000. A specific instance of this pronounced numerical disparity is in Rhodesia, a State not in the Union, where out of 1,030,000 persons only 30,000 are white.

Gen. Hertzog's new legislative program is vigorously opposed by the natives who are said to have an ally in Gen. Smuts, leader of the South African Party, and former Premier. He and the present incumbent are bitter opponents.

The race bills to be considered by the South African Parliament during the year prescribe segregation as an effective panacea for racial ills. Natives are given the choice of remaining in white communities or retiring to tribal reservations.

If the native elects to stay among the white people he must accept a well-defined inferior status, becoming either a full-time servant in the employ of a European, or a squatter working half time for a European. In the first instance the employer will be solely responsible for the servant. In the second instance the native will come under the jurisdiction of the Magistrate, who, at the end of each year, has the power either to grant or refuse the applicant a license to remain longer as a "community slave."

In the event the native returns to the tribal reservation all avenues of advancement will be opened. It is proposed to fill all high posts on reservations with blacks.

The Hertzog bills are said to be fated for much rough-sledding. Doubt is expressed as to their passage in the present form. One strong objection to the wholesale withdrawal of natives to tribal reservations is that it would mean the breaking down of the economic life of the dominion from lack of cheap labor.

Disinclination on the part of some to see the natives get possession of choice land already set aside for prospective white migrants also has occasioned opposition to the segregation measures.

A third argument advanced by those unfavorable to Gen. Hertzog's much discussed formula is that any attempt to set up strongly organized native States on the borders of "white" South Africa is charged with dynamite and fraught with serious trouble for the future.

As the natives now enjoy certain vested rights it would be a perilous move to take these privileges from them, is another point raised.

Demand Equality

The blacks are demanding full equality with the whites, asserting that a man's civilization and not his color should be the test of his fitness for citizenship.

Even diamond rushes under Government supervision are of minor importance to the race bills to come before Parliament. An important conference was recently called by the Dutch Reformed Church at Cape Town, which was attended by white people representing various shades of opinion.

America has its race problem but not in acuteness and complexity as the Union of South Africa. The marked difference between one indisposed with a bad cold and another ill in bed with double pneumonia is the analogy that might be drawn.

But the Union of South Africa is a hotbed of conflicting race attitudes. While the natives, who are the aborigines and in the majority, are the chief bone of contention, nevertheless there are other groups who from time to time provoke grave concern.

Throughout the dominion are many thousands who are the offspring of Europeans and natives. They are placed in a separate and distinct division and defined as "colored." The members of this group in some parts of the country enjoy almost the same political and economic privileges as the whites. Many have gone into skilled occupations. They own land, vote and have a higher status than the native. This liberal attitude toward colored people is particularly true in Cape Province.

Hertzog seems to look with a kindly eye on the colored group. He is advocating uniform laws for these descendants of Europeans and natives, and is recommending that legislation be enacted giving them the right to vote in the Transvaal, Natal and the Orange Free State if they choose to leave Cape Province and settle in one of the other states. As the law now operates, a colored person, for instance, loses his franchise if he goes from Cape Province and settles in Natal.

The East Indian

The presence of the East Indian is another contributory factor to racial unrest. East Indians are known in the Union of South Africa as expert tradesmen and in the keen competition so rife on every hand they not infrequently emerge victors. Europeans charge that the standard of living of East Indians is so far below theirs it is extremely difficult to sell their goods at the low prices offered by their dusky rivals.

With a view to protecting the European merchant from what he regards as unwarranted underselling, efforts have been made to segregate the East Indian tradesman in certain areas. Two years ago when agitation was at fever heat over the practicability of passing laws favorable to Europeans, a commission from India was sent to the Union of South Africa to discuss the status of the East Indian.

With the native at present the chief topic for controversial discussion, the wave of hostility against the East Indian has subsided for the time being, but with the battle for trade merrily going on, ill feeling is likely to crop out any moment.

There are scars yet unhealed from the Boer War. And while the Europeans of British descent and the Europeans of Dutch descent have submerged their differences and are jointly working to make the Union all that its name implies, it would be expecting too much for them to possess the same political perspective.

Hence the different political aims are expressed through two major parties—the South African Party and the Nationalist Party. One group favors the continued dominion relationship of Great Britain and the other hopes some day to be an independent sovereign.

The overthrow of Gen. Smuts and his South African Party a few years ago was accomplished by the Nationalist Party forming a coalition with the Labor Party. Gen. Hertzog then became Premier. To adjust racial difficulties by legislation was one of the promises made by the Nationalists as a price for Labor Party support.

Serious Drawback

During Gen. Hertzog's Administration a law has been passed denying the natives the right to engage in skilful occupations. This measure is said to have been inspired by the Labor Party.

A serious drawback faced by the Government is the lack of sufficient industries to keep the European population at work. There is little or no manufacturing. Thousands are engaged in agriculture. Some are tradesmen. In the gold and diamond mines all the common labor is performed by the natives.

In order to earn bread and butter conditions have forced a large portion of the white population into the skilled laboring class. But the supply is greater than the demand, which makes for unemployment.

ABYSSINIAN PRINCES RECEIVE AMERICAN EDUCATION

Washington, April 17.—Aside from his executive duties as vice president of Muskingum College, at New Concord, Ohio, Dr. Howard A. Kelsey, (white) is temporary guardian of three young princes of the ruling house of the Prince Regent, Ras Tafari, of Abyssinia. These princes were enrolled at Muskingum when they first came to this country, where they completed their preparatory courses. The eldest is now enrolled in the school of commerce of Ohio State University; another is in the medical school of the University of Pennsylvania, while the youngest is now a sophomore at Muskingum College. Dr. Kelsey is at present en route to Abyssinia to confer with Prince Ras Tafari concerning the future training of the three young princes.

TRADE UNIONS AND PREMIER'S NATIVE BILLS.

Demand for Withdrawal on Ground of "Unworthiness."

AMSTERDAM, March 24.

The International Federation of Trade Unions has written to the South African Government urging the withdrawal of the four Bills dealing with the native question just introduced in the House of Assembly by General Hertzog, on the ground that "they are unworthy of a State claiming a place among the civilised countries of the world."

Copies of the letter have been sent to the Secretariat of the League of Nations, the International Labour Office, and the British Trade Union Council.—Reuter.

NOTE.—The Bills referred to, among other things, concede the immediate election of seven Europeans to the House of Assembly to represent the natives, propose the creation of a Native Council of 50 members (35 elected and 15 nominated) with deliberative and limited legislative functions, and would further develop the territorial segregation of natives initiated by the Native Lands Act of 1913.

A Reuter Johannesburg telegram reported a few days ago that the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union was endeavouring to mobilise international support for its opposition to the Native Administration Bill (one of the four Bills in question), and had cabled to the Trade Union International at Amsterdam and several British Labour organisations, asking for active co-operation in fighting "this iniquitous measure," the clauses of which are framed "essentially to interfere with the liberty of the subject and aim at preventing native trade union leaders from conducting legitimate propaganda."

Hertzog Cabinet Hits Organization of Negro

CAPE TOWN, April 22.—(FP)—Premier Hertzog's Nationalist cabinet has brought out a bill aimed primarily at the labor union movement among the black workers in British Africa which has raised a storm of protest from all white trade unionists as well. The African Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, of the colored race elements, is affiliated with the Intl. Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam, which has joined the white unions in denouncing the measure.

Under the terms of this bill, the Governor General "may make regulations to prohibit the dissemination by any person of doctrines subversive of peace and good order among natives" in South Africa. It defines the "subversive acts" as including the inciting of natives to "attempt to procure by unlawful methods an alteration of any matter by law established."

Africa No Place For American Negro, It Is Said

(By Emma Lue Sayers)
Pacific Coast News Bureau.

Los Angeles, Cal.—"I would not advise any American born Negro to go back to Africa," Vera Simonton, author of "Hell's Playground" from which the much discussed play, "White Cargo" was dramatized, told the correspondent at the Biltmore Hotel here recently. "The lines between the races are strictly drawn; there are no hotel or rooming house accommodations and while the natives would become them, their primitive customs would be unbearable to the American Negro. It would be slaughter to send them there. Yes," she answered to my question, "every foot of ground in Africa is owned or claimed by some country.

As to female domestic servants, there are none, according to Miss Simonton who is considered an authority on the African, "you always hear the foreign explorers refer to their 'boy' servants. The reason for this is because the morals of the white men are so low the natives refuse to permit their women to work for them."

"The Negroes of America are very loyal to their country; there are no traitors among them and they have no other home," explained Miss Simonton who is known among her intimate friends as "Africanus." "The Negro who has been fortunate enough to leave Africa is done with the country forever. Yes, I am bitterly opposed to mixed marriages for they always mean damnation for both parties concerned."

"I believe in every educational and economic opportunity for the Negro; I have the highest and most sincere respect for them and believe there are no heights which cannot be obtained by them. The younger generation is breaking away from the oppression of other years. They should keep their race pure like the Chinese and Japanese; the past is past, but the present and future can be controlled. There is no folk lore like the Negro spirituals. Negroes can and should write about people other than themselves; brains cannot be controlled."

"I would not be ashamed of the use of the word "Negro" or "Ethiopian"; they both mean black, but I hate the word 'nigger.' In Africa it is worth a person's life to call a free man 'nigger,' which means slave."

Miss Simonton is leaving here this week for a tour of the world and is paying California her first visit. "This climate is so wonderful, I wonder why the whole East doesn't move here," she said. She is gathering material for a new book, "The Great White Eye, which is a story of the Ju-Ju (hoodoo) Portuguese Angola of West Africa. Miss Simonton was born in Pittsburgh of Pennsylvania Dutch and English extraction; she is a public lecturer for the Board of Education of the state of New York and has written the following books: "Thumbnail History of the West Coast of Africa;" "Life and Customs of the Savages of Central Africa"; "Housekeeping in Savage Africa;" "Christianity vs. Mohammedanism in Africa;" "My Experiences in the Canary Islands" and others.

SOUTH AFRICA'S GREATEST PROBLEM.

No country has been more richly endowed by Nature than South Africa, and, on the other hand, no country has been confronted with greater and more intricate problems upon the satisfactory solution of which the ultimate destiny of the Dominion depends. And, as Sir Abe Bailey in his masterly speech at Queen's Town reminded the people, the greatest problem of all is that of the native. In comparison all the other troubles which at times appear to threaten Africa with disaster pale into insignificance. Such being the case, a policy of procrastination would be fatal, and for that reason General Hertzog is deserving of the admiration of all for his bold attempt to solve this burning question and for his courage in forcing discussion on the key to South African politics. Sir Abe Bailey, at the risk of being misunderstood, and of the consequent possible sacrifice of political prestige, was among the first to rally to the support of the Prime Minister, prompted, as he tells us, by fear of the native and with a keen desire to play for safety by protecting the economical and political interests of South Africa. Gravely he warns us that to waver now will be to rue the future, and the whole white races will eventually lose control of the destinies of South Africa. At the same time, while advocating stringent measures for the protection of the white man, Sir Abe Bailey is a rigid opponent of any policy of repression. No one, in fact, appreciates more than he the nature of our trusteeship over the native races, but he believes in facing facts, for which reason he contends that in whatever policy we pursue "the iron hand must be there, but for the native to feel the embrace of the velvet glove." It is essentially a case for a united front, and the urgency of the question demands that matters of comparatively secondary importance, such as that of the Flag controversy, should not be permitted to obscure the real issue governing the future of the country, which is the Native Problem.

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Notes At Random.

(by P.)

As the result of the retirement of Mr. John Pears Murray O. B. E. who was Deputy Resident Commissioner and that of Mr. Edward D'Urban Blyth T.S O. who was Assistant Commissioner at Mafeteng, there have been many promotions and transfers in the Basutoland Service. With the exception of two districts the remaining five have been affected and in some even the police officers have been transferred which to my mind makes it very difficult for the two newcomers to adapt themselves to the condition of affairs in their new district except what they can glean from the interpreters and others whose information is very often biassed against certain chiefs and certain individuals with whom they may have fallen out for reasons known to themselves during the transferred chiefs' administration. There may be of course reasons why such an unusual course has been adapted but for various reasons I do not think it a right course to pursue in every instance. The affairs of a district are an intricate problem for one to have a working understanding of them in the course of a couple days or so as is the practice nowadays for one Assistant Commissioner to hand over to his successor in a day or two and this is the reason why I think the two administrative heads of a district should not be transferred at the same time.

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While on the question of these transfers, I am reminded of a question I was asked by one of my friends who seemed to expect that I was in the confidence of those who controlled transfers of officials of the Government. He asked me why interpreters are never transferred in the same way as others officials. I told him that I had seen that done once or twice during over forty years since the Imperial Government took over Basutoland and that with the exception of these two instances I have known interpreters who have been in one place since I was a little boy remain and die in one place or are retired without ever heaving been transferred even temporarily to another place. My friend expressed surprice at this and stated that there was no wonder that there was so much talk about the doings of some of these interpreters. He commended the thoughtful practice of the Government in bringing about these transfers as a protection to its officials against probable favouritism that is, preference of one chief or individual to another chief or individual born of long acquaintance and residence with them.

Alas! how true is this observation It is is a part of human nature to like or dislike, love or hate. Government officials are no exception to the rule. A close observer coming to one of the Government offices and simply loitering about with his eyes open and watching the warious people who came to see the Assistant Commissioner, will soon find out what people are in the good graces of the interpreter and and who are not. Those are liked or loved have the preference in everything and it would expecting too much from the interpreter if we did expect him to treat everyone alike who came to see the A.C. There are those whom he has learned to like or to love and those whom he has learned to dislike or to hate. In the long period of years he has worked amongst them some have done him favours and others have not, and as everyone knows favours go a long way to create friendship and it is humnan nature that every being should do his level best for his friend and to use his influence with those above him in favour of his friend. The public are not blind to the fact that that interpreters in this country exercise a great influence with the A C's and that some of them will even tell you beforehand what the A.C's reply will be on any matter that one has come to see him about. This is of course the result of the bad practice of interpreters wishing or demanding to hear from you what you want to see the A C about and then going in and discussing the matter with the A.C. before you have had time to lay it before him in person. So when you come in it is only to repeat what has already been told him by interpreter in his own way and as soon as you are finished you get a cut and dried reply and you wonder at the cleverness or stupidity of the A.C. according as to how his reply affects you. This is done daily.

—:O:—

One other remarkable thing about these interpreters which is born of their long residence at one place is want of sympathy with the people who come to the Government offices Illiterate people from outside villages come with a letter containing a money or a postal order which he or she has been told by the remitter to take to "lekhotla" to have the same cashed. Knowing of only one such place they present the papers to the interpreters and at one glance he or she told that the papers are not for that office and this is said often in no soft tones. The poor man or woman wonders where then was this "lekhotla!" enquiring from this one and that one where was the other "lekhotla" until he or she strikes upon someone who knows and the post office which is not many doors from that of the interpreters is reachad. Now this appears to be a trivial matter but it is being spoken about by the people against the lack of sympathy by the native officials in general and interpreters in particular For their sakes and for the sake of the Government we think it would be a wise policy to extend the transfer system to interpreters. It has been done in the police service with good results why not in the establishment?

The question of the suppression of the sale of kafirbear is again to the fore. Quite resently, the Paramount Chief has had messengers out to see Law No. 21 was being properly carried out and that where they found any beer shops to raze them to the ground So far we have not yet heard the report of these messengers but where we live they seem to have fulfilled their orders although there are those who question whether they did not exceed them. This question is of a far-reaching nature and its importance does not seem to be gauged by many of those who talk so easily about it. The other day we read in the newspapers that Finland which has been "dry" for some time has at last found that the policy was a pernicious one inasmuch as it tended to introduce an atmosphere of hypocricy and falsehood, and that it undermind the foundations of the community. How true that is! The Paramount Chief and the Government have closed their ears but that is useless because it will not prevent the people from saying their say. We hope to write at some length on this question in one of our subsequent issues.

THE VISIT OF THE HONOURABLE W. G. A. ORMSBY-GORE TO WEST AFRICA.

THE ACCOUNT OF HIS STEWARDSHIP.

It is significant that hitherto the Sierra Leone Press has not passed in review the report of the Hon. W. G. A. ORMSBY-GORE, on his visit to the West African Colonies. Perhaps it were better that the first impression of his views in certain portion of the report was allowed to subside so that the whole situation may be viewed with a balanced perspective and in an atmosphere congenial to clear vision. It is certain knowledge that long between the interval when the proposal was first made that the Under-Secretary of State should visit the West African Colonies and the time it actually took place, the reputation had preceded him that West Africa was to be honoured with a man of tender sympathy, balanced judgment and wise discernment. So that the eagerness of the people had reached a high pitch when it was possible to carry out the proposal. It is now a matter of history that Mr. ORMSBY-GORE was accompanied by three other gentlemen, the Hon. C. A. U. RHYS, M P., and Mr. J. E. W. FLOOD and Mr. A. BEVIR of the Colonial Office. The visit which was described by Mr. ORMSBY-GORE as "an extremely brief tour," covered a duration of three months during which intricate problems affecting the four West African Colonies of the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Nigeria were tackled.

We say this was an impossible feat. The space of three months in our judgment was not enough to study the problems of any one of the three greater Colonies and we are not surprised that the report of the visit was to a great extent the chronicling of second hand informations derived from officials on the spot, and which tended to detract from the merit of the reputation of the Honourable gentleman we referred to above. All the same we are free to state that whether first hand information or second the report has presented, in a succint and convenient form for reference, a collection of important informations; further it has brought rather prominently some very important problems for consideration and has confirmed certain opinions which had been arrived at as also revealed the fact that the British West African Colonies with all their drawbacks are not collection of jungles where barbarism is rife and ignorance is bliss so that salvation of the people indigenous of the soil may be left absolutely in the hands of those who claim to lead and teach them. On the contrary, there are signs of growing intelligence and the assurance that the people are trying to think for themselves. We are not disposed to be hypercritical and we say quite frankly that the views expressed on the matter of Transport development, Agriculture, Medical and Sanitary services and Native administration are on the main sound and practical. Outside these important topics, we bear in mind that the reporter has clearly laid it down that the views expressed are purely personal and that they do not bind anyone but himself. All the same coming from such a responsible source it must be regretted if such views are hastily formed, without sufficient data or if such views are tinged with any bias or wear the aspect of not being original.

On the question of Federation, it is the judgment of Mr. ORMSBY GORE that what has proved so very successful in French West Africa, the federation of the eight French West African Colonies, may not prove the same in British West Africa and the reason given is that the four British Colonies are geographically isolated, and their characteristics and needs are by no means identical . . . and that the fact was hardly mentioned to him." This latter opinion has not impressed us; there were so many matters of importance affecting the interests of the several Colonies not mentioned, because amongst other reasons, the time at the disposal of the Under-Secretary was so limited, besides, it was not given to any and everyone to see him who might have wished to express their views to him. Speaking for the Colony of Sierra Leone the arrangement for having interviews was strictly limited. But we think it would be to the advantage of the people of the soil if federation was acceptable; there are many matters which are being dealt with already as though the several Colonies were federated. Perhaps it would tend to better continuity of polices and to the solution of the unemployment problem. At present whilst it is the vogne that European Civil Service officers are transferred on promotion from one Colony to another, the position of the African is strictly insular with limitations absolutely confined to their own Colonies. We have no doubt that federation will come at the end: the developments which are proceeding so rapidly will render such idea of unification desirable just in the same way as at present periodic conferences appear to commend themselves to official minds.

We hope we may be allowed to express ourselves sceptical of these conferences as they are at present constituted. Whilst the doors are bolted and barred against other than the official personnel, whilst not even European unofficial judgment is reckoned as desirable to the arrival of sound issues, there will always be this bias militating against more liberal and effective opinions calculated to enhance the progress of the Colonies.

The views of the Under-Secretary of State respecting the influence of the climate on the health of Europeans will perhaps for the present settle that matter which up to recently has been agitating the minds of those interested in the development of the Colonies. "West Africa," Mr. ORMSBY-GORE states, 'is not a country fit for permanent European settlement and is therefore differentiated from other tropical countries in which a man can make a home for his wife and children, at any rate in their early years. . . . . The European can at best be only a sojourner for a succession of comparative short periods.' Much has been said and written about the insalubrity of the climate of West Africa and Mr. ORMSBY-GORE has mentioned some of the contributory causes.

Whilst we do not intend to minimise the effect which the lack of adequate supply of fresh and varied food, of proper housing conditions and all the rest of it, make on health conditions, the fact remains that much of the fatality experienced in the early days were due to irregular mode of living which included hard drinking particularly when it was the vogue of "a regular ration of a bottle of brandy per man per day." British West Africa owe a great deal to the ingenuity of Sir RONALD ROSS and Sir PATRICK MANSON for the great warfare against malaria. In spite of rank scepticism in most unexpected quarters, the death rate of European officials has fallen from 20·6 per thousand in 1903 to 12·8 per thousand in 1924, whilst the invaliding rate has dropped from 65.1 to 21.7 per thousand in the same period. Whilst we do not intend to contradict what has been stated about the effect of the climate on Government officials yet it is strange that the same result does not seem to attend Europeans in other walks of life for example, the Merchant seem to or rather appears to endure the havocs of the climate better than those in the Government and as for Missionaries they with the minimum of comfort do longer tours of service and yet appear to show more resisting force than the average Government official. This goes as an additional evidenee to show that it all depends how life is conducted in West Africa and in that matter even in England as on the West Coast of Africa there is danger attending reckless living.

TELEGRAPHIC INTELLIGENCE.

Thursday 12th.

Sir Graeme Thomson, dealing with the progress of Nigeria, foreshadowed the establishment of an African medical service, which would, however, take time to develop. Meantime, it was essential to develop the African auxiliary service and to open the ports to traders; he also emphasized the necessity, in view of the spread of education, of teaching the natives English and enable the Northern natives to do their own jobs and allowing the Southerners to return to their own territories. Sir Graeme further stressed the urgency of construction of oil-mills to enable the Nigerian natives to meet the Dutch East Indian competition. He deplored letting a number of plantations on lease not so much for the benefit of companies as to give the natives an ocular demonstration of the importance of improved methods of agriculture, taking care to safeguard the natives interests.

The Colonial Conference discussed the proposal to create a common corps of research workers and experts. Two rival aspects emerged in the discussion, firstly, a common corps for the whole Colonial Empire, and secondly, the grouping of various colonies where local conditions are similar. This question is to be referred to a committee.

Tuesday 17th.

At the dinner of the British Empire League, Sir Gordon Guggisberg emphasized most strongly that Africa wanted only the best England could give her. He deprecated forcing Western civilisation on African countries and advocated the development of African civilisation by bringing them gradually into line with Western civilisation; similarly that education should be adapted on the conditions of the countries, and declared that the natives sent to home universities were simply Europeanised and returned neither fish, flesh, nor good red herring.

Mr. Ormsby-Gore stressed that the secret for the wide development of the colonies was agricultural progress; he hoped the first step coming out of the conference would be to unite the various peoples in the utilization of the land.

OPPOSITION TO THE PREMIER'S NATIVE BILLS.

Call to Chiefs to be Up and Doing.

BLOEMFONTEIN, April 18.

General Hertzog's Native Bills are probably better understood by the natives than by the Europeans of South Africa. Native opinion is, indeed, now more coherent and better organised than it has ever been. A conference of chiefs, which is sitting here is noteworthy in this respect. A striking presidential speech by the Rev. J. R. Mahabane, President of the African National Congress, called on the chiefs to be up and doing, to close their ranks, and to stand as one man for the cause of their people.

Mr. Mahabane said that the legislation of the Smuts Government and General Hertzog's present Bills meant that there was "no place for the non-European in the Legislative Chambers of the land, no voice nor vote for him in shaping the destinies of this land and in determining its fate, no part nor share for the black man in the management and control of its affairs." The land question was the crux of the problem. Mr. Mahabane declared that 5,000,000 Bantu had 14 per cent. of the land and 1,500,000 Europeans 86 per cent. He declared that segregation would only be satisfactory if the land distribution were 50 per cent. on each side of the colour line.—"The Times."

Race Problem - 1927

THE GOLD COAST RAILWAY, 1926-7.

THE 1926/7 Report of the Gold Coast Railway is the first to be signed by Mr. R. H. Dawson as General Manager. The outstanding event of the year was, of course, the opening of part of the Central Province Railway, which increased the mean mileage operated from 394 to 482, and might have increased it yet more had not industrial difficulties in England delayed the completion of the Birrim River Bridge. The survey of the alternative routes for the proposed extension beyond Kumasi are well in hand, and that of the eastern route gives a mileage of 350 from Kumasi to Navarro.

Capital expenditure during the year was £248,796, of which £41,097 was advanced from revenue, making the total capital to date £8,297,938. The face value of loans raised amounted to £7,801,359, and total advances from revenue to £898,668, the average interest and sinking fund charges being 4.8 per cent. and .90 per cent.

The gross receipts were £1,156,453, an increase of £54,152 over 1925/6, while the receipts from all sections—coaching, goods, and sundries—were "records." The working expenditure amounted to £572,882, which, in spite of increased mileage and of increased provision for renewals, was only £4,870 more than in 1925/6, and represents 49.54 per cent. of the gross earnings, as against 51.53 per cent. The renewals contribution was £100,523, and the balance at the end of the year £238,907. The estimated annual contribution needed for wasting assets is £148,182, or only £200 more than last year, and still appears to be calculated by writing off a constant percentage of the diminishing value of the assets, while the actual contributions are again stated to include not only the £100,523 to the Renewals Fund, but also the annual provision of £77,003 to the loan sinking fund. Clearly, the last-named cannot serve both for loan reduction and for provision against depreciation. The net earnings amounted to £583,571, or an increase of £49,282, representing 7.03 per cent. on the capital, as compared with 6.64 per cent. in 1925/6, and after deducting loan charges of £451,724 and a pensions bill of £13,645, £118,202 was handed over to the Treasurer.

The number of passengers carried, excluding half a million Achimota workmen, was 1,452,915, the decrease in numbers being more than compensated by an increase in the average journey, so that the receipts rose from £214,703 to £224,031. How seriously motor competition affected the Accra line may be seen from the fact that the decreases in passengers from Accra, Nsawam, and Koforidua amounted to 19,841, 16,614, and 14,136 respectively, and since the revenue from goods was also affected it is evident that serious consideration will have to be given to the question of rates. The total goods tonnage carried was 805,630, and the revenue earned £894,220, or increases of 8,370 tons and £43,982. Cocoa railed amounted to 149,189 tons, and yielded £423,867 in revenue. The amount carried by the Sekondi line showed an increase of 13,821 tons, chiefly from stations north of Dunkwa, while on the Accra line there was a decrease of 14,913 tons, or about 19 per cent., entirely owing to motor competition, which also affected the transport of general merchandise. The manganese tonnage was 394,079, an increase of 21,552, and the revenue earned £141,238, while the next most important revenue-producing commodities were provisions and fish, £40,940, and spirits, £32,538, both of which were slightly lower than in 1925/6. The carriage of local foodstuffs has showed little change since 1912, when the first part of the Accra line was opened, but the markets show that this is probably due to the use of other means of transport. The average length of haul for goods has increased from 54 to 57 miles, and the train-loads from 98 to 105 tons, which seems to show that the extra hauling capacity now available is not yet being fully used.

In the first half-year of the Central Province Railway, 4,906 tons were carried, the chief items being timber, 2,06- tons, and cocoa, 1,699 tons. Of the last-named, 1,028 tons came from Nyenase, and merely reduced the quantity formerly railed from Huni Valley, while the cocoa from Foso and Oda still finds its way by motor lorry to Winneba, Cape Coast, and Saltpond. Although the tonnage is at present small, it must be remembered that cocoa farms cannot spring up along the railway at a moment's notice, but the coaching figures, 66,465 passengers, receipts £9,294, show that the line is already proving useful.

The general working of the Railway proceeded smoothly during the year, and the total cost of maintenance was reduced from £250 to £235 per mile. The deviations on the Sekondi line were completed and the Sekondi-Tarkwa section is reported to be better than it has ever been, although it is on the worst natural formation and carries most traffic. Transfer to the new workshops at Sekondi was effected during the year, and the benefit is seen in many directions, the number of engine failures, in particular, falling to one in 36,249 miles, or practically half the ratio of the previous year. Time has shown that electric welding does not turn old plant into new, although it still effects considerable savings. A shortage of coke restricted the foundry output, and consequently hampered work in many directions, but the transfer to the new workshops also helped to reduce the output. Much new plant and machinery was installed, and 596 vehicles were repaired at Sekondi and Accra, the decrease of 25 per cent. on 1925/6 being largely due to the fact that more light repairs had been done outside the shops. The foundry turned out 134 tons of castings, and the blacksmiths' shop dealt with 16,693 articles, while 496 logs of African timber were cut up in the sawmill. The electric light and power output increased by 11.3 per cent. chiefly through increased Government needs, the total Board of Trade units being 748,691, of which about one-sixth was for lighting. Private consumers used only 33,695 units for lighting and 2,561 for power, with 18,000 units for street lighting. The locomotive mileage increased by over 4 per cent, to 1,196,211, and in spite of larger train-loads and the use of Udi coal the cost per mile fell by about a fifth of a penny. The Stores dealt with receipts and issues of £148,096 and £160,453 respectively, at a cost equal to 5.16 per cent. of the issues, and there was stock on hand of £74,643 at the end of the year. Local purchases amounted to £71,838, of which £65,035 represented 30,264 tons of Udi coal.

The training of Africans continued to progress. The apprentice platelayers showed improvement, and two African foremen had been appointed to sections usually supervised by Europeans. At Accra, the Railway Training School had given instruction in train-running, telegraphy, booking, etc., with satisfactory results, and first-aid classes had been held at Accra, Sekondi, and Kumasi by the medical department. Printing and book-sewing were taught in the printing branch, which had turned out 868,000 forms, 5,600 books, and nearly 2½ million passenger tickets.

It will be seen that the Railway is now in a position to cope with all demands upon it, but that for the shorter hauls it has proved unable to compete with motor transport, even where road maintenance has been deliberately neglected, and where, as from the centres served by the Central Province Railway, the motor termini are at ports vastly inferior to Sekondi. What the policy of the future is to be is not indicated in the report, although Sir Gordon Guggisberg gave fairly plain hints last year, but the only one that is fair to local industry seems to be, after taxing motor transport at a rate commensurate with the cost of upkeep of roads, etc., to reduce railway charges to competitive rates, or, if this cannot profitably be done, to remember that the cheapest transport is the best for production.

NIGERIA LETTER.

An Opportunity for Women.

Although the place that West African women now occupy in trade is not what it was, it is still large enough to prove their general capability, and the more recent growth of their direct interest in public affairs has become noteworthy, especially in Lagos. Such interest, however, tends to become pedantic when confined to the drawing up of petitions, etc., but the President of the Lagos Town Council has thrown out a suggestion giving educated women an opportunity of real public service. Although the infantile mortality rates for April and May last were 139 and 181 per 1,000 respectively, there were only four women health workers in a population estimated at 120,330, and since these four made 624 visits during May alone, it is evident that they are fully occupied. Although there is certainly room for the employment of more paid workers by the Council, the task is one which in other countries is undertaken by voluntary lady helpers. It is harder and less pleasant than coming into the limelight occasionally in aid of charitable funds, but in view of the interest that Lagos women have evinced in public matters, it is surprising that hitherto so little voluntary help has been forthcoming in one of the most pressing needs of Lagos and of the country in general.

The Employment of Prison Labour.

The danger of employing prisoners in sanitary or other work in the compounds of private houses has been demonstrated by a burglary at the bungalow of the Inspector of Prisons at Ikoya, for the arrest made in connection with the case was that of a recently liberated prisoner who had visited the house while with a prison gang, and so had become familiar with its general plan. The danger becomes the greater through the building of "type" bungalows, which enables intending thieves to study one or two houses and then to generalise their knowledge. This does not, of course, help them greatly in their search for valuables, but practically anything portable is worth their while, and standardised construction greatly increases their chances of getting away in safety.

Food Production.

The rumour circulated early this year that food was likely to be scarce in many parts of the Northern Provinces seems to have been well founded, for guinea corn has doubled in price, and in Katsina it is reported that the Native Administration is assisting the people by supplying rice at cost price. In areas within reach of the railway, of course, there have been considerable imports of gari, yams, and palm-oil from the Southern Provinces, but, as officials in many of the Southern districts know well, this internal has often to be paid for later on by an earlier "hungry season" in the food producing districts themselves, and it is evident that unless the cultivation of food plants receives more active encouragement the exports abroad must ultimately suffer from internal competition, to say nothing of the danger to the population that, as has been proved in French and Belgian Africa, can arise from malnutrition alone, without the aid of the epidemics that are its natural accompaniment. The immediate cause of the Nigerian food shortage is, of course, ascribed to unfavourable weather conditions, but a more definite policy of food production and conservation would at least minimise rapid alternations between plenty and famine.

Correspondence

Crushing Haiti

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: President Borno has been "reforming" our constitution. Twelve articles have been modified and thirteen suppressed, which amounts to the suppression of the constitution itself. All the principles on which modern government is based have been eliminated. There are no more constitutional guaranties for the freedom of the press, the jury, and popular election. Everything is left to the executive power, who, through the domesticated Council of State, now can enact all sorts of laws, without any fear that the Supreme Court will rule them unconstitutional. The Supreme Court itself has also been domesticated. The chief justice and the judges will be appointed by the President for five years instead of for life. Mr. Borno will be the only judge in the Republic of Haiti, the Supreme Court losing the right to declare a law contrary to the constitution. All the city councils are abolished, thus municipal life will be extinct in Haiti.

The most interesting feature of Borno's constitutional reform is that he can be reelected for a six-year third term. Thus he expects to remain fourteen years in power. And General Russell is returning to Haiti in September to organize the farcical plebiscite by which the Haitian people must ratify the constitutional reform of his pupil, Louis Borno.

Port au Prince, June 14 P. THOBY,
Administrateur Délégué, Union patriotique d'Haïti

South African Leader in London



CLEMENTS KADALIE (third from left), national secretary of the Industrial Commercial Workers' Union of South Africa, photographed on the terrace of the House of Commons with (l. r.) H. Snell, George Lansbury, both members of the House of Parliament, and Arthur Henderson. Mr. Kadalie is on a lecture tour in the interest of the Union.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

West African Students.

The latest issue (March and June) of the West African students' magazine "Wasu" fully maintains the high standard of the previous issues. The present issue is a record that the second issue was in such request as to exhaust the supply. It was well received in South, as well as in West, Africa, in Great Britain, and several Continental countries, and in India and the Far East. Letters of appreciation and congratulation have come from the negroes of America. In fact, the magazine may be said to have "caught on," and gone a good distance along the road to becoming established as a permanent feature of the activities of West African students in this country. The editor, Mr. J. B. Danquah, LL.B. (who contributes a poem on "Achimota"), and his sub-editors can be relied upon to keep it at the level of its opening numbers. The first item of the contents of the present issue is a list of the scholastic honours gained by West African students since the publication of the issue of December last, the most striking of which is the Fellowship of the "John Simon Guggenheim Foundation," of the United States, granted to Mr. Nicholas Ballanta. The Foundation awarded a total of 143,000 dollars to sixty-three American scholars and artists. Mr. Ballanta, who is a native of Freetown, studied music in America, where his compositions attracted the attention of the leading musical authorities. He spent a large part of last year in travelling through West Africa studying the indigenous musical systems and recording aboriginal songs and music. The Fellowship, which carries a stipend of 2,500 dollars, is intended to enable Mr. Ballanta to continue his "scientific studies of the musical conceptions of the West African peoples and a comparison of these conceptions with the musical conceptions of the older systems of music in Europe." Mr. Ballanta is carrying out the work which Coleridge-Taylor was meditating when his career was untimely cut short. Among the present West African students is a talented musician, Mr. J. W. de Graft Johnson (a sub-editor of "Wasu"), who gives promise of doing good work when his musical training is more advanced. The coming years should see negro music represented by something much higher than jazz; something on the level of the "Spirituals," but more imbued with pure African musical idioms and tonality.

Post-Graduate Work.

In the Editorial Notes attention is called to the advantage and importance of post-graduate work. It is probably more the fault of parents and guardians than of the students themselves that so few of them continue their studies after graduation. The parents or guardians, having made considerable sacrifice to enable their child or ward to obtain a certain qualification, are naturally anxious for him to put it to practical use, and to give them a return on their investment as soon as possible. Very few have any appreciation of the value of "culture" apart from professional qualifications, but suppose that the capture of such a qualification to practise a lucrative profession is the aim and end of education. As the editors write—"It is too often tragic to think how many brilliant young students return home without taking advantage of the rich store of knowledge which European and American Universities provide beyond the ordinary first degree, or, as is more often the case, the qualifying professional examinations." They suggest that every West African student should undertake two or three years' research work in addition to the normal course. It would be a great advantage to themselves and their country if they were to broaden their culture by taking up the study of some subject or science outside their profession in order to widen their outlook, strengthen their grasp of the problems raised by the quickly changing conditions of West Africa, and to better qualify them for the leadership of their people to which their superior education calls them. Another way in which good post-graduate work can be done is by informing the British public on African laws and customs. Excellent work in this line is being done by Mr. Ladipo Solanke, M.A., B.C.L., LL.B., Vice-President of the Union, who delivered twenty addresses to various British organisations during the first quarter of the year.

The Articles.

Other outstanding items in the contents are an Appreciation of Mr. Casely Hayford, M.B.E., who has been elected the first Patron of the Union; "A Glimpse of Yoruba Civilisation," by Julius Ojo Cole; and "The Customary Constitution of the Yoruba Commonwealth," by Ladipo Solanke.

These are good examples of the work lying to the hands of the rising generation. As I wrote when reviewing the December issue of the magazine, the best interpreters of Africa to the world are the educated Africans, who add to appreciation of African customs derived from their intimate contact with them as members of groups subject to them, the power of analysis and comparison given by a European training. Mr. Solanke is thus enabled to correct the common European error of regarding the African social systems as a kind of feudalism. Under the feudal system the land of the country belonged to the monarch, who parcelled it out among his followers in consideration of their providing fighting men for his service. Under the African system the land is vested in the group, every member of which is entitled to a portion sufficient to provide shelter and food. The one was a military organisation for defence and offence, the other is a co-operative association for the maintenance of the group. The feudal society was an army, with definite gradations of rank, leading to "sharp distinctions giving rise to an aristocracy of wealth or birth, tantamount to a caste system." On the other hand "the African land system has . . . avoided landlordism and extreme aristocracy. . . . A landlord class is inconceivable under the system, and no one could be left unemployed." It is to be hoped that students of other groups will furnish studies of their customary laws as seen from the African point of view.

W. F. H.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE SUDAN.

"Remarkable Progress."

In a dispatch to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations relating to Slavery in the Sudan (published as Miscellaneous, No. 1 (1927), Cmd. 2873, price 1d.), Sir John Maffey, the Governor-General of the Sudan, says that "the progress made in abolishing slavery in the Sudan has been remarkable. Slave-raiding is a thing of the past, and the various forms of 'domestic slavery' have undergone such rapid adjustment to new ideas that the term, broadly speaking, is hardly justified. A gradual merger of races is taking place, and the policy of not forcing the pace unduly has been completely justified."

As a result of the inquiries made by a Special Commissioner appointed by his predecessor (Sir Geoffrey Archer), the Governor-General has arrived at the following conclusions:—

(a) Slavery in the provinces north of Khartoum is moribund. The number of domestic slaves still living with their masters has been rendered insignificant, chiefly as the result of the publicity given to the possibilities of freedom and the increased opportunities for independent employment offered by various works that have been taken in hand by the Government and private enterprise.

(b) In the extreme south, that is to say in Bahr-el-Ghazal, Mongalla, and Upper Nile provinces, slavery may be said to be non-existent, as no slave-owning communities exist there.

(c) In one or two of the central provinces, notably Kordofan and Kassala, the progress of manumission has not been so rapid as might have been desired.

The matter of slavery in these two provinces has been taken up with the Governors concerned, and I have every reason to anticipate that the rate of manumission will be accelerated.

Gleanings

RACE QUESTION IN SOUTH AFRICA

The contact of the white man with the native in the industrial field goes back to the beginnings of our industries. As soon as the superior force of the white man had established peace and security in the country, the native turned his attention from war to labor.The Europeans were few in number, and, both from habit and the exigencies of the climate, were averse to manual labor. In the native they found a man of strong physique, docile to authority, whose material wants were few. The two fell as if by nature into the roles of master and servant. Before the discovery of the diamond mines of Kimberly and the gold mines of the Witwatersrand, the demand for labor was but small and those natives who came to work on the white man's farms were not subjected to any serious break with their ancestral conditions. But with the opening up of the mines, South Africa passed by rapid transition from a primitive pastoral state to one of highly developed industry. Thousands of natives were required for the rough manual work of the mines and the industries which sprang up around them, and the lure of money and the luxuries which it could buy was a powerful attraction. From the employer's point of view, the native had many advantages as a laborer. He was easily trained, had an ingrained respect for the authority of a white man, and he worked under indenture, breach of which was punishable by law. Above all he was cheap. Coming to work as he did, and still to a great extent does, only as an interlude in his tribal life, he could be housed in barracks or compounds, and his requirements as to food, and clothing were of the simplest. His wage therefore, was far below what a white man, living under civilized conditions, could possibly accept.

It is on this basis—namely, that all unskilled labor is performed by natives under the conditions described—that the mining industry of the country has been built up; and today the mines of the Witwatersrand employ over 180,000 of them. Other industries have adopted the same principle as far as they could.

Three results have recently forced themselves on public attion. One is that the supply of native labor is inadequate for all industrial requirements. Another is that the growing class of natives who cut themselves adrift from their tribal homes and settle with their families in towns and industrial centers give rise to a very serious problem in regard to housing, because their wage is inadequate to enable them to provide for housing themselves under civilized and sanitary conditions. The other is that there has grown up among the Europeans a class of "poor whites," as they are called—men who are unfitted for any occupation but that of unskilled or manual labor but who cannot get it in competition with the native at the wage which the native accepts. Outside the field of unskilled labor, also, the native is beginning to come into competition with the European and here again his docility in the hands of the white employer and the low wage which he is prepared to accept, give him advantages which tell heavily against the superior skill and intelligence of the European.

The writer has attempted to present a general view of the contacts, political and industrial which have been and are being established in South Africa between the European and the native. Slowly but inevitably, under the pressure of the white man's civilization, the native is becoming conscious of himself as an element in the community. Tribal barriers are breaking down. He is learning to organize himself industrially and politically, to realize his importance and to lay claim to what he regards as his rights. We mus now see on what lines the European's policy, both in politics and industry, is adapting itself to meet his claim. Agains this can only be done in broad outline.

Underlying all the ideas of the European as to his relations with the native is the fundamental proposition that South Africa is to be a "white man's country," if not in the sense that its inhabitants shall be in number predominately white, at any rate that its destinies shall be guided by his race and along the lines of European civilization. For the practical politics of today this may be taken as an axiom universally accepted. There is not here, as there is in India, a rival civilization, rooted in the soil, with a vital spirit of its own. Here the European represents civilization as against barbarism. Based on this fundamental propositio there are three main lines of poli , each of which has its advocate , and all of which from time to time, alternately or together, have combined to influence public policy in South Africa.

Of these three lines of policy the first may generally be described as that of repression. This policy adopts as its guiding principle, "no equality in church or state," or, "the native must be kept in his place." The native is an inferior being, so be treated with fairness and humanity, but never allowed to aspire beyond his inferior status. His labor is an "asset" to the country, but the laborer himself must not use it so as to establish for himself an independent status. It must be used by the white man in strict subordination to his own ends. Political rights are denied. Carried to its logical conclusion this policy refuses to recognize the native or the colored man as a full member of the community. It goes back for its idea to the institutions of slavery or serfdom. The man of the subject race is denied the principles of citizenship, restricted in regard to his place of residence and movements, and confined by law, as regards his labor, to a certain status inferior to, and designed to serve the purposes of the dominant race. It is perhaps the view which, if one took a poll of the European community, would carry the largest number of votes. It is, tacitly or avowedly, the view of the ordinary run of men who do not think very deeply about public affairs. It was avowed policy of the two northern provinces before they came into the Union, still finds its chief support there.

Another line of policy may be described for want of a better term as the policy of assimilation That policy bases itself on civilization, refuses to recognize any difference in status or privilege based on race or color, and proclaims equality in political rights and equal opportunity in industry for all civilized men. This policy in theory at least, was the policy of the Cape Province before Union and it stands as the antithesis of the policy of repression.

The third line of policy, and one which has been much discussed since Union, is the policy of segregation. Applied absolutely this would mean a terriotorial separation between native and European, the division of the Union into two areas reserved for the European and the native respectively. In this extreme form, however, it has few adherents, and is generally admitted to be impossible. In a modified form it has been put forward recently by the Prime Minister of the Union as the line on which a national policy should be built. Certain areas would be definitely set apart as native areas, within which no European would be allowed to acquire land, and conversely natives would be prohibited from acquiring land outside these areas. Natives who came into European areas to work would be subject to restriction as regards competing with the European in skilled or semi- skilled occupations. The natives would not be allowed to be registered on the ordinary voters' rolls, but by a sort of communal franchise they would be allowed to elect a limited number of European members to the elected House of the Legislature with specially restricted powers. Inside their areas they would choose councils who would exercise advisory powers in matters of local interest and might in time be entrusted with certain administrative functions.

None of these three seems to afford in itself a basis comprehensive enough for an adjustment which is likely to be permanent and adequate for the needs of both races.

The first breaks down in practice because it runs counter to some o fthe deepest and most enduring elements of human nature. The dominant race inevitably falls a victim to a fatal infection from the very inferiority to which it condemns its subjects, and in the long run, loses even the physica and material forces dfwypfwyp and material force necessary to keep the lower race down.

For the other line of policy, which we have called that of assimilation, it is sometimes claimed that there is no halway house between it and that of represion. It is advocated especially by missionaries, and those who seek to apply the principles of Christianity as the final test of the validity of public institutions and policy. Looked at from the point of view of practical statesmen, the policy cannot safely be adopted in South Africa if it involves a grave risk to the fundamental principle of European supremacy. The European population, as has been seen, is vastly outnumbered by the native, and behind the comparatively small number of civilized natives is the great mas which is now and will for long remain in or near its primitive state of barbarism. The white man in South Africa looks on the question as one of race against race. Assimilation in the full sense of the word, involving social intercourse and in particular race admixture, is abhorrent to his instincts. Whatever biologists may say about race admixture—and they do not all say the same thing—he will not have any of it. The lapses of individuals in this respect only serve to throw into clearer relief the strength of the general sentiment. And behind this instinct is the fact, admitted even by the most thoroughgoing champions of equality, that so far as we can see in the future the supremacy of the white man is essential to the maintenance of civilizaztion itself. Assimilation, even in respect of political rights, would before very long gravely imperil that supremacy.

The policy of segregation even in its modified form does not seem to take adequate account of the actual facts in the case. The lands which are alloted, or can possibly be alloted for native reserves are not now adequate for the support of the native population, and we have yet to see what would happen if part of these lands through mineral discoveries or otherwise, should offer strong attractions for development by the European. Large numbers of natives even now, who still cling to their tribal homes can only subsist by coming out to work for the white man for longer or shorter periods. Many of them, as has been seen—and their number is increasing—have become permanently de-tribalized. We have made the native, for good or evil, part of our industrial organization. It was inevitable that it should be so. But it would be unjust to him and fatal in the long run to ourselves, to decree that if he comes amongst us as a worker, he must do both for his own needs and for ours, he shall be confined by law, no matter what his abilities or his civilization may be, to the status of an unskilled laborer.

The peculiar conditions of South Africa seem to call for a somewhat different policy, something between the second and third of those just mentioned. The native should be segregated to the ex-

tent of being encouraged to remain on his tribal lands, and he should be assisted by training in agriculture to make these lands sustain a larger population than they do now. But he cannot be segregated to the extent of being put away in a sort of watertight compartment. We are one country. There is room only for one civilization—the European—and no artificial barriers will keep the two elements permanently cut off from each other. The native who comes to work in our industries must be under a legal ban which prohibits him from utilizing, to such advantage as he may, his capacity for work, skilled or unskilled. But the employer should be prevented by wage regulations from exploiting the low demands of the native to undercut the civilized wage rate. If the native is to compete with workers who have to live as civilized men in civilized surroundings, he must be paid a wage which shall enable him to do the same. The true protection for the white worker is not the repression of the native but the raising of the native's standard of living to something like his own. In politics the native cannot be permanently excluded from a voice in the government of the country, but his participation in political rights, as he rises in education and civilization, must be so graduated as not to endanger the hegemony of the European civilization and direction. With this must go effective measures for reinforcing the European population by encouraging the immigration of people who will assimilate with its stock and make a permanent home here.

Whether under some such policy South Africa can work out a peaceful and permanent adjustment in the relations of her European and native peoples is a question for the far future. There is no "solution" or short cut in problems such as these. Today we do not know adequately many facts which have the most important bearing on the question. We do not know, for example, what the comparative rates of increase of the two populations are now, still less what they will be as the native comes more and more completely in contact with civilization and with industrial conditions. Yet on that fact alone depends the validity of any forecast of the future.

Such, in broad outline, is the problem which confronts South Africa in regard to the relations between her European and non-European peoples. It affects more or less directly almost every important question of her public life. It is a problem almost unique in difficulay—that of holding together as organic constituents of a single state under the institutions of popular government a complex of races so diverse in conditions and so divergent in outlook. On her success depends her own existence as the national home of an European people, and with that are bound up issues of the gravest importance for the whole African continent and for the relations of white and colored races throughout the world.

3,166 SETTLERS IN FIVE YEAR

Achievement of 1820 Settlers' Association.

A proud record of having in five years introduced no less than 3,166 settlers to South Africa is an achievement of the 1820 Memorial Settlers' Association.

These settlers have invested no less than £5,000,000 in the soil of the country, and an indication of how the work of the Association is going ahead is afforded by the fact that of this number no less than 560 went out from last June to November. In that latter month 121 were accounted for.

As the original 1820 settlers, numbered about 3,500 souls, it should not be long, before the Association, which carries on the memory of those great Empire-builders of the past century, will have sent out as many of a newer generation as those pioneers.

87 per cent. Remain.

Of the new settlers, 87 per cent. have remained to make South Africa their home and, as the Association rightly claims they are of the very best type, the value of this great work to the country can never be sufficiently estimated.

Without any financial aid from the State, and swayed by no other object than to bring the right type of settler to South Africa and see that he makes a success of his advent in the country, the Association has made itself a great force in South Africa since its inception in 1921.

The general manager's report indicates the care and attention that is given to the newcomer from the moment that he lands in South Africa. He is given a warm welcome, and at once realises that he has become a valuable asset, whereas before this he was merely a unit, more or less insignificant.

In order that failures through inexperience should not mar its efforts, the Association has found it necessary considerably to extend the scope of its operations, and at no little expense has created training farms (near Cradock) and in the Northern Transvaal, which are in full working order, and have in every way fulfilled the expectation which led to their creation.

A third training farm will shortly be opened in Natal. It is at these training farms and institutions that boys direct from the public schools and colleges are being given one year's practical training, which will be followed by two years on a farm.

As the years have passed these settlers have found success throughout the Union, and they now form an important portion of South Africa's agricultural population.

Mr. Kentridge thinks that when the time for a cleavage comes there will arise a Conservative Party, consisting of British and Dutch capitalists on te one side and a National Labour Party of British and Dutch on the other. He, however, sees no signs of the Pact breaking up yet awhile. On the contrary, he considers the definite freeing of the country from any constitutional issues and from racial friction will result in strengthening the Pact for a good many years.

General Smuts, on the other hand, sees the life of the Pact drawing to a close, and is even optimistic enough to think that the South African Party will be back in power within two years. The Government know that their day has come. They know that public opinion is against them. . . . I wonder who told the General. Most of us were under the impression that the Government never stood higher in the public esteem.

Mr. Patrick Duncan is not among those who have been impressed by the Pact's change of front. On the contrary, he is sceptical. He wants to know why Mr. Roos did not tell the electorate about "this wonderful stunt of burying racial feeling before." The reason, he says, is that the Pact had to do something to put themselves right with public feeling, and hence the *volte-face*. Be that as it may, the Pact at the moment is certainly O.K. with public feeling, whereas the S.A.P.—But why pursue the subject? There let us leave our stars of the political firmament till another day.

The Transvaal African Congress.

Executive Committee 20th & 21st Nov. 1926, Germiston.

The opinion set forth as recommendations of the Transvaal African Congress on the coming elections of Office Bearers and Members of Executive Committee of the African National Congress in the convention to take place at Bloemfontein in January, 1927, are as follows :—

Candidates for Presidentship.

The following Gentlemen are recommended by this Executive from whom President of the African National Congress could be elected.

1. Rev Z R Mahabane,
2. Mr S M Makgatho,
3. „ J T Gumede,
4. Rev. J L Dube,
5. Dr. Rubusana.

The General Secretaryship

1. Prof. J M Thael, National Sec, Gen. Organiser and Lecturer.
2. Mr. J Dhlwati (Cape)
3. „ George Kula „
4. „ R V Selope-Thema (T'vaal)
5. Sol R S Rakomakoe „
6. D M Skota „
7. Phillip Mtembu (Natal)
8. Chif D Siyoka ..

General Treasurer.

1. Chief Z Fenyang (O.F. State)
2. Mr. D S Letanka (Transvaal)
3. „ W M Msimang (Natal)

Vice-Presidentship.

The Presidents of Provincial Congresses shall be the Vice-Presidents of the African National Congress.

Executive Members.

1. Mr. Rob. M Tladi (Transvaal)
2. J R Nthongoa „
3. R J Ncayo „
4. A Ramothibe „
5. S P Matseke „
6. J D Ngojo (Cape)
7. Stanley Silwana „
8. Chief S Mini (Natal)
9. Rev. S G Majosi „
10. Mr Rob Setlogelo (O.F.S)
11. „ A Rakauoane „
12. Chief Motaung „
13. Mr. Lekgela (Griq'land-B'ch'land
14. Chief Matlaba „ „
15. Mr. M Kambula (Natal)
16. „ Sakwe (Transkei)
17. „ K Soka „
18. „ D Moliakgotla (O.F.S)

Chaplain-in-Chief.

1. Rev R N Mashaba (Transvaal)
2. „ A Lutumbu „
3. „ R H Ngcayiya „
4. „ S Mabote (O F.S)
5. „ S K Ramailane „
6. „ A A Pitso „
7. „ A A Mareka „
8. „ E Mdolomba (Cape)
9. „ G Mashiqi „

The Transvaal African Congress is of opinion that the above Gentlemen are the right men from whom a choice could be made for members of the Executive Committee of the African National Congress with the Hon. Thos. Mapikela re elected as speaker of the House and Mr. Phatlane as Sergt-at Arms

The Transvaal African Congress therefore submits to the Conference that :—

1. A new system of voting in the African National Congress be adopted and commence to be carried in the year of 1927.

2. That the election of the President of the African National Congress and the whole of his Executive Council shall not be voted for by merely showing of hands be delegates and non-delegates who happened to be on the spot of the Conference, but he shall be voted for by all members of the Provincial Congresses through their branches.

3. That there shall be elected in the coming Conference at Committee of returning officers, 2, 3, 4 or 5 in number, whose duty shall be to receive votes and check them, to declare the results in the Conference which shall be summoned in the month of June, 1927, and not in January as previously agreed.

4 That the qualification of voting for the President of the African National Congress and his Executive Council shall be 2/6 which, together with the vote, shall be forwarded by the branch secretary to the Provincial Secretary who shall immediately transmit it to the returning officers to record the vote and deposit the cash in the Bank of the African National Congress

5. That the Returning Officers on receipt of the vote and 2/6 shall acknowledge same by issuing to the Provincial Secretary a receipt and statement showing the name of the candidate or candidates on whose behalf the vote has been originally recorded.

6. That the Transvaal African Congress submit that the elections be postponed so as to take place in the month of June, 1927, and not in January as previously suggested and agreed upon, and that the recording of votes shall commence in January, 1927, immediately after the convention, and that all votes shall reach the Returning Officers on or before the 20th of June each election year to enable the Returning Officers to prepare the results which shall be declared on the 30th of June which day shall be deemed the day of election.

7. That the annual contribution of £50 by each Provincial Congress be repealed as being substituted by 2/6 contribution per member.

8. That the Provincial Congresses shall have the right to increase membership fees, which increment shall include the 2/6 which shall be due to the African National Congress and be forwarded in due time.

9 That after the declaration of the results of votes at Bloemfontein in the month of June, 1927. The returned President and his Executive Council shall commence their work.

10 The Returning Officers shall, completing their duties of caryring

Race Problem--1927
Africa.

NEW YORK TIMES
Race Problem
Africa
JUL 3 1927

SLAVERY STILL FLOURISHES

European Powers Charged With "Winking" at Traffic in Arabia and Abyssinia

CONFIRMATION of recent reports received by the League of Nations telling of the survival of the slave traffic in Ethiopia (Abyssinia), largely in response to the demand existing in Arabia, is found in an article in the Berlin Vossische Zeitung. The article is written by Dr. Wolfgang von Weisl, who has been traveling in the Near East.

Dr. Weisl asserts that the European powers whose war craft patrol the Red Sea are not making really serious efforts to suppress this traffic in "black ivory." In his article, written in Jidda, the main port of the Kingdom of the Hedjaz, the German correspondent says:

"Of course, officially there is no longer any trading in slaves. But in fact there are still slaves in Arabia and the Sudan, in Abyssinia and the colonies on the Red Sea. Only the form has changed a little. Instead of slave hunts there are honorable merchants who buy up young slaves. And instead of great slave caravans there are little sailboats which carry batches of from thirty to forty slaves from Africa to Arabia.

"Warships of the British, French and Italian fleets patrol the waters between Abyssinia and the Hedjaz, but the captains shut one eye. No one wants to be too strict. A little slave trading really does not do much harm.

2,000 Imported Yearly.

"And one of the European Consuls in Jidda with whom I talked a little about the slave trade remarked with a courteous smile: 'Oh, that doesn't amount to anything any more.' 'Doesn't amount to anything?' I asked. 'According to the statistics I have gathered, more than 2,000 slaves a year are imported by Arabia.' 'Yes,' said the Consul, 'that may be so. But what does that amount to, 2,000 slaves? That really cuts no figure any longer.'

"In one way the European powers are right when they wink at slave trading in Arabia. The slaves of the Moslems, and above all of the Arabians, are well treated, are counted almost like children of the family, are content. Even the Soviet Russian Consul in Jidda confirmed this, saying, with a little embarrassment: 'We really shouldn't say so, but the lot of the slaves in Arabia is almost enviable in comparison with that of the poor Bedouins. These latter are dying from hunger.'

"But the person talking about the happy lot of the Arabian slaves is always thinking of the slaves of the Princes, of the Kings. These 'happy ones' form one category; the slaves of the big landowners and of the city residents form another.

"True, the position of the slaves in Islam—that is, when the slaves themselves are Moslems—is assured by the laws of the Koran. 'It is better that a believing slave become the husband of your daughter than an unbelieving Prince,' taught Mohammed, who never forgot that his first followers were slaves.

"And the fact that the slaves were generally negros, Abyssinians, did not hurt them in the eyes of the Arabs of the coast. For centuries Abyssinian Christians had subjected the coasts of Arabia to their rule. Mohammed and his followers knew the blacks as victors also, not merely as the conquered. And this may be one of the reasons why Islam knows no race question, no color problem.

"Officially, theoretically and in practice, however, this tolerance ceases as soon as we leave the coasts of the Red Sea. In the interior the negro is regarded as inferior. The Bedouins of the Nejd, notwithstanding the Koran's permission, do not present their daughters with negroes as husbands, for there the blacks arrived only as slaves, as the conquered. Consequently, they are despised.

"Ibn Saud, King of the Hedjaz, Sultan of the Nedj, has the ambition to create a whole battalion of slaves. A slave costs from $100 to $200, an extra powerful youth even $600, while beautiful slave maidens come twice as high. And today Ibn Saud has a body guard of 120 picked slaves upon whom he can depend under all circumstances, who are absolutely devoted to him. In Arabia 120 slaves represent not only wealth, but power also. They are the only dependable soldiers.

"When Ibn Saud besieged Jidda about a year ago it was necessary to construct trenches and emplacements for the cannon that were to shell the city. But the Wahabites, Ibn Saud's soldiers, refused to dig trenches, declaring that they were not slaves but warriors. And so slaves did the job.

Act as Rulers.

"Slaves obey blindly, and sometimes win high positions thereby. The Governor of Uqair, an important place on the Persian Gulf, is a negro slave of Ibn Saud. Other slaves rule in other places. And the Bedouins obey them, because they are slaves of the King. If a King is defeated his slaves fall into the hands of the victor and are divided, like horses and dogs. Today the slaves of the conquered Kings Hussein and Ali are serving Ibn Saud and are loyal to him.

"The woman slaves form another chapter. Those of the Princes are spoiling the race. A century ago the leading families of the Idrisi, who rule in Assir, were quite white; fifty years ago they were brown; today they are black. They have become negroes. * * *

In Arabia an attempt of a woman to escape is punishable by death. And while a male slave still can flee to a European consulate or to a European ship, where he must be protected, the woman slaves are helpless and unprotected. Their master demands them back with the words: 'It is my wife.' And Europe's power stops at the threshold of the harem, as before the walls of the cloister. This threshold is inviolable."

THE RISE OF THE GOLD COAST.

Sir Gordon Guggisberg on the Significance of the Colonial Empire.

H. E. Sir Gordon Guggisberg contributes to the London "Evening News" an interesting article on the subject of the Colonial Empire—and the Gold Coast Colony in particular—in the light of the recent epoch-making Colonial Office Conference.

"So overshadowed by the great Dominions have been our Crown Colonies in the past that their place in the Empire has not been appreciated at its true value," writes His Excellency. "But to-day, amid the booming of the heavy artillery of the Dominions, can be heard the steadily increasing rattle of the machine-guns of some 56 million persons occupying over three million square miles of territory under the British flag—that rattle the noise of an annual maritime trade worth 800 millions sterling.

"Scarcely two of our Colonies have the same constitution: there are 40 different constitutions in the Colonial Empire! How has this come about? Chiefly, I believe, because we as a race recognise the rights of weaker races. We have, as far as the Crown Colonies are concerned, and especially in recent years, avoided forcing our own institutions on the natives of the countries which have come under our rule: rather have we tried to adapt the constitutions which we found there to the demands of a higher civilisation.

"Indeed, one can take it as an axiom that the native system of government found in every tropical country is generally the result of the gradual evolution of its original and time-old constitution, and is, however crude, the system best suited to its people.

Gold Coast's Four Constitutions.

"And now a glance—it can necessarily only be a brief one—at the way in which we have been trying to carry out our task in the Gold Coast.

"We are only a small unit of the Empire—about the size of the United Kingdom—and yet we have no fewer than four constitutions—the Gold Coast Colony proper in the south, Ashanti in the centre, the Protectorate of the Northern Territories in the north, and stretched along our eastern frontier the British sphere of the mandated territory of Togoland.

"We have 2½ million people, including 2,000 Europeans. We are 4,000 miles from Liverpool by the nearest steamship route, and contain the Meridian of Greenwich, with the Equator 300 miles to our south.

"We are, for our size, one of the richest mineral countries in the world. Our gold mines export nearly one million sterling of gold per annum, and can easily export double the quantity when our population increases, as it is rapidly doing. Our manganese mines have vast reserves of ore in sight; since they were discovered by our world-famous geologist (now Sir) A. E. Kitson in 1915 they have increased their output from 4,000 to 394,000 tons a year, and will certainly export half-a-million tons when the new harbour at Takoradi, only 35 miles away, is open next year.

"Our diamonds—again A. E. Kitson—have increased in export from £1 per diem in 1920 to £1,000 per diem to-day; and our bauxite deposits—A. E. Kitson once more—of between fifty and one hundred million tons are just about to be opened up. And there are many other minerals of export value as yet undeveloped.

Black Farmers.

"And yet, for all that, our real wealth is our agriculture. And for this I may venture to register a pious avowal of gratitude. For, without desiring to minimise the value of minerals to the world, I am confident that the steady progress of the African races to a higher state of civilisation, their worldly prosperity, contentment, and moral welfare, depend first and foremost on agriculture as the predominant industry of their country.

"In the Gold Coast we have been exceptionally fortunate in finding a raw food-product in universal demand—cocoa. About 40 years ago a returned labourer from the San Thomé cocoa fields brought with him one pod. From that pod an export industry of cocoa-beans has grown from 1,000 pounds in 1891 to 234,000 tons in 1926. All this cocoa is grown by the African farmer on his own land, his farms varying in size from half an acre to several acres.

"The story of Gold Coast cocoa is a veritable romance. It shows what the African is capable of doing when working for himself and on his own land. All that Government has done has been to encourage him—originally by getting the chiefs and headmen to establish small plots at every village—ascertain and deal with disease, and build communications. The mercantile firms saw their opportunity: by buying and shipping the cocoa beans they increased the purchasing power of the people to such an extent that the maritime trade of the Gold Coast is to-day worth over twenty-millions sterling as against less than seven millions in 1913."

OUR BRUSSELS LETTER

("African World" Correspondent.)

BRUSSELS, June 21, 1927.

Half a Century Ago.

Half a century ago, Stanley (then special correspondent of the "New York Herald" and of the "Daily Telegraph") was on his long journey "Alone," proceeding down the Congo River, which he had discovered and on August 9, 1877, 999 days after he had left Zanzibar, he reached Boma, accompanied by his energetic and faithful white servant, Frank.

To commemorate this really epoch-making exploration, which required the greatest courage, and to commemorate also the opening up of the Congo to Belgium, Mr. Vanhulst, chairman of the Brussels Comité Africain (the premier Congo club) and of the Brussels Association des Intérêts Coloniaux Belges (the Congo Chamber of Commerce) proposes to erect a great lighthouse at the estuary of the Congo.

This proposal deserves every success. It was launched by Mr. Vanhulst at the lecture given here, last week, by Colonel Liebrechts, one of the Stanley lieutenants, when, some years later on, the great explorer was organising the Congo on King Leopold's account. King Albert and Prince Léopold

were present at this lecture, desiring thus to testify their sympathy to Colonel Liebrechts, one of the pioneers of this truly heroic time and one of the State Secretaries of the Congo Free State for years afterwards.

The Imports Into the Congo Last Year.

One will judge of the development of the Congo since half a century, hearing that, last year, over 631,584 tons, worth 1.293.197.242 francs, were imported into the Belgian Congo for local consumption.

(In 1925, nearly 524,853 tons, worth 876,245,151 francs, had been imported into the Belgian Congo—special trade always.)

The share of Belgium in the 1926 imports into the Congo is 35 per cent. of the tonnage and 54 per cent. of the value (over 222.915 tons ½, worth 696,165.886 francs).

The Congo Foreign Trade Last Year.

As previously written, the Congo self exported, last year, nearly 203,678 tons, worth 729,301.977 francs.

Adding the imports to the exports, we see that, last year, the total foreign trade of the Congo amounted to 835,262 tons, worth 2,022,499,219 francs.

Mr. Jaspar's Ideas.

A week ago Mr. Jaspar, our Premier and also Colonial Minister, delivered a great speech on the Congo in the Belgian Senate.

Here is a summary of his chief statements:—

Mr. Jaspar is not a partisan of provincial budgets, as suggested by Sir M. Lippens.

The Colony's Government is studying an income-tax to be paid by the natives. Presently the natives pay a tax of so much per head, a tax varying according to the country's development.

The Antwerp Colonial University does not and will not enjoy a monopoly for the formation of the State officials for the colony.

It is desirable that the parts of the Belgian Congo fit for white colonisation see white men settled in it, but it is also desirable that these white settlers should be Belgian citizens.

Colonisation by individual small settlers ought to be preceded by colonisation by powerful companies.

The working of the Congo ought to aim at an improvement of the economic conditions in Belgium.

Our concessions policy ought to be regulated by the native labour possibilities, by the civilisation needs, and by the interest of the mother country.

This speech met with general approbation.

A Further Belgo-Portuguese Conference.

According to the Paris "Agence Economique et Financiere," a Belgo-Portuguese Colonial Conference is to take place at Saint Paul de Loanda on July 14.

Portugal will be represented by the Angola High Commissioner and by Admiral de Vasconcellos, general director at the Portuguese Colonial Office.

Belgium will be represented by Governor-General Rutten, Mr. Cattier (chairman, the Matadi-Léopoldville Railway), Mr. Halewyck (General Director at the Belgian Colonial Office), and Major Maury (Director at the Belgian Colonial Office).

We will try to get from Portugal an agreement for the Benguella Railway on the same lines as we have with the Tanganyki Territory re the Dar-es-Salaam-Kigema Railway.

Our delegates will also try to settle with their Portuguese colleagues the matter of a dam across the M'Pozo River. That dam would enable us to supply electric power to the Matadi-Léopoldvill Railway. (I will add, however, that we have other schemes to provide that railway with electric power: the van Deuren's grand scheme and the Robert Thys's much more modest one. Apropos Colonel van Deuren, this genial officer left for the Congo early this month in company of, and invited by, the upper general management of the Congo Railway.)

Amongst the other items on the agenda of the conference: the linking of our roads, the development of our economic relations, the fight against sleeping sickness, and the suppression of the contraband of firearms and ammunitions.

According to the Lisbon correspondent of the Brussels "Soir," Portugal will send a cruiser to Matadi to bring our delegates to Saint Paul of Loanda.

The Portuguese Minister of Colonies asked the "Soir" correspondent in Lisbon to convey to Belgium his ardent wish for a full success of that conference.

Italy and the West Coast Traffic.

On the 18th inst. the Paris "Depeche Coloniale et Maritime" reprinted an article of the Italian paper "Sole," stating that Italy ought to organise freight lines from the West Coast of Africa to Valencia, Barcelona, Genoa, and Triest.

The Benguella Railway.

On March 31 the survey of the line was completed up to the Congo border, the earthworks up to kilometre 1,060 from Lobito, the rail laid up to kilometre 957, the ballasting completed up to kilometre 960, and the telegraph line laid up to kilometre 956.

The whole of this, according to the annual report of the Benguella Railway Co.

The Kilo-Moto Goldfields.

The output of these goldfields does continue to increase: Their production in the five first months of this year reached 1,508 kilos 781 grammes, against 1,471 kilos 026 grammes in the corresponding period of last year and 1,421 kilos 865 grammes in the five first months of 1925.

The title of a book lately published, "The Anatomy of Africa's Misery," by Lord Olivier, is so recondite as to lead the uninitiate to accept its contents as a true and authoritative account of the existing conditions under which the natives of British South Africa are governed by the white man. Unfortunately, owing to the high offices under the Crown held by the distinguished author, the half-truths upon which the loose charges against his countrymen are based are liable to be accepted as facts, especially so by the semi-civilised natives just emerging from savagery and already ripe for the teachings of communism.

The native problem of South Africa is a serious one, and any hindrance to its solution makes it more serious. Therefore, a mischievous book full of destructive criticism based upon erroneous data containing nothing of a constructive or helpful nature by a Privy Councillor and an ex-Secretary of State, with no experience of African affairs, only adds to the difficulties being closely studied by Dominion Ministers and Colonial Administrators. Coming from an ex-Minister of the Crown, the book is of the greatest value to the enemies of the Empire, and must do infinite harm among subject races.

It is only right that every Briton should endeavour to understand this problem, for the natives of our African possessions are all British subjects, are proud of their status as such, and look to the Imperial Government as their guardians.

The problem is far from being difficult of solution if it be considered sympathetically with the high and vital principle of giving to each race its due respects and special position, and trying by every human means to head off racial degeneration. It cannot be solved by repressive legislation such as the Native Lands Act or the Colour Bar Act, nor can it be solved by giving the native equal political rights, for that means absolute government of the whites by the blacks. There is only one solution, and that is territorial segregation, for by that alone can the racial degeneration of both races be avoided and a safe measure of self-government be granted to the natives.

Had the League of Nations functioned as was promised by its sponsors, it might have devoted some attention to the native problem of Africa. As an international parliament, it might have drafted an African native policy acceptable to those European nations interested in Africa—a policy which would have embraced territorial segregation allowing for degrees of self-government according to the stage of civilisation. Such a policy, common to all the nations concerned, could alone be announced by the League of Nations without offending the susceptibilities of the Powers concerned.

An African native policy, to be truly efficient, with the eliminations of causes for future wars in Africa as one of the principal objects, calls for the redelimitation of the present European possessions of the subcontinent south of latitude six. Such repartition can only be in the very best interests of those concerned, viz., Great Britain, Portugal, Belgium, and Union of South Africa, Rhodesia, and the Native (Bantu) population, estimated at forty-five millions. The beneficial results of administrative changes such a readjustment must have upon the natives would extend beyond the territorial demarcative lines.

Such a readjustment, by exchange and compensation, can only be negotiated, without friction, through the medium of the League. Certain exchanges of possessions would remove obstacles now in the path of progress and development; the removal of these obstacles is a guarantee for the immediate advancement of that part of Africa south of latitude six. The readjustment calls for no sacrifice or loss of prestige on the part of any European power, but on the contrary, for without losing an acre of the area of their African possessions, those barriers, now holding back development, would be removed and the national prestige and prosperity would increase accordingly.

Portugal's possessions in Africa are separated by two thousand five hundred miles of ocean travel. If these possessions were considerably increased and consolidated in West Africa, Portugal would benefit by having rapid, easy, and economic access to her considerably increased and enhanced African Empire, which to-day, owing to its scattered form and wide separation, necessitates expensive administration, long lines of ocean communication, loss of efficiency and revenue. The consolidation of the Portuguese African Colonies would call for an exchange of British and (or) Mandated Territory, the cancellation of outstanding debts, some of which date back to the Peninsular War, adequate compensation to all nationals concerned and the purchase of vested interests in exchange for the Portuguese possessions of East Africa. Such readjustment allows for immediate railway and harbour development, together with industrial and agricultural expansions of the enlarged Portuguese possessions with foreign capital attracted by the proximity of this valuable territory to Europe.

It means the opening of safe harbours on the West and East coasts, and the linking of both coasts by rail, giving Rhodesia the advantage of two sea-ports, one on the Atlantic, and the other on the Indian Ocean, bringing that colony within fourteen days' journey of London. The peaceful settlement, development and progress of South Central Africa, and therefore the solution of the native problem depends more upon communications running East and West than North and South.

It is the opening-up of the dark places of Africa that will have such an important bearing upon the solution of the colour problem, and for that reason the League of Nations should devote some attention to Africa with its teeming millions of homogeneous people in varying stages of savagery and civilisation. The progress or retrogression of Africa south of latitude six hinges upon the repartitioning of the present possessions within that sub-continent.

THE ABYSSINIAN OUTRAGE.

The always well-informed Diplomatic correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph" understands that "the British Government has lodged a strong protest with the Abyssinian Government in respect of an unprovoked and murderous attack made last month on a British camel caravan travelling through Abyssinia.

"The caravan was laden with supplies for the Maharao of Kutch, who, with a party which includes Sir Geoffrey Archer, and has actually enjoyed the hospitality of the Regent, Ras Tafari, is travelling in the country. A request for the safe passage of the Maharao, Sir Geoffrey Archer, and their suite had been addressed to Addis Ababa long before the attacked caravan crossed the boundary. But the Deputy-Governor of Harar, the local authority responsible for order in the region where the outrage took place, denies having been warned in advance from the capital as to its impending visit.

"The outrage was inexcusable. The caravan, which had travelled southwards from Harjeisa, in British Somaliland, was set upon in the Ojaken district, about fifty miles inside the Abyssinian border. Camp had been pitched near Dagabur (in the Jig-Jiga district). At four o'clock in the morning the caravan was rushed by Abyssinian troops, who killed about a dozen British Somalis, including the headman of the caravan, whose body was mutilated in atrocious fashion. The incident throws a distinctly unpleasant light on the state of disorder and anti-foreign feeling now prevalent in Abyssinia."

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LIBERIA'S PRESIDENT.

A truly remarkable week for those concerned came to an end last Monday, when His Excellency President King left London for Paris. A very full record of his cordial reception will be found in the West African Supplement which accompanies this issue of THE AFRICAN WORLD. From His Gracious Majesty and the Lord Mayor of London to all sections of the business community interested in West Africa, our distinguished visitor received expressions of the kindliest feelings and sympathy for his country and people, which bodes well to spell a much closer economic relationship between Liberia and Britain for the future. Reciprocatively, our distinguished African visitor has not failed to state in clearest terms that he hoped for the participation by British friends in the impending progressive development era of the Republic. In President King's own words at the Elder Dempster luncheon: "*It was such an ideal that the Government and people would welcome any British helpers that might come to participate in the programme before them.* It had been his policy ever since he had had the privilege to direct the affairs of Liberia to give encouragement to co-operation and assistance from outside." Those words have the true ring, and we would heartily congratulate His Excellency for phrasing them so clearly, and are confident that the good feeling shown by President King is not likely to be forgotten in high official quarters. Important developments are pending, and we have every hope that before His Excellency returns to Monrovia with Mrs. King and his family during October considerable progress may be recorded. In reviewing the Presidential visit it would not be right to omit giving every credit for the large measure of the success to the indefatigable efforts of the Liberian Minister in London. In Mr. Dresselhuys the Republic has not only a most able but very popular official representative, whose dignified but persistent activities to keep the country before the British public should be greatly appreciated at Monrovia.

SIERRA LEONE LETTER.

The "Medical Profession."

Writing in the "Weekly News" of Sierra Leone on the gullibility of the public, "Modibo" gives a rosy view of the future of any youth equipped with a slight knowledge of Yoruba or any other African tongue, and no conscientious scruples. He says that with no assets but a small bundle and a fierce manner, one's reputation is made. After that, it remains but to exploit woman's longing for motherhood or fear of ill-health by showing that a vindictive neighbour has "put a juju on her," while with the men folk a few preliminary inquiries enables him to scrape up an acquaintance, and after expressing astonishment at finding his new friend not so bad as he had been told he was, he ultimately draws a reward from him for *not* having bewitched him. With such frauds for the more imaginative, and "money-doubling" to touch the materialistic, there seems to be a fairly lucrative field open still.

The Court of Appeal.

In the Court of Appeal just held in Freetown, the most interesting judgment was that given in two conditional appeals from members of the Sierra Leone Bar against their suspension by the Chief Justice. For the suspended barristers it was held that their punishment was an act of the Supreme Court, but the majority decision of the Appeal Court upheld the Solicitor-General's contention that it was a ministerial act by the Chief Justice in his personal capacity, and that therefore the only appeal against it should go direct to the Privy Council, by special leave. The third judge held that the suspension was by order of the Supreme Court, and that the appeal was therefore in order, his dissenting opinion showing clearly the ambiguity of the sections of the Supreme Court Ordinance on which the whole matter turned. For the first time, the court consisted of independent judges from the other British West African Colonies, an arrangement which, while more satisfactory than the previous one of allowing the Chief Justice sometimes to decide appeals against his own judgments, naturally gives hopes that it is paving the way for the institution of an independent Appeal Court for the whole of West Africa.

The Police Report.

Major C. Hampden King's report on the Police for 1926 shows that the improvement in the force has been maintained, and has been reflected in a decrease in serious crime, especially burglary. This is particularly satisfactory when the unsettled conditions brought about by the railway strike at the beginning of the year are remembered. The force consisted of eight officers and 295 other ranks, 166 of the constables being literate, and 116 possessing one or more good conduct badges. The finger-print branch obtained 363 new prints during the year, the collection totalling 10,275, and 737 previous convictions were verified by this means. The photographic apparatus had also been received, but operations were held up pending the completion of the dark room. It has been found impossible yet to deal with juvenile criminals, but the number of cases has dropped in the last two years from 101 to 60, and now that the Salvation Army Home outside Lagos has begun to prove successful Sierra Leone will no doubt soon attempt a reform on somewhat similar lines, if a suitable organisation can be found willing to co-operate with the Government. The aliens registered in Freetown numbered 640 during the year, and of 175 new registrations no less than 105 were Syrians. There was also a large population from the Protectorate, but this was organised in groups under tribal rulers, there being now nine recognised authorities over 27 tribes. The motor vehicles registered showed that there were 230 cars, 136 lorries, and 172 motor-cycles in the Colony, but registration and licence renewals have been effected in a somewhat dilatory way, and Major Hampden King warns owners and drivers that matters are shortly to be "tightened up" in this respect.

To Foster Canadian and West African Trade.

An amendment to the Light and Harbour Dues Ordinance is evidence that efforts are still being made to promote the development of trade between Sierra Leone, Canada, and South Africa. Without access to the volume of laws it is impossible at the moment to say exactly what encouragement the amendment is intended to give to the shipping companies, as the principal Act, the Light and Harbour Dues Ordinance of 1924, does not appear to have been published in the "Gazette" in the usual way, nor does it seem to be mentioned in the trade reports between 1923 and 1925. The difficulty of tracing Ordinances, by the way, would be greatly lessened if future amendments would quote the consecutive number (e.g., No. 20, etc., of 1924) applied to them on their original appearance in the "Gazette."

The Sierra Leone Chamber of Commerce gave a farewell dinner to Sir R. Slater on July 13, when Mr. C. F. Loxley of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, Ltd., presided. Sir Ransford left for Accra on the 16th, Mr. C. H. Luke assuming the administration of the Government.

THE ROOT OF A GREAT QUESTION.

To the Dutch must be given the credit of having been the pioneers of education in West Africa; an ever-vital question which the Colonial Conference has been discussing afresh. In the chief factory of St. George D'Elmina the predikant, or chaplain, was one of the most important members of the staff. One of his duties was to conduct a school in which young Africans were taught to speak, read, and write Dutch, and were trained for clerical work in Government and commercial offices. Among the pupils of these schools who were taken over by the British at the transfer of the Dutch settlements were the late Mr. Henry Vroom, C.M.G., and Mr. Minnow, I.S.O. The first English mission schools were intended for the training of the most promising youths as teachers and preachers, and those pupils who did not take up religious work readily found employment with the Government and the merchants. The only career open to an educated man at that time was clerking, and as trade expanded the demand equalled, and sometimes outran, the supply. When the Basel Mission began training youths as craftsmen the demand in the Gold Coast for coopers, carpenters and blacksmiths was unable to absorb them all. Most of them had to emigrate to find occupation in their callings, and "Accra" carpenters, coopers and blacksmiths were to be found in English factories along the coast from the Gold Coast to the Congo. When the Supreme Court Ordinance was passed and the Supreme Court was established a new career was opened to educated Africans. The young men took up the profession of the law which possessed several attractions—the fully qualified legal practitioner was his own master; he at once stepped into a good social position; in the practice of his profession there was no invidious distinction between African and European, the African barrister met his European brother on an equal footing; and the profession was lucrative. There was no other profession of which the country had need, for most of the people preferred their indigenous system of medicine and therefore medical men trained in European methods could not build up such lucrative practices as their legal fellows. The British law was of compulsory application and a lawyer had to be employed to plead cases in the British courts, but the use of European medicine was optional and was not much believed in. When the Medical Department was organized and African members were relegated to a lower position, one of the principal attractions of the profession was removed, and the rush to the [illegible] was accentuated.

Besides these there were no other professions of which the country had need. Up to the '80's of the last century there were no industries to afford employment to engineers and other technicians. Even when goldmining was started on the Gold Coast there was no encouragement to men of this class to qualify in engineering, and the few who did so met with so little success that their fellows were discouraged from following their example. The advent of the railways did not improve matters. A number of hand-workers found employment, but the directing and superintending positions were exclusively reserved for Europeans. African human nature, as Sir Hugh Clifford reminded his hearers some time ago, is very much

the same as all other human nature. The class from which the African barristers come corresponds to that English middle-class which produces English professional men. The middle-class of England do not have their sons trained as hand-workers; when they take up a technical profession it is for the purpose of doing staff work; they provide the brains. Everywhere, however undeservedly, or absurdly, the hand-worker is regarded as socially inferior to the brain-worker British parents do not desire their sons to take up callings by which they will derogate socially, neither do African parents. Until the technical professions are made attractive, socially and economically, African youths will not take them up in any number. The letter of a European railway worker, in our Civil Service column to-day, sheds useful light on this aspect. It is not from moral perversity, or an abnormal kink in West African mentality, that there are so many West African lawyers and merchants, and so few West African engineers and teachers.

Nor will the most expensive and lavishly organised schools and training establishments produce them unless the pupils are assured of a socially and economically attractive career. Are those who are advocating advanced secondary and technical schools taking thought for the future of the pupils? A few days ago an experienced and popular official said to the writer that he wanted to educate Africans "so that they shall not hate us." The surest way to nurture the hatred which that wise official wished to avoid is to produce a class of men embittered and justly aggrieved by having been trained in a certain calling and having a career denied them.

Educators must keep before them the question of what opportunities of employment in the calling in which he has been training a boy is likely to find in his own country when his training is completed? One danger which appears to be arising in West Africa is overtraining, which will produce a class of men with a just sense of grievance at having been urged and led to prepare themselves for a calling, in which there is no hope of a career, because there is no demand for their skill. It will be a grievous mistake to train Africans as first-grade teachers if they are relegated to second-grade posts because the first-grade posts are reserved for Europeans. And if the profession of teaching does not promise as good economic and social rewards as any other available to Africans the best pupils of the training colleges will drift into other occupations. And the same applies to the mechanical professions. What kind of teachers and what kind of mechanics does West Africa most need at present, and can find employment for?

In all the British West African Colonies the population is mainly agricultural, scattered all over the country in villages, or still smaller groups. They are farmers, and are occupied in production for local consumption. They know nothing of the export trade, which only affects them indirectly. The actual producers of palm-oil, kernels and cocoa are only concerned with the local market and know nothing about the overseas demand for their produce, and are solely puzzled at the constant fluctuations in the prices which they receive. Their lives are simple, their wants are few, but they bear the burdens of the whole country, whose prosperity depends upon theirs. The object that should be kept steadily in view is the welfare of the farmers, to increase their numbers, and to assist them to get better results from their farms. The African farmer, as a rule, is well-skilled in his calling, and produces excellent results with the means at his command. The best improver of production is education, and it is desirable to give him better appliances and the knowledge of their use. But the education must be such as will not cause farm-life to appear unattractive, and cause a migration from the country to the towns. Education must be given in schools in the village, an education which will give the pupils a love of the calling of their fathers, pride in its pursuit, and a desire to advance. But the advance must be slow; it will be of no use to train pupils on model farms in the use of tools and implements which are beyond their means to procure, [or power to use, when they return to their villages. Nor is it profitable to train swarms of village lads to the use of costly and elaborate machinery which can be employed only in large workshops and by large capital. The railways, the Public Works Departments and the mines, the only employers of mechanical labour, can absorb only a small fraction of the available pupils. When a lad trained in this way returns to his village what will be his usefulness to his fellow-villagers, or his opportunity of earning a livelihood by his calling? His neighbours cannot afford the tools he has been trained to use, and he cannot use the simple tools within their means. The work-shops of the country will soon be over supplied, but in every village there will be wanted a village carpenter or blacksmith with an equipment of simple hand-tools, with which he can supply his fellows with good, well-made doors and windows, or repair the iron tools for cultivating the fields. These are the mechanics whom the country can support and absorb in large numbers.

In the secondary schools do not choose the teaching profession and it would seem that for the improvement of education in Freetown more attention must be devoted to obtaining a staff of elementary teachers with requisite qualification and character." Here is another instance of an expression of opinion far from being original. The alleged neglect of the general standard of elementary teaching could in no way be attributed to the desire of parents for securing certificates of higher education for their children. Those who aim at the certificates are students who have left the elementary schools and are either at a secondary school or at Fourah Bay College. Each of these certificates was introduced by the educational authorities and the students were urged to aim at obtaining them. These certificates were fixed by the educational authorities as hall-marks of proficiency and the students were drilled until they have proved themselves efficient. It was the Government which instituted certain public examinations of efficiency not only in its service, but as guage of competence generally. There is no getting away from the fact that the Sierra Leonean has an ambition for educational efficiency which is at the root of all the successes which have been registered in his name. The trouble about the low standard of elementary education does not lie in the direction referred to, but in that anachronic policy of Government, "payment by result," where the three Rs are made the scope of the standard of efficiency. Long has the Colony of Sierra Leone groaned under a system of education which was more a handicap to progress than otherwise. It is a relief to feel that the prospect is getting assured, that some change is about to take place and that perhaps for the last time it is possible we have had that system operated upon this year. The reforms which Mr. KEIGWIN is bringing about are such that will give the elementary school its place of importance. The low and paltry salary which certainly is no attraction for the best trained men in the secondary school, to choose elementary school teaching as profession, will no longer exist and the elementary school teacher who is worth his salt will henceforth function under a more equitable and humane consideration than was ever possible in this colony.

But, for the fact that since Mr. ORMSBY-GORE published his report Mr. KEIGWIN has taken up the Mabang Agricultural Academy and has so successfully solved the problem we, would have had some thing to say about his remarks on this subject. The hopefulness which has taken the place of despair in our minds makes it expedient to say nothing further than to point out that the very Government whose expert advisers sanctioned and made practical use of the Mabang site is the very Government afterward when its mind was otherwise disposed, which got its expert advisers to condemn the site as not suitable. This is all like the Sierra Leone Government. At any rate we understand that the Board of Management of the Thomas Mabang Academy has been formed and arrangements are on foot to start operations as early as possible.

What is urgently required is not any elaborate scheme for the Protectorate in which large sums of money are to be lavished on buildings or on a European staff; but one which will place a good elementary school at least in every chieftaincy. There is no doubt that the Protectorate contributes very largely to the revenue of the Colony and that the proportion expended on what may be regarded as absolutely for the benefit of the people is ridiculously small. If Mr. ORMSBY-GORE's opinion about elementary schools suffering to the advantage of secondary education, is correct, what should be said about the arrangement of Government by which the Bo school has been consuming so much revenue to the absolute neglect of the simplest form of elementary education in the Protectorate. How can the Government justify its attitude in maintaining the Bo school, which is just a school for accommodating 100 residential pupils, the sons and nominees of Chiefs and yet the rest of the children of the Protectorate are allowed to remain in blissful ignorance, but for the praise-worthy efforts of the Mission schools about which very little recognition or none at all, has been taken in the report.

It is known that the Roman Catholic Mission and that of the United Brethren in CHRIST have done splendid work in education in the Protectorate. We have scanned the report to find any acknowledgement of such outstanding acts of devotion and self-sacrifice but we have found none. It is all what Government has done. Every thing however contrary to commonsense, so long it has been undertaken by Government there was sure to be some note of praise. Some say this is a stroke of policy. Be that as it may. But we say that such policy is calculated to destroy the confidence of the people, in the sayings and doing of Government, whatever their protestations and assurances might be. Mr. A. T. SUMNER deserves some congratulation for the recent recognition given to his work. Of course, had he been a European he would have been standing on a higher pedestal than at present. It is significant that he was the only African whose work has received some definite acknowledgment from Mr. ORMSBY-GORE. He has been described by him as "an excellent African headmaster." Mr. SUMNER is something more than that. He is an authority in three of the African languages operating in the Protectorate, and yet, one hears very little of him and his work.

Now, this brings us to another thorny question about which our highly respected and vigilant contemporary wrote so inspiringly and very cogently in the issue of *West Africa* of the 28th May last in its leading article entitled, "The Root of a great Question." We are sure every educated African will be grateful for such a wisely written article. It is an attitude of facing the facts of a situation about which so much has been made unjustly of the African.

Now and again one hears the tirade that the African is too bookish he depises the soil and is only found disposed to settle in the learned professions. To be able to follow the strain of argument we are publishing the article for the benefit of our readers as also for the purpose of keeping it in our records. As pointed out, time there was when the only career open to an educated man, was clerking. Then followed the training in craftmanship as carpenter, coopers, and blacksmiths which were limited to the demands. Then followed an inclination to the legal profession and soon the qualified legal professional found out that of all employments there was none which made him his own master as to be a lawyer. He at once stepped into a good social position which he was able to maintain by means of a lucrative practice. In his profession there was no invidious distinction as he finds in the circle of the medical profession where the African is barred against entrance into a commercialised clique known as the West African Medical Staff.

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Africa

WHEN THE NATIVES LIVED LIKE BABOONS.

During a debate in the House of Assembly on the Report of the Land Commission Colonel Frank Johnson endeavoured to show that the native in Southern Rhodesia was twenty-five times better off than the native in the Union.

He recalled that when he first came into the country, forty-one years ago, the Mashonas had no even huts, living amid the rocks and in caves with indescribable because of the terror of the raiding Matabele. To-day they lived in large and well-built kraals, and that was a tribute to the British occupation. He believed, too, the Matabele would not wish to go back to the days of Lobengula, when they had no security in anything, not even their lives. The present proposals were both just and expedient. Even to-day the native had land, which gave every man, woman, and child twenty-six acres, including four acres of good arable land capable of growing per annum 4,000 lb. of grain for each person, whereas the average requirement was under 300 lb. per annum.

Col. Johnson's Objection.

Colonel Johnson said he had no objection to the selling of neutral areas, because it led to finality. He did, however, object to the reservation of 18,000,000 acres, which really meant that there would be no finality. It was also wilfully creating a bone of contention between black and white in the future, and was not necessary as a quid pro quo to the natives for giving up something. A further objection was that they should not gamble with the future of posterity in the country by throwing away a large portion of 18,000,000 acres. It was taken for granted in the report that there would be individual tenure in the reserves and the abolition of communal holding, which he contended made for vast improvement and vast food reserves. The day must come when the natives had to realise that the limit had arrived, and they could no longer demand land. Adequate provision of land had already been made, and that should be final. There should be no question of the future requirements of the natives.

That the native of the colony had sadly deteriorated during the last thirty years was the view taken by Major Boggie. To-day the natives were dishonest, distrustful, and dissipated. If matters were allowed to go on as at present he feared that in the years to come the predominant race would be the black one. The black man really hated the white man, and in support of that view he quoted the late Mr. Chesterton, who had stated that the fires of racial hatred were still smouldering. Major Boggie added that it was separation, not segregation, advocated by the report, and there was a difference between the two words. He did not think the white and the black man could have equal political rights in this country. The native, for instance, was a very conservative man and believed in what might be called paternal government.

Sir Ernest Montague expressed the opinion that before the British occupation the natives were living like baboons.

WHY MR. HADFIELD LEFT THE RHODESIAN PARTY.

Need For A Stronger Opposition.

Mr. L. F. Hadfield, who recently created something of a political sensation by resigning from the Government party as it is named, Rhodesian Party, has gone to Umtali for his action at a Bulawayo meeting.

He expressed his willingness to resign his seat in the House should his constituents wish him to. He explained that financial considerations would be a factor with him in the matter of contesting a bye-election. For 14 years, he said, he had been a missionary deriving very little money, and he was now at the time of life when other men had acquired wealth and he had not. As for the suggestion that the only party that would satisfy him would be one of which he was the leader, he could name five or six men in the country who would make capable premiers and whom he would be glad to accept as his leader.

Cabinet Aspirations.

Apropos of the allegation that he was disappointed at not being in the Cabinet, Mr. Hadfield explained that some months before the Government was formed he was aware that no place would be found for him.

He had told the Premier at the time that the only Cabinet position that really appealed to him then was that of Minister of Native Affairs, but the Premier explained to him that it was customary in South Africa that the chief Minister of the Crown should be responsible for the conduct of affairs affecting the Colonial Office, and that, therefore, he proposed to take that position himself.

Mr. Hadfield said he informed the Premier that he was perfectly satisfied. Later he was honoured by being appointed chairman of the Native Education Commission. Remarking that the normal position in Party Government did not exist on account of the overwhelming strength of the Government, Mr. Hadfield said there was a danger that without a strong Opposition measures might be rushed through without proper care, or things put to the House that should not have been submitted at all. "and he submitted this was exactly what had happened.

"Autocratic" Use of Power.

"We have seen the somewhat autocratic use of the Government power put in the hands of the Premier, with the result that certain things have been done that should not have been done, and which would not have been done had there been a stronger Opposition" added Mr. Hadfield. The Premier had adopted an attitude which might be described as "It you don't like it, lump it." This was regrettable. The Premier had used his big majority not too wisely or too well. He had voted against the Government on two important matters only: on the Cold Storage question and the Railways Bill. He opposed the Cold Storage agreement because it was a monopoly on a food supply and because he believed a monopoly within Rhodesia was aimed at as well as in the exporting trade.

The Premier wanted them to vote for the party whatever it did. If they did not like this they could leave the party. "I left the party," said Mr. Hadfield

THE NEGRO IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Negro in the United States ought not to fail to be interested in the future progress of the Negro in the rest of the world. Just at this time the Negro in South Africa is in the spotlight in the matter of labor and labor organization. In South Africa the Negroes are referred to as natives, and the whites as Europeans. The Europeans in South Africa are in a state of constant fear because they are many times outnumbered by the natives. They fear the progress of the natives. They deny them political rights. They try to confine the natives to the unskilled occupations and to deny them membership in the labor unions, and to exclude them from the learned professions.

There is in South Africa a Native Affairs Commission consisting of three members and composed of Europeans. Dr. C. T. Loram, a member of this commission, in an address at Cape Town, contrasted the black man's progress in the United States with his progress in South Africa. He said among other things, that in America, there is not the same even-handed justice that is to be found in South Africa; that there is a single standard of justice in South African courts. He seemed to think that the courts in the United States have one standard of justice for black men and another for white men.

It is unfortunately true that in many States of the United States there is one standard of law for black men and one for white men. It must be said to the credit of our courts of last resort, even in Georgia and Arkansas, that they hold the balances of justice with approximate evenness. The trouble is that the Negro, in the great majority of the cases, is without the means to pursue his remedy to the courts of last resort.

In recent years, the decisions of the courts of last resort have been fair and in accordance with the principles of impartial justice. It is recalled that the supreme court of Georgia found residential segregation of Negroes by city ordinance to be unconstitutional before the final determination of that question by the Supreme Court of the United States.

In the lower courts, the juries are unfair and prejudiced, and the judges are, too often, cheap shysters and unprincipled demogogues, placed on the bench by the votes of those who constitute the lynchers and the membership of the Ku Klux Klan.

Commenting on Dr. Loram's address the Cape Times says:

As a professional man, a city dweller, a farmer in his own right, or a skilled artisan, the educated, intelligent Negro becomes much as other men are. He has the same pride of race as the white man. And with his increased earning capacity and the growth of his needs for the amenities of civilized life, the Negro's purchasing power becomes an important factor in the domestic market. In a word, America is discovering that color-blind justice, like honesty, is the best policy. To that discovery American experience enables South Africa to take a short-cut. South Africa can avoid whatever mistakes of fear and prejudice and false pride America has made.

"The racial problem, more complicated perhaps in South Africa than anywhere else in the world, is being attacked with a fearlessness which brings admiration even from the enemies of proposals made."

Even the disputes between the two great white groups, the English and the Dutch, appear to be near permanent settlement, he said.

POINTS SOUTH AFRICA AS FAST GROWING, PROSPEROUS NATION

Secession talk among British subjects in South Africa practically has subsided, the main question now being the flag to be adopted, whether the British union jack or an emblem bearing simply the Cross of St. George, it was stated yesterday by Eric H. Louw, commissioner for the Union of South Africa. He spoke at the University of Chicago under the auspices of the Norman Wait Harris institute.

Mr. Louw said the earlier popular conception of South Africa as a lonely veldt, dotted sparsely with isolated farms and armed camps, is rapidly giving away to cities, making up a modern nation with large public works, busy factories, thriving trade, department stores, art galleries and universities.

"No longer is Africa a 'dark continent,' so far as the Union of South Africa is concerned," Mr. Louw said.

Education Scheme A Failure

We have learned, with the greatest disappointment (though we cannot prove it) that whereas it was the Government's intention to establish some colleges in Basutoland (preferably two in number). His Excellency the High Commissioner has with reasons presumably pertaining to financial matters, disapproved of it; nevertheless we feel confident that the educational authorities will doubtless find it advisable to set up intermediate schools where these colleges were thought to be, for as far as matters were concerned, no intermediate school was going to be established where these colleges were intenden to be.

THE AFRICAN NATIVES AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Lord Olivier's Reply to Colonel Silburn's Article.

To the Editor of THE AFRICAN WORLD.

Sir,—Colonel Silburn prefaces an article in your issue of June 18th on 'African Natives and the League of Nations" (which, so far as its dealings with the subject go, I commend opinions which can be argued) with a curious and apparently quite gratuitous attack upon myself on account of what I have written recently in my book "The Anatomy of African Misery."

I call the attack "curious" because, so far as Colonel Silburn expresses any views on the questions with which the book deals, they appear to agree with my own, which in that book I maintain: namely, that the South African native problem "cannot be solved by repressive legislation such as the Native Lands Act or the Colour Bar Act nor by giving (at the present time at any rate) the native equal political rights." He thinks it could be solved by territorial "segregation"; and if that were practicable or contemplated in South Africa (as it is thought to be in Southern Rhodesia) I might also be able to agree with him on that. But, as I point out in my book, and as I challenge him to dispute, segregation is not the remedy

proposed by General Hertzog, and it is, in South Africa, as the Economic and Wages Commission pointed out, and as every one acquainted with local conditions knows, now absolutely impracticable there.

He is quite at liberty to his opinion that my book is mischievous—if he has made it—which I doubt. South African reviewers of reliable judgment have expressed a contrary view. He says it is based upon erroneous data: but he does not justify the statement, and it is unjustifiable. He says I have no experience of African affairs. I was serving in the South African Department of the Colonial Office during a period which included the first Matabele War and a good deal of the history of relations between Europeans and Native communities in other parts of South Africa. I have also been the principal Officer of the West African Department: and I have continuously maintained interest in and attention to the problems of dealing with native races in both those parts of the Continent. It is not true that there is nothing of a constructive nature in the book. The recommendations that I make are in accordance with those of the school of opinion to which I gather that Colonel Silburn himself belongs. They are expressly based on insistence on the maintenance of those principles of administration which are traditionally identified with the British Empire, and how it can be "of value to the enemies" of that Empire I therefore fail to discern.—I am Sir, Yours faithfully,

OLIVIER.

Old Hall, Ramsden, June 22, 1927.

Our Delagoa Bay Letter.

The League as Custodians of Natives.

LOURENCO MARQUES, June 1.

Some little surprise was evinced at an announcement by the Secretary of Native Affairs that all forced native labour was to cease. But, in reality, the notice was only carrying out the decision by the League of Nations that no further recruiting of a compulsory character would be permitted. This notice was to apply from November of this year. What was done by the Secretary of Native Affairs, therefore, was to draw up regulations for carrying out that decision. Voluntary recruiting will be permitted, but the native must be informed that he need not go to work unless he desires to do so. The period of such voluntary labour must not exceed six months. This applies not only to the Province of Mozambique but to the Union also. It will affect, for a time, the smooth working of the Rand mines, as natives will not be permitted to enter into a further engagement while at work, but must be repatriated at the close of their six months' service. The number of natives proceeding from this territory will be greatly reduced. In fact, it is more than likely that the major portion of natives who have been in the habit of going to the Rand mines will be absorbed locally.

Limpopo Valley Irrigation Scheme.

The big scheme of irrigation in the Limpopo Valley is having the close attention of the Lisbon Government, and it is only waiting the decision of the Technical Commission as to the best plan of carrying out that most important work. I understand that the financial side of the matter has been settled so that nothing will prevent the work, under skilful engineers, being carried out without loss of time. The work, it is stated, will take two years. This work will employ thousands of natives. It appears to be the intention of the Lisbon Government that the land be reserved for settlers under the colonisation scheme. The plan of the Government is to send to Umbeluzi farm approved men who will work there, under technical advice, in the cultivation of sugar cane, tobacco, and other products. At the end of two years, should the Limpopo works be ready for their reception, they will be placed on small allotments.

I understand that the whole expense of the Umbeluzi training will be borne by the Home Government, so that no burden will be placed on the finances of the Province. When the work is completed it is stated that more than the total number who go to the Rand mines will be absorbed.

The Home Government has approved a scheme for sugar production at the Umbeluzi farm, and has also given the right to make alcohol for machinery and motor spirit.

Port and Railway Activity.

The business of the Port and Railway holds good. The first week was quite a record, both in the number of ships passing in and out of the port and in the amount of cargo handled and dispatched to the Union.

Railway Extension.

Although it is not intended to carry out large railway extensions until the programme for the whole Province has been completed, if the work of the Limpopo is begun shortly it will be necessary to continue, by a branch line from the Xinavane line, a railway connection to the Limpopo River—not crossing it for the present. This branch will probably go from near the present Magude station, along the road to the Circumscription, then on to the Limpopo. As the work will take something like two years to complete, it is more than likely that as soon as the Home Government informs the local Government that work on the irrigation scheme is ready to begin, the railway work will be put in hand.

As will be inferred, all these works will absorb many natives, and as agriculturalists complain of a shortage of labour under the new voluntary system, local labour will find employment in its own locality.

X. X. X.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

West African Banking.

I am indebted to Mr. J. D. Race, the courteous secretary of Barclays Bank (Dominion, Colonial, and Overseas), formerly the Colonial Bank, for the opportunity of reading "Hints on Practical Banking in West Africa," by Mr. Frank G. Hanson, one of the African Cashiers of the Bank on the Gold Coast. The pamphlet, which is highly creditable to the author, is eminently practical; it does not deal with economic theories nor with the science of banking, but is a simple and lucid guide to the utilisation of a bank by a customer. It gives instructions for operating the different accounts—savings bank, deposit, current, and credit—which a bank opens for its customers. The reader is shown what to expect from the bank; the bank's function in each case is lucidly explained, and the client is shown how he can assist the bank to be of service to him, and how to facilitate the bank's work and to safeguard his own and the bank's interests by vigilance and strict observance of the forms and rules which he is asked to observe. For the many who may be inclined to consider the banks needlessly punctilious, he explains how the precautions taken contribute to the elimination of unnecessary risks and the prevention of fraud. The pamphlet is well timed, for, as the author points out in his preface, "there is a fair proportion of the population who are ignorant" of the benefits of banking, and "a number of business men who have lost good business through ignorance of banking." A perusal of these practical hints will assist them to understand and use the banks.

The Mystery of Banking.

To most illiterate Africans a bank and its business are mysteries, an incomprehensible phase of the many mysterious doings of the white men. The trader's business he can understand; buying and selling for profit are within the ambit of his experience. The trader's stores, where he sells goods and buys produce, are evidence of his function, while his stock of goods is proof of his wealth and stability. But the bank displays no stock; it shows nothing to attract customers. He is shrewd enough to understand that the bank is doing some sort of business out of which he makes a profit, but how is beyond comprehension. He understands money as the object of trade, but the idea of money as the subject of trade is new to him. The only dealer in money that he knows is the money-lender, who takes substantial security in jewels or other portable property before granting a loan, and charges heavy interest—and takes risks. He thinks that the bank's business is of a similar kind. This is why the banks are so often approached for advances or other accommodation outside their proper sphere. It is supposed to be the bank's business and desire to lend money and to finance enterprise. The function of a bank of deposit, its function as a creator of credit, its use as a vehicle of remittance are largely unrealised. The African farmer's economic education has not advanced far enough to teach him that money is only a symbol of wealth and that its real value is its purchasing power. He is still at the stage when it is regarded as treasure, and the piling up of treasure as wealth. He hoards his money—puts it in the old pot and buries it—because to him ownership consists in physical possession. To hand his money to another is to lose possession of it, and he has no idea of the stability of the bank to reassure him as to the safety of the money entrusted to its keeping. The bank is merely a European trading firm, of which he has seen many rise, flourish for a while and then disappear. He fears that some morning he may find the bank closed and his money lost.

Educating the Farmer.

This pamphlet of Mr. Hansen's is a textbook on banking for the use of West Africans, among whom, as the author says, "banking is almost in its infancy." At present the attention of bankers and banking facilities are mainly directed towards the external trade, but as the colonies are opened up and circulation is increased the internal trade will attract more and more attention. Then will be the opportunity for the rise of native banking and an internal banking system. The intervening time is the period and opportunity for education of the illiterate Africans by those who, like the author, have a practical knowledge of banking. Useful work to this end can be done by readers of this pamphlet if they follow the wish of the writer:—"It is my earnest hope that literate Africans will not hesitate to pass on to their illiterate friends, whenever opportunity offers, the simple hints contained herein, and endeavour to impress upon them the benefits of depositing money in a bank." The last paragraph of the book contains advice which should be taken to heart by every young African who has the ambition to rise in his calling and to qualify himself for the highest posts within his reach. "Africans employed by the banks should endeavour to know more about their business, and not be satisfied only with what happens to come across their paths in the office. *This applies to all Africans employed in any kind of business.* By studying books which treat on one's business one not only benefits by the knowledge, but is enabled to give better service to his employer, which ultimately raises him above the average. The maxim that 'reading makes a full man' is very true. The mental machinery, like any other, if not oiled, gets rusty." I hope that the Colonial Bank will cause the pamphlet to be widely circulated among the general public, as well as among its own customers.

W. F. H.

YELLOW FEVER.

Latest Official Statistics.

Further cases of yellow fever have occurred in various districts of the Gold Coast Colony, as indicated below:—

District.	Fresh cases.	Deaths.
Cape Coast	2*	1
Akwapim	9	1
Nsawam	7	1
Kpeve	2	0
Kpevo Ho	2*	0
Larteh	0	0

Europeans.

The Order declaring Larteh an infected area was revoked on July 5.

FRENCH DEPUTY TO VISIT U.S.A.

Champion of Negro's Rights.

France is known as the land of no colour line. Just why it is so, and what is France's colonial policy so far as her black citizens are concerned, we will be the privilege of coloured Americans to hear from the lips of a distinguished coloured Frenchman, Deputy Alcide Delmont, who is planning a trip to the United States in October this year.

Deputy Delmont, who belongs to the highest Masonic circles, is one of the leading lawyers in France. Three years ago, while practising law, in Paris, the people of his native land, Martinique, nominated and elected him to the French Parliament, unknown to him.

Deputy Delmont has had a brilliant career. Arriving in France from Martinique without friends or fortune he entered the law School of the University of Paris, where he won the Prix Pailhet. Soon after he took up practice in the Palace of Justice. He was sent by the Government to take charge of an important case in Martinique. Two recent cases of his that attracted much attention were the Siki case, and the suit brought by his colleague, Deputy Diague of Senegal, against Rene Moran, author of "Batoula," both of which he won.

During the war Deputy Delmont enlisted as a private, and was soon after promoted to a lieutenancy. He was awarded the Cross de Guerre, with several citations. Always taking a keen interest in people of his race, whether in Africa, the West Indies or France, he devoted himself to the interests of the black men in France after the war, and was rewarded for his services with the Cross of the Legion of Honour.

Deputy Delmont is founder of the French Colonial Institute; a member of the Central Committee of the Rights of Man, an organisation that takes up the cause of the oppressed everywhere; the author of several important books on law, and former counsel to the Paris Bar Association—a position he was forced to relinquish because of his large practice and his duties in the Chamber of Deputies. After the war, he ran on the ticket with Minister Painleve for Deputy for the Paris district, receiving over 45,000 votes.

At present he is one of the most eloquent members of the French Parliament, and a staunch supporter of good government, and along with his coloured colleague, Deputy Diagne, is always on the look-out for the interests of the negro.

The visit in October will be the second one that Deputy Delmont has made to the United States.—"The Anglo-American."

Race Problem - 1927

Native Church Separatism.

(FROM THE "CAPE ARGUS")

[*Continued.*]

Need for self-Expression.

After an examination of the causes of secession, Mr. Lea pays a tribute to the many native ministers who seek by constitutional means to secure redress of grievances and further opportunities for self-expression. He stresses the need for patience on the part of the older churches. "A right must be conceded before it is clamourously demanded. Privileges should be gradually given that tend to knowledge of the details of a constitution and how it operates before the claim to them becomes touched with bitterness. The Separatist Churches should not be persecuted by those who do not secede"

Mr. Lea is in agreement with the Government Commission, which reported 'that separation has become and must remain a permanent feature in the religious life of the public" In religion as in nature, in Bantu life as in European, he believes it to be one of the ordinary laws of existence. "It is a propensity that cannot be destroyed, no matter how much it may be guided or restricted Where there is life there will be the tendency to division and variation" The desire of the native for religious autonomy is undeniable, and "wisdom will dictate the making of provision for normal channels of self expression for native aspiration"

Bantu Churches

The formation of the Bantu Presbyterian Church, a Bantu Baptist Church, and the increased powers that have been given to Bantu members in the Anglican and Wesleyan churches, indicate painly enough the strength of a growing tendency.

Among the practical suggestions made by Mr. Lea is one for the better training of native church officers in the proper handling of trust money, as the lack of capacity to deal with church finance is a common source of trouble.

The vision of a united native church embracing all the churches in South Africa is but a dream in Mr. Lea's view. "The facts are against us today, and it seems that the denominations must abide for the present. Their differences may be softened and their points of agreement emphasised. There is more co-operation to-day than ever before, and what might be called the denominational superiority complex is becoming less dominant."

The value of Mr. Lea's useful little book is enhanced by a foreword written by Dr Henderson of Lovedale and by Professor Jabavu of the S A Native College.

Bantu Education.

[TO THE EDITOR, IMVO.]

Dear Sir,

Mr. Thurlbeck's letter on the education of our teachers in your issue of the 7th June will set many people thinking. In order to simplify the course which the candidates for the Native Primary Highea rs are required to take Mr. Thurbeck proposes to eliminate Latin from the Junior Certificate. For my part I do not think that Latin is useful, only to those reading for their degrees: I consider it is the means through which the candidates can obtain the only practical exercise in English composition. For a number of years I have been amazed by the poverty in English expression shown by our qualified teachers and yet all the school subjects, being more or less literary, seem to require a good command of elementary English to appreciate properly As compared with tradesmen such as carpenters and builders and agricultural students who pass through the Agricultural Colleges the teachers have always struck me as being a puzzled lot who were engaged in an occupation in which they do not feel themselves at home. Few of them seem to have mastered the most elementary terms of their profession. Fewer still ever acquire a taste for general reading and ever pursue further studies in their own profession or any other subject.

I am not in a position to state what subjects should be taught teachers so as to make them efficient but I think I may state a few things which teachers seem to lack. In a qualified teacher one naturally looks for some ability to write correctly and speak fluently; one expects an individual of intelligence who can converse about things in general, say the occupations and the doings of the people in his part of the country and in other parts as well; the Native people from time immemorial have been fond of song, dance, story, debate and *ibongo* but I do not know that our teachers are taught to appreciate and develop these things: men like Mqayi and Ndawo are only exceptions that prove the rule. It is true to a certain extent that the attitude if not expressed word of our places of learning throws ridicule if not avowed contempt on anything associated with what is known as heathenism but if our teachers had been taught to think independently a few years' residence among their people would soon convince them of the foolishness of an antagonistic attitude to the social life of their people If they keep away from it how are they going to purify, lead and uplift it?

One believes that the teachers aim to turn out students who will be like themselves. When it is considered that the great majority of the students leave school at the elementary stage of education it may be readily conceded that the subjects, especially in the lower classes, should take a practical turn and include not only agriculture but all the activities that Natives engage in at their homes. But this object will be advanced rather than retarded by a mastery of simple English, ability to converse about things in general and participation in the social life of the people.

How does Mr. Thurlbeck propose to supply the deficiencies pointed out above? The aim should be not to flood the market with teachers possessing the higher certificate but rather to turn out teachers well qualified to give satisfactory service and there is no need to give facilities for the training of these teachers to all the Institutions.

NATIVE CLEMENT KADALIE IN ENGLAND.

Class-War Propaganda.

(Special to the "African World.")

The propaganda upon which Mr. Clement Kadalie is engaged during his present visit to England is frankly that of class war. He desires to replace the old racial animosity between the white and the coloured man by the animosity of the worker for the capitalist. "We believe," he tells his English audiences, "that the workers should control the destinies of South Africa." As the proportion of coloured workers to the white population is that of four to one, the ultimate result of this propaganda would be the control of South Africa by coloured races. And Mr. Kadalie's references to the present Government suggest that such a result would have his approval. He tells us that the Ministry of Native Affairs is devised for the control of slaves; that the Government police have fired upon a peaceful native crowd, shooting twenty-three men and women; and that on one occasion the Government shot 300 religious fanatics armed only with Bibles; that the laws of western civilisation manufacture criminals in South Africa, and have for their object to keep the natives forever as wage slaves; and he pleads for the help of all the forces of democracy to liberate the workers from the oppression of the ruling class.

To inflame the minds of the black workers of South Africa with the virus of class-war is possibly a more dangerous act than the effort to rouse racial antagonism. The present generation has witnessed the result of unbridled class-war in Soviet Russia, with its massacre in five years of 1,700,000 Russians. It is not difficult for those who have seen Kaffir tribes intoxicated by blood shed to realise the possibilities of unbridled class-war in South Africa.

An Intemperate Article.

In an article written for an English Labour journal, and published last March, Mr. Kadalie speaks of the employers in South Africa as "human vampires"; and mentions, as a slogan of his Native Trade Union, "We want to be free men and women in the land of our forefathers." This union, which now operates in all the provinces of South Africa under the name of the "Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union," held a confernce in 1925, at which it was declared that the union aimed at breaking the wall of white autocracy and capitalism; and at the "overthrow of the capitalist system of Government in union with the workers of the world." We are told that Communist members of Mr. Kadalie's union have been expelled, and that he himself refused to attend the notorious Brussels "Conference against Colonial Oppression," and denounced it as a "Bolshevik affair, financed by Moscow." So long as the spirit of the Third International of Moscow animates Mr. Kadalie's utterances, the removal of certain Communist members of his union bears an inevitable suggestion of window-breaking. If Mr. Kadalie, during his visit to England, will openly and clearly denounce class-war propaganda, then we shall know that he no longer holds his former views as to the use of force as an industrial weapon.

It is very desirable that Mr. Kadalie's English audiences, during the lecture tour which is now being organised for him by the I.L.P., should realise the extent of the efforts recently made to introduce revolutionary Communism among the natives of South Africa. These "sinister activities of Sovietism" are especially directed against the coloured population. Store-boys and mine-labourers, and the men and women of the kraals on the veldt, are taught doctrines which their teachers have learnt to make attractive to native hearers at the training college for such propagandists now established in Moscow. Communist propaganda missions are sometimes held under the cloak of religious gatherings. Thre years ago, in 1924, the Communists of Johannesburg, two of whom have studied at the Moscow propaganda college, were enthusiastically encouraging native membership. The native paper, *Izwi-Lama Afrika*, of November 13, 1924, mentioned "that coloured Communists were visiting Cape Province, including two who had recently returned from Russia." The latter were addressing meetings of natives in Cape Town. In May of that year Communist propaganda was being carried out on the Natal plantations. This was reported at the Congress of the "Communist Youth International," held at Amsterdam. Pamphlets in the native languages and posters with popular slogans had been distributed. In this year, also, South African native delegates in Moscow were declaring that "the Communist Party in South Africa except to free the enslaved negro workers from the British yoke." Mr. Kadalie has uttered similar sentiments to a mass meeting of natives: "Within twenty years the white man must get out of Africa. We are training our soldiers now." In 1926 the Commissioner of Police stated that Communist propaganda was going on in every kraal in South Africa.

This year a Communist demonstration, held at Johannesburg, was attended by 2,000 natives together, with Indians and Chinese; and one of the principal speakers told his native audience that "if you will do what the Russian workers have done, and the Chinese are doing now, you, all the workers in this country, black and white, will be able to secure freedom." This, it will be noted, is precisely the propaganda Mr. Kadalie is now urging under the auspices of the I.L.P.—the propaganda of a "united front" of black and white workers, organised to liberate both black and white from "the oppression of the ruling class." It is a propaganda, the hideous dangers of which Mr. Kadalie's English audiences have, probably, very little conception.

C. M. G.

Notes At Random.

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(By "P.")

Chief Matela is in gaol at Hlotse having been sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment without an option by the Assistant Commissioner of Leribe. He is alleged to have resisted the police in the execution of their duty whilst out at his village for the purpose of searching for guns which had been reported to have been stolen in the Free State by his son who was on a visit to there. This young man is said to have been searched twice on his way back to his home and nothing was found on him or his attendants. The Basutoland police had however been informed and they went out to Chief Matela's to search. Chief Matela however informed them that according to the custom of the country he could not allow the searching of his village for such contraband goods as firearms without the knowledge and consent of his immediate superior chief and that he was therefore sending to the Chief of Leribe. This he did at once, but Chief of Leribe instead of giving his consent thought better of it and sent at once to the Paramount Chief to get his consent as he said that if he gave his consent on so big a matter as the searching of a chief's village for firearms alleged to have been stolen and smuggled into the territory by that chief's son he might perhaps offend the Paramount Chief and render himself liable to deposal as has recently been done in the case of one chief in the Mafeteng district. The Paramount Chief lost no time but sent back to say that Chief Jonathan should send and bring in Chief Matela to Butha-Buthe even if he was too ill to travel. Chief Masupha Josefa was sent by Chief Jonathan to carry out this order and Matela was brought to Butha Buthe where he was charged with resisting the police and sentenced as already stated.

In his defence Chief Matela is said to have pointed out that it was not within his rights to allow the searching of his village or villages without the knowledge and consent of his immediate chief and that he had been blamed before this by the Paramount Chief for permitting the Government to do certain things in his ward without his consent. But his protestations availed him nothing, the Magistrate turned a deaf ear to them and before sentencing him he subjected him to a severe lecture as to his disrespect for His Majesty the King and to all such talk as we never use to hear before from our benches. The conducting of the case was altogether strange and quite a novelty. The position of Chief Matela in the territory is well-known and that he is a chief of a large clan occupying a large tract of country. For a man of his position the charge preferred against him was a most serious one and as such, according to the custom of the country, the Paramount Chief should have been present either in person or through a representative because by reason of his being the head of the Basuto nation he is held responsible for such conduct as Chief Matela has been convicted of. Chief Jonathan's representatives were there but besides being allowed to put questions they were not invited to act as assessors. As these lines are written we understand that Chief Matela has noted an appeal and we therefore refrain from making any further comments. It is reported that the guns which were supposed to have been smuggled into the country have been recovered by the Union police in the Free State.

Native Administration Bill

This Bill which is good and bad in parts has come out from the Parliamentary Select Committee worse than when it went to that Committee—especially its scorpion like sting at the tail—The Sedition Clause. It was most unfortunate that the Prime Minister in sending the measure to a Select Committee stipulated that no evidence should be taken—except that of official experts—thus debarring evidence which might have been helpful in evolving a measure that may meet the various and numerous customs prevailing amongst the various Bantu tribes within the Union. It has been said with truth that Government in passing any legislation study the best interests of the people and legislate accordingly. As an instance of this we may cite The Draft Road Ordinance which has been discussed at Divisional Council Meetings and Congresses—and also a Commission appointed—all with the sole object of having a measure that may be popular and acceptable to the people for whom it is intended. And why the same procedure is not followed in dealing with a question so vital to the Bantu we cannot say. But the fact is there that Bantu opinion is ignored. Perhaps with the introduction of the Council system generally natives may be able to express their views on many Acts passed, presumably for their good, and have anomalies rectified. Under the Bill in question—under the sedition clause—the decision of the Magistrate is final and no appeal allowed from his decision. Surely a dangerous weapon to confer on magistrates—of course only conferred in dealing with legislation affecting Bantu as they are the under-dog. Even the clause dealing with deportation—any child could see that the Clause is aimed at Clements Kadalie. It is to be hoped that efforts will be made to rectify these anomalies before the Bill passes into the Statute Book.

AFRICAN CHIEFS FORM CO-OPERATIVES; FLOOD OUTRAGES; OTHER NEGRO NOTES

Stephenson Bribed Negroes Too.

D. C. Stephenson, ex-K. K. K. Grand Dragon of Indiana scattered his checks about freely. The investigation now going on has uncovered one paid to a Negro newspaper, The Indianapolis Ledger. This was for publicity in the colored sheet to insure white supremacy and the election of Gov. Ed. Jackson. The Ledger has since gone out of business.

* * *

Chicago Negroes Want Unions.

The Committee for the Promotion of Trade Unions among Negro Workers has been formed in Chicago.

* * *

African Chiefs Form Co-ops.

African chiefs on the west coast of Africa have formed co-operative societies for the steady marketing of tropical products. W. Tete-Ansa from the Gold Coast and Chief Amoah of Nigeria have been in this country for some weeks to make arrangements for shipments to America. West Africa has been dealing with London but the representatives of the co-operatives are seeking a wider market for cocoa, palm oil and mahogany.

* * *

Forced to Withdraw Obnoxious Clauses.

The Hertzog government was so hard pressed by labor members of the South-African parliament that it was forced to withdraw the so-called sedition clauses in the Native Administration bill now before the House. The Industrial and Commercial Worker's union, a native organization, protested the measure also, along with the South African Labor Party. Arthur Barlow, labor member warned parliament, that the South African Labor Party would stand by native union, as it was part of the organized labor movement of the world. The Industrial and Commercial Workers are now affiliated with the Amsterdam International. Kadalie, the leader of the native union, is in Europe now, probably for the Amsterdam International Convention. He plans to come to America later for a lecture tour.

REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT.

Mr. B. Makapela (Native Voters Association), of Kimberley, was of the opinion that the conference should support the consistent condemnation and rejection of the Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill, as had been expressed in resolutions at the Government and other Native conferences. Further the conference should support direct representation of Natives in Parliament as the only means of ensuring harmonious co-operation between Bantus and Europeans.

Chief Zibi, of Rustenburg, seconded the motion, which met with the approval of the gathering.

Mr Calvert moved a resolution based on the poll tax, protesting against Act 41 of 1925, which imposed on Natives in the Cape Province for the first time a direct tax; alternatively to amend the Act so as to exempt from its operation natives over the age of 60, natives who already pay urban rates and taxes and those who earn less than 10s per month. Mr Sishuba seconded. It was urged natives with small earnings could not afford to pay the tax. The resolution was carried.

Race Problem - 1927

Africa

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH AFRICA?

Lord Olivier's Latest Volume.

Specially reviewed for "The African World."

The African World
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When an ex-Cabinet Minister, who has made the native subject races his life-study, whose career has been devoted to colonial affairs, who has been Governor of one British Colony and filled high official posts in several others, sets out to educate the world as to the relations between white men and blacks in a particular part of the Dominions of the Crown, it is untitled, even though his opportunities of studying these relations at first hand may have been slight, to be listened to with respect.

Correspondingly his audience, who may not have enjoyed the same advantages, have a right to demand that he shall handle his subject in a judicial spirit, keep pre-conceived theories in the background, and refrain from any display of personal prejudice. With every wish to profit by Lord Olivier's experience, we are obliged to confess that in "The Anatomy of African Misery" he has failed to impress us, because he has been unable to conceal the animosities of his own political creed.

Let us frankly admit that he has diagnosed with unerring perspicacity the morbid growths which are afflicting the national life of South Africa, and that he has a very clear vision of the disastrous issue which must result if they are permitted to develop unchecked. Our complaint is that he enters the field with certain obsessions which permeate every page of his book, that he allows his private convictions to influence his judgment, and that he has thereby materially impaired the value of the work as a dispassionate summary of a complex social problem. He starts with the doctrine that the root cause of all the economic evils which beset Africa to-day is the capitalistic spirit which aims at exploiting native peoples for commercial ends, and behind all his arguments one can discern the dominant idea of the fundamental equality of all members of the human race, irrespective of creed, colour, or present condition, and the fundamental duty of all reformers to see that differences of treatment are terminated. His "Anatomy" is an attempt to trace all the troubles in modern South Africa—colour prejudice, the curse of the "poor whites," and the exclusion of natives from the land—to the influence of capitalism and the denial of equal rights.

The Colour Prejudice.

The colour prejudice, which exists to-day in its full vigour in the Union, and is found in a lesser degree in Rhodesia, Kenya, and Nyasaland, is traced back to the days when, for commercial purposes, companies were formed to turn to account parts of the world naturally favoured by Providence, but allowed to run to waste by the aboriginal inhabitants. These were incapable of providing the plantation work required by the European settlers, and slave labour had in consequence to be imported. When humanitarian ideas were awakened in the early nineteenth century, the principle that manual labour was degrading for white men had become ingrained, and although naked slavery was abolished it was replaced by indentured labour, which was only slavery in a veiled form. Finally, the colour bar was reinforced by the discovery of diamonds and gold creating an industry which demanded an army of cheap manual labour in order to secure profits for shareholders and high wages for a limited number of Europeans. Lord Olivier admits that the gold mines have the reputation of being good employers, or, as he expressively puts it, "Their limbo of Hell is quite efficiently ordered," but he nevertheless denounces Witwatersrand as "the gigantic keystone of the arch of South African trouble."

But in laying the blame at the doors of the capitalistic classes he apparently ignores the fact that the elimination of the colour bar would be greatly to the advantage of the mining companies. There are many kinds of work on the mines now performed exclusively by white men which could be carried on with equal efficiency and at a far cheaper rate by trained natives. It is to meet the demands of the White Labour Party that the colour bar has been maintained and has now been placed on the statute book by General Hertzog.

When he comes to Rhodesia Lord Olivier's indignation against capitalism waxes still more violent. In his judgment the Chartered Company were usurpers who robbed the natives of their land. Does he suppose that the Boers or Germans who aspired to obtain Rhodesia—and would have succeeded but for Cecil Rhodes—would have allowed the natives to remain undisturbed in possession of vast tracts which they could not use or develop, or would he have preferred to leave Rhodesia as a happy hunting ground for Lobengula and his Matabele warriors in the idyllic condition which he describes in the following graphic language:—

> "The Chief's official power (before white men tampered with it) was a 'dictatorship of the proletariat,' exercised through a Tcheka of witch-doctors, through smelling out, the civic duty of delation (informing against any transgressor of the principles of communal health enforced by the unseen world) and the prompt killing or 'eating up' of offenders or suspects."

To Lord Olivier everything connected with Rhodes or the Chartered Company is anathema. In referring to the late Sir Robert Coryndon, who initiated in Kenya the "dual policy" which has now received the blessing of the Colonial Office he terms him "one of Jameson's Matabeleland looters." The late Mr. Selous he describes as "the renowned destroyer of African fauna." The Matabele war was the outcome of a "secret agreement" between the late Dr. Jameson and a number of gentlemen adventurers to "smash the Matabele and divide up their cattle as loot," and so on.

The most convincing portion of the book is that devoted to an *exposé* of General Hertzog's Segregation Bill which Lord Olivier condemns as ineffective, because it does not provide for the "Europeanised" native who can no longer return to tribal conditions, and insincere, because it leaves the natives the alternative of seeking land at impossible prices on inadequate areas, or becoming servants of European masters, and does not preclude the Europeans themselves from acquiring land in areas released for native occupation.

But, as a whole, the book is unsatisfying and irritating. It sees and recognises the disease: it probes about and indicates causes, but it absolutely fails to suggest remedies. Furthermore, it is marred in many instances by cowardly stabs at men who are no longer alive to defend themselves.

Leribe Notes.

The Vagaries Of Justice

(by P.)

The state of affairs in Leribe has been much upset in the last two or three months, or to be more correct since the transfers which have been made. There is so much uncertainty as to what is what, that every thinking person is asking his neighbour what the future of Leribe is in store for us and what the end will be. Nearly everything which has been done by the previous holders of the reins of the administration of this district is being set aside and when one comes to the running of the so-called Government Reserve he is staggered with amazement. As one Councillor said in the National Council some few years ago "there appears to have come into our midst a Pharaoh who knew not Joseph." That was an apt expression to suit the subject under discussion in the Council, but how much more does it suit the present circumstances under which we the people of Leribe in general and of the Reserve in particular are living! To us it appears that the predecessors—in office of the presents occupants and ourselves included were all living in a fool's paradise and today we are being disillusion from that imagmation. But the transition from that state is so sudden that we are naturally flabergasted and regard with apprehension the new changes the old order of things that are daily taking place without concultation. At the present moment what is disturbing the minds of the leaders of the millions of our kinsmen in the vast Union provinces is the want of consultation with them by the Union Government In matters especially affecting the Native peoples But I may say in justice to the Union authorities that they have seen the need of consultation with Native leaders and have taken advantage of it. They the annual Native Conference held in Pretoria and Native Councils are about to be established in convenient loculities throughout the Union and last but not the least there are Native Advisory Boards established under the Urban Areas Act. In Basutoland we have the so-called Native Council which functions very little than the proposed Native Councils in the Union. It is a little more than "a talking shap" There is no order in the proper sense of the word and the regulations which have been made years ago for the proper conduct of the Council along parliamentarian lines have altogetter been overlooked or set aside just to please the chiefs who are "the loudest talkers" and the

last-seased. But I am departing from my subject which was about.

The Vagaries of Justice in Leribe

Some few weeks ago I mentioned in the columns of this paper the case of one Jack Maoba who was convicted under Molaŋ No. 21 and sentenced to pay a fine of £2 when the other parties who were convicted along with him were only fined £1 and 10s respectively. There is no need for me to go into details of that glaringly unjust judgment of the headman of the Camp and the sub-sequent results of it. Last year about fifteen persons were arrested who were in possession of hop-beer. Samples of the beer were taken from them and sent to an analyst as it was alleged and out of these nine were reported to contain a higher percentage of alcohol than the law allows and these nine were fined each £3, the remaining six got scot-free. These people were arrested by the then headman and handed over to the government.

A few weeks ago one woman was arrested by the present headman and her hop-beer was sent for analytical investigation. This woman was tried just the other day by the Acting Assistant Commissioner and sentenced to three months inprisonment with hard labour without an option of a fine. Another woman who is the wife of the landlord of the hut which this woman rented was fined £1 or a term of imprisonment. A few days later this same woman (the landlords') was asfulted by the messengers of the headman because she refused to allow them to take her drinking-pot. This was all done in her husband's absence from home. But when the affair was being brought to the Assistant Commissioner by her husband's relatives she was never brought before him by those who should have done it and up to now her complaint has not been looked into.

Shortly after this hop-beer was found at the hut of the improvised secretary of the headman. It was brought to the headman in the usual manner but was never sent for analytical purposes as the others had been. The case was tried by the headman and his court in spite of protestations from other sources that the matter should be treated as others have been Strange enough the police sergeant and others members of the force were present at the headman's court where a drinking pot containing hop beer was produced as "corpus delicti." They took an interesting part in the conducting of the case but did not wish to know why this case like the others was not handed over to them by the headman. The judgments of the court was that the accused should pay a fine of ten shillings only and was granted ten days' grace to pay this fine. The whole proceedings were very ludicrous as by what has taken place before this and subsequent to it the case should never have come before the headman's court as hop-beer is classed as one of the intoxicating liquors that are prohibited in Basutoland by the High Commissioner's proclamation. To prove that the court was not satisfied with the action of the headman in trying this case himself one of his principal henchman requested that the fine should be brought before the court as he was suspicious that it would not be paid judging by the attitude of the headman in the case. So for we have not heard whether the fine has been paid and it would be interesting to know whether it has or what steps the headman has taken to have the judgment fulfilled in view of what he has done in the case of Jack Maoba.

I do not write about these matters because I am spiteful against any of the persons concerned. I firmly beleive that an injustice is being committed on the simple people who are not convervant with the law as it exists. No man of responsibility or anyone who has a sense of justice can tolerate such doings without raising his voice against their perpetration. What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. A headman or anyone else is not "a law unto himself." He must not discriminate between persons under him. He must mete out justice to everyone alike without fear or favour. This is not what is being doen in this Camp. Favouritism runs galore and in convequence there is no justice. The other day the headman got into a hut and in his frenzy smashed the pots and upturned everything in the hut and ended by assaulting the wife of the occupant of the hut. The reason was because she had hop-beer which he seized and had it sent to the Government for analysis. But no report has ever come and no notice has been taken of her claim for the damage done Such doings did not take place during the regime previous to thses transfers and changes We must either have been living in a fool's paradise or that the officers in charge at the time were neglectful of their duties. 'O tempora O mores !"

—o—

In accordance with the new state of affairs I understand that Mr James Makepe has recently been granted an appeal straight from the court of the headman of the Reserve to the Paramount Chief's court accompanied by a letter from the Assistant Commissioner approving of the action. I understand that Mr Makepe protested against this in the court of the headman as also did the members of the court pointing out that the appeal should go to Chief Jonathan's court in the first instance, but that the hdman held that appeals from his court could not go to Chief Jonathan's court as it was a lower court to his. Mr Makepe has been to Matsieng with the appeal and I understand he has been referred back to Leribe as the appeal was irregular in every respect. I wonder who is going to pay the expenses for the trouble taken on account of this irregularity ?

COURT INTERPRETERS.

THE pact Government in its zeal for replacing Native interpreters by Europeans is perhaps unknowingly doing a great disservice to the administration of justice. It is a well known fact that few Europeans have mastered the Bantu language with its idioms, and defective white interpreters make matters worse, with the result that magistrates who have to depend on interpreters for their decisions soon earn for themselves a bad reputation of "Gwebecimile" (blind judging). It is time Natives jealously watched matters and record any incidents which may lead to a subversion of justice. We notice that attorneys in important cases have to seek the help of Native interpreters. We are informed that in a certain town with a large Native population the European interpreter in a most important case made awful blunders in his interpretation. Among many we may only cite two. The word "fulatela" was interpreted as "lie on your back," and when it came to the word "ishwangusha" (misfortune) he was non-plussed, and a retired Native interpreter who happened to be in court at the time came to his assistance.

We trust the Minister of Justice will look into this matter and save our people from unnecessary imprisonment due to the deficiencies of European interpreters.

the elections, hand over all the voting records to the Returned General Secretary and the Banking records to the General Treasurer of the African National Congress.

11. That the Returned President shall, immediately on commencing the work, summons his Executive Council to meet in Bloemfontein, to frame the regulations which will govern the financial scheme of the Congress, to amend the Constitution of the African National Congress and furnish the Provinces with the copies of the amendments for criticism and that the amended Constitution shall be brought finally before the annual Convention in 1928.

12. That the Transvaal African Congress requests its nominees whose names appeared in this Memorandum to communicate with the General Secretary of the Transvaal African Congress, P O. Box 31, Jeppestown, Johannesburg, to reject or accept the nomination.

THE GOVERNMENT NATIVE CONFERENCE.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE MEETING AT PRETORIA.

[By D. D. T. JABAVU.—In the "Cape Times."]

[*Continued from our last issue*]

CAPE DISFRANCHISEMENT.

The first bill discussed was the Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill which is the pivot of the wheel of the Premier's native policy. "A proper understanding of this bill," said Mr R V. Thema, the opening speaker, "is a perusal of the Premier's speech made at Smithfield in November last, where he pointed out that the Cape native vote was a danger, as it would, within fifty years, inevitably compel the enfranchisement of the Transvaal natives too. Therefore, the Prime Minister argued, the supremacy of the white man can only be safeguarded by the abolition of the Cape native in its present form."

The Conference speakers combated this theory with a platform ability that might well be enviable by any ordinary European conference The main grounds of ob ection were: (a) It is unconstitutional and contrary to all British tradition to tamper with the Cape native vote in view of the definite promises made to the Imperial Parliament by the Union Act Deputation in 1909. (b) It is not necessary to injure the privileges of the Cape natives in order to confer benefit to the Northern natives. (c) The proposed system of voting for members of Parliament by tribal groups is an anomalous monstrosity irreconcilable with the advance already made by certain sections of natives in their detribalised conditions of individual tenure and in urban areas; (d) separate representation is contingent upon absolute territorial segregation, as an imperium in imperio is an impossibility; (e) the seven members, being white, the natives would be losers by the bargain as they would be responsible for perpetuating the Constitutional Colour Bar against themselves, as well as lose the services of the present fourteen members returned by native constituencies

As a constructive suggestion it was pointed out that just as the restrictions in Natal were serious enough to reduce native voters to two, in the whole Province, so, the machinery for preventing a general swamping of white voters lay in the hands of the dominant race. The enfranchisement of white women was another suggestion. Also, a modest franchise system could be introduced in the Northern Provinces without any preliminary destruction of the Cape native vote.

It is remarkable that the keenest opponents of the proposal to disfranchise the Cape native were the voteless natives of the North, who led the conference to pass a categorical rejection of the Bill. This incidentally shows the high degree of unanimity attained to-day by the natives of the Union; for they only met for the first time at the doors of St Andrew's Hall, without any previous consultation as to the attitude they should adopt. All they knew of each other's view was, in a few cases, the general newspaper opinion. But as the great majority of the fifty consists of illiterate chiefs from the hinterland of Zululand and the Transvaal, knowing nothing of Parliamentary reports, it may be taken for granted that this unanimity was spontaneous and sincere, not engineereed by special efforts. Nor was it due to agitation or propaganda; for the nominated members owe their seats to their Magistrates, who regularly sel ct the restrained element, assidnously side-stepping the more aggressive patriotic organisers of native associations so often libellously daubed "agitators."

Independent Status.

THE generality of Natives in this country are not actively following the high-brow politics of the Imperial Conference where General Hertzog in the name of South Africa has been agitating the minds of the British and Dominion parliamentarians. Most of our people are too much worried by the Poll Tax to interest themselves in the claims for Dominion Independence made by their father, the Prime Minister, in London. Nevertheless, some of the more intelligent Bantu were deeply concerned over the fate of the only link that survives between the King of England and the Bantu, namely the Letters of Instruction to all Governors-General of South Africa whereby the Cape Native franchise, even if passed by a two-thirds majority of both Houses of Parliament of the Union in a joint sitting, shall be reserved finally for signature by the King of England himself. This gave the Bantu of the Union the only definite right to appeal directly to the King over a law passed by the Union Parliament. A Reuter cable has now assured us that this reservation remains unimpaired; because "Replying to several questions in regard to the report of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee in the House of Commons on Thursday, 25th November, 1926, the Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin, said the right of a Governor-General to refuse assent to a Domion Parliamentary measure, or to reserve the measure for the consideration of the Crown, was not dealt with in Committee. He was not aware that any change was contemplated in the right of veto."

Therefore if General Hertzog is satisfied and delighted with the outcome of his mission in London, so are the Bantu Cape voters; for our fear was lest he should succeed in cutting off this veto of the King and thereby put himself in a position to steam-roll his Native Bills which in the last analysis depend upon the abolition of the Cape Native Franchise. Possibly he found it unwise to let the cat out of the bag prematurely by insisting on the King's veto as a minimum of his desire to obtain independent national status for South Africa. The General's discretion has proved the better part of his valour, and if he is highly satisfied, so are we.

[News supplied by D. D. T. Jabavu, Box 8, Alice.]

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Seaside Town In Belgium Is scene of International Conference

A little seaside town in Belgium, Le Zoute by name, has been the scene of a Conference of missionary forces during the week, September 14-20. If we count Africa as only one, thirteen countries have been represented and sixty-three mission societies from Europe, America and South Africa have contributed to the personnel.

The purpose of the conference was to study the rapidly changing and developing conditions in the various parts of Africa, and to try to discover how the missionary forces might more effectively relate themselves to these conditions in order to more rapidly advance the kingdom of God. It was clear that the time had come for all the missionary interests to come together for this purpose and under the auspices of the International Missionary Council this meeting was at last brought about.

The delightful fellowship of the nearly two hundred and fifty people present has been productive of increased understanding and sympathy. Both Native Africans and American Negroes have had large opportunity to express their hopes and convictions. National barriers have been forgotten in the earnestness to lay before the conference the experience of very group.

The plan of the program in general divided the subjects for discussion under five general heads. Evangelism claimed first attention on the opening morning of the conference The second morning was devoted to Education. The African Church and its Problems, and Racial Contacts and Cooperation each occupied a morning session. During the afternoon hours sectional meetings were held to discuss more adequately problems brought out in those morning meetings. In addition Health and Native Welfare was the subject of study of one section. The evening sessions of the Conference were devoted to addresses on more general subjects and by government representatives and other philanthropic agencies.

Each of the sections met on three afternoons and formulated a series of resolutions which were considered and adopted by the whole conference on the closing day.

The significance of this conference cannot be over-empasized. Cooperation might be called the keynote of its deliberations. It has been a revelation to many who had little conception of the amount of effort or the quality of work which is being done both by missionary agencies and by governmental forces. Of course there mere holding of the Conference, demonstrates the fact that the missionary enterprise recognizes many of its present shortcomings and evidences its desire to improve the situa-

tion. To this end certain resolutions of very far-reaching importance were adopted..

Some of the resolutions adopted:

Language and Literature

Welcome to the newly established International Institute of African Languages and Cultures and recommendation that missions and mission boards cooperate with it.

An emphasis on the importance of missionary bodies laying out for themselves a program of publication of Christian literature for their work.

That attention be given to the preparation of adequate literature for helping the African Church in its ef-

That steps be taken to emphasize the emmense importance of cooperative effort in developing adequate literature.

Economic Matters

That African natives should be more clearly protected in their holdings of land because of the great significance which this has in the proper development of the people.

The African should be protected from exploitation in the sale of compulsory use of his labor.

Education

The resolutions under this head are too extensive to summarize briefly but they outline a most significant policy for the carrying on of educational work throughout equatorial and South Africa. The use of the vernacular and the problems of religious education were also strongly considered and resolutions adopted.

Evangelism and the Church

The main effort of the Christian Church is the carrying of the evangel to those who have not received it and this purpose was set forth in strong terms.

The high devotional and spiritual life of the conference together with the very rare quality of interchange of opinions on a uniformly high level make it one that will exert a very large influence on mission, and probably on government, thought the planning for years to come.

Health and Native Welfare

The increased utilization of mission schools for the spreading of knowledge regarding health matters.

A request to the International Missionary Council to explore the possibility of securing a larger measure of cooperation between missions and other agencies in a definite and united campaign against disease.

—National Baptist Voice.

Slavery in Abyssinia.

SOME time ago the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society was approached by the Foreign Office, as the current number of its organ tells us, to help in the establishment and maintenance of a school in the Abyssinian capital for poor children and freed slaves, and with its usual energy the Society consented. That is an interesting piece of news. It will be remembered that during the controversies over the entry of Abyssinia to the League of Nations in 1923 and over the Anglo-Italian Agreement of 1925 the existence of domestic slavery in Abyssinia was one of the chief arguments urged against her admission to equality with other nations. The statement in defence that the Abyssinian Government under the enlightened RAS TAFARI was attacking the problem with vigour and not without success was denied, but the new school is evidence that something has been and is being done, for there could be no need for a school for liberated slaves unless slaves were in process of being liberated. The difficulties facing the Regent were not always understood. Domestic slavery has been part and parcel of Abyssinian life for centuries, as it is in other Eastern countries in a similar stage of development, and it can only be abolished by degrees. Governments have to walk warily. The Abyssinian Government has risked a good deal as it is, in its reforming zeal, but it has escaped disaster. An encouraging beginning has been made for which RAS TAFARI deserves support and sympathy.

THE GOVERNMENT NATIVE CONFERENCE.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE MEETING AT PRETORIA.

[By D. D. T. JABAVU.—IN THE "CAPE TIMES."]

[*Continued.*]

The Conference is perfectly representative in regard to the moderate section; but so far as the better known active organisations are concerned (e.g., the African National Congress; the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union; the Bantu Union; the Fiskei Native Convention; the Cape Native Voters' Convention), who, according to Act 23 of 1920 should be directly represented, it left out a whole array of bright debaters, men like C. Mabaso, T. Mapikela, Clements Kadalie, A. W. Champion, E. Makalima, Dr Rubusana, C. Madosi, S. Sonjica, S M. Ncwana, J A. Sishuba, to mention only two outstanding figures from each respective society.

Notwithstanding these omissions, it is generally agreed that the Conference authentically reflected the feeling of all the Bantu in the South African Union.

INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE BILLS.

The Bills are linked up in such a way that one cannot become law without the others. This inflexible character of the Premier's policy led to a position of stalemate in the Conference discussions because, just as vigorously as the delegates opposed the Representation Bill, so were they desirous to take the Union Council Bill and to urge either the repeal of the 1913 Land Act of a radical change in the proposed Amendment Bill—all of which was impossible without committing oneself to the objectionable Representation Bill. No reasonable party can blame the delegates for their obduracy on this point, inasmuch as General Hertzog was certain to drive these Bills through Parliament as he did the Colour Bar Act on the pretext that he had consulted the natives: whereas this Conference, meeting only once a year as it does, has no other opportunity to voice its opinion, not even during the Select Committee stages.

From this juncture the delegates became obsessed by a fear lest their decisions be taken as committing the Conference to an approval of the Disfranchisement Bill as it is indivisibly bound up with the other Bills by the link of interdependence. It is apparent that, even in Parliament itself, this reason may conceivably bring about the total wreck of the scheme unless the Government reconsider the position and allow the Bills to be discussed and passed into law separately, each on its own merits. This will be the acid test of the sincerity of the Prime Minister when he claims a desire to settle the native problem on an equitable basis acceptable to the natives themselves. If the Government elects to persist in this cast-iron position, then the Native Affairs Conference is reduced to a fiasco, and the principle of honesty dictates that consultation with the natives be abandoned as a futile institution.

International Conference in Belgium.

[*continued*]

IMPRESSIONS

By the Rev. Z. R. Mahabane
(South Africa)

These and many others were as interesting, educative as they were illuminating, and we believe they will exert a profound influence upon the public thought of the civilized world in reshaping its missionary, educational, economic and political policy for Africa so as to allow it to keep abreast with the changing times and conditions.

DIVERSITY OF CONDITIONS.

There was in the course of the proceedings a great diversity or dissimilarity of conditions prevailing in the different parts of the vast Continent, a clash or conflict of interests in some, a disparity in the degree of development attained by the various tribes and indigenous peoples of the Continent Yet in the midst of this "babel of tongues" it may fairly be averred that the Conference was a miraculous success, thanks to the great qualities of statesmanship displayed by the leaders of the Conference in their endeavours to steer the Conference ship clear of the rocks of partisanship

THE LAND OF COLOUR BARS.

Men who have travelled extensively and with their eyes open spoke in glowing terms of the new forces that are operating in the direction of the religious, moral, cultural and material transformation of Africa. But in these accounts a note of pessimism or despondency was audible whenever reference was made to the condition of the Continent, where currents appear to be blowing in a contrary direction. What a glaring contrast was revealed when M. Louis Franck, a Belgian ex-Secretary of State for the Colonies, contrasted the Belgian Colonial policy of making that portion of Africa where Belgium rules a "Blackman's land" with the policy of the representatives of the Government of the Union of South Africa of the making of that country a "whiteman's land;" also when Mile L. Homburger of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, in a witty but trenchant little speech declared that the phrase "Colour Bar" was incapable of translation into French, becuse in the French Republic all men, irrespective of race or colour, enjoy rights and privileges of French citizenship on a footing of equality! And I believe the delegates from South Africa felt small when M. Louis Franck related the story of how sometime ago certain white agitators from South Africa visited the Belgian Congo and started to propagate the pernicious doctrines of the Colour Bar and Colour discrimination among the European Settlers of the Colony and how that he as Colonial Secretary instructed the Governor of Territory to order them to leave the country immediately. Yes, in the panorama of facts and conditions brought out by this review of the African situation South Africa was revealed and stood condemned as the "Land of Colour Bars"

Race Problems - 1927

Africa

AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND AFRO-EUROPEAN CO-OPERATION.

SIR F. D. LUGARD ON THE NEW INSTITUTE'S WORK AND AIMS.

[Reproduced by permission of the British Broadcasting Corporation from a talk given by Sir Frederick Lugard from London on January 20.]

I am invited to speak to-day about the formation of an Institute for the practical study of African peoples, their languages, beliefs, and mentality; for unless we understand something of the motives which govern the conduct of a people we cannot hope to rule them wisely, justly and sympathetically. Perhaps I can best illustrate how the mentality of an African differs from ours by recalling an incident which I have related elsewhere.

A peaceful industrious tribe in Nyasaland had been wiped out by a party of Arab slave-raiders. The women and some of the men had been carried off as slaves and the rest massacred. The Arabs against whom we were fighting had a strong stockade, but a man who had escaped from the slaughter managed, alone and naked, in the dead of night, to break a way through and abstract a cow. He was brought to me with the cow and described how he had got it. I asked if he had not been afraid to run the risk of almost certain death, but he explained that he had really run no risk at all, for the cow would fetch a higher price than he would himself as a slave. Therefore the odds were in his favour, for by succeeding he stood to win more than he could lose by losing his own life.

Though he knew we were fighting against these slavers he clearly thought that I should be angry at his audacity in gaining such a prize, and he implored me to keep the cow and let him off any further punishment. When I praised his pluck and told him to keep the cow he made off as fast as he could lest I should recover from what seemed to him like temporary insanity.

But it is not enough to endeavour to understand the point of view of Africans. You must also learn what are the beliefs and superstitions which prompt their actions, in order to deal justly with them. When, for instance, a prisoner accused of changing himself into a leopard by night and killing people, pleaded guilty, his reason, he explained, was because all the villagers had said he had done this and so it must be true. No doubt much bloodshed has been caused by ignorance of Native beliefs and traditions—just as the bloody Ashanti War was due to ignorance of the real meaning of the "Golden Stool."

A Nigerian Episode.

But perhaps the most fertile of all causes of misunderstanding is ignorance of the Native languages. It was due to the fault of a bad interpreter that Resident Maloney was murdered in Nigeria, with consequent fighting and loss of life.

The governing body of this new Institute, which will be a clearing house for information on so many important aspects of the life of the people of Africa, will be international. It will number about 40 representatives from scientific societies from various countries in Europe, America, Egypt and South Africa. It will also include missions of all sects, who have exceptional opportunities for studying the languages, beliefs, customs and traditions of Africa. The British and French Governments have expressed cordial approval.

The object in view is to promote international co-operation in the task which Western civilisation has undertaken in its dealings with primitive African peoples, to form a bureau of information where the work already done by different countries can be made available for educational and other purposes. Its headquarters will be in London. The Institute will abstain from any interference whatever in matters of policy and administration and will be a link between scientific knowledge and practical work in Africa. The first task is to lay down principles for a practical orthography for African languages, and to apply them to particular cases after full consultation with all those who have knowledge. Meanwhile it will collect its publications in African languages and also books in European languages dealing with African beliefs, tribal laws, languages, customs, and music. Finally, it will publish a quarterly journal.

The services of Professor Delafosse, of Paris, and of Professor Westermann, of Berlin, both of whom had acquired an international reputation in these subjects, were secured as directors of the Institute, by whom, under the supervision of an Executive Council, the work will be carried out. We have suffered an irreparable loss by the recent death of M. Delafosse, who has been succeeded by M. Labouret.

Help from the Gold Coast.

We have already received substantial contributions. American sympathy has expressed itself by a subscription of £1,000 for five years from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation. The Gold Coast has opened the list of contributions from our own Colonies with a subscription of £500 a year for at least two years; and other promises have been received from various quarters. Full information will be sent to anyone interested on application to the secretary, at 22, Craven Street, S.W.1, adjoining the Royal Colonial Institute.

Africa in past years has been the scene of constant international rivalry and friction. These jealousies are for the most part buried now, but among the nations who have undertaken the great responsibility of guiding the evolution of the primitive races of Africa there is as yet no international co-operation in the actual work. The real significance of this project, is the endeavour to bring about this co-operation.

To-day it is realised that Africa is a potential source of unlimited supplies of foodstuffs and raw materials, and also a great market. But it is only just beginning to be realised that its population is not dense. It has been decimated by the slave trade and tribal war in the past, and is increasing very slowly, if at all. The supply of raw materials and foodstuffs, such as cotton, fibres, hides, oil, seeds, tobacco, cocoa and sugar, depends on African labour, and the demand for labour is tending to disintegrate African life and to retard the growth of the population. From the purely selfish and material point of view, therefore, there is a growing recognition of the necessity of a more accurate knowledge of the causes of these ill effects and of the conditions of African life, in order that economic development may be undertaken, not only to the benefit of Europe and America, but without decreasing the population of Africa.

But there is another standpoint. The moral responsibility towards the people of Africa of the nations who exercise control, has steadily gained international recognition since the suppression of the overseas slave trade. The most recent evidence is the conclusion of the new Slavery Convention, already signed by 26 nations and still awaiting completion, together with the committee of experts which will meet in the summer under the auspices of the International Labour Organisation to discuss the question of forced labour. But the facts regarding African life, African laws, customs and beliefs are still little known, and different nations adopt different views, based on different premises. It is for each nation to decide its own policy. With this the Institute has nothing to do. Its aim is to present the facts upon which a policy can be based and to present them with the authority of an impartial international body.

If we can, for instance, make a complete bibliography of all the writers, of whatever nation, who have studied a particular tribe or group of tribes, their customary law, the belief or fears which prompt them to action or restrain them from doing certain things, we should thus summarise for practical use the entire body of existing knowledge. In dealing with offenders in the courts it is essential to know what was the prompting motive. Without such knowledge justice would be impossible. I recall an instance in Nyasaland of the curious point of view of an African, who, having stolen a handsome walking-stick in the night from an Englishman's hut, calmly offered it for sale to the owner next morning. When the owner protested that he was being asked to buy his own property the man replied, "It was yours last night, but it is mine to-day."

Customs and Denationalistation.

Again, labourers employed by Europeans are apt to abandon their tribal allegiance and become denationalised because the employers through ignorance of Native customs have failed to appreciate how necessary it is, during the transitional stage through which the African is passing, to maintain the old social order until a new and better one gradually takes its place. The disastrous effects of the first impact between a pushing commercial civilisation and the immemorial customs of Africa can indeed only be averted by a scientific study of African life.

Similarly in regard to the vast number of different languages and dialects, we want to be able to select those most widely spoken or with the largest affinities, to encourage their study and to promote a literature in the vernacular.

The study of African institutions and modes of thought can only be thoroughly accomplished through a knowledge of the languages in which those thoughts are expressed. It will have a profound effect on methods of education, than which nothing can be more important.

Each nation can undertake these investigations and each is now doing so to a greater or lesser degree, but co-operation between them will not only save duplication of work and ensure better results, tending to raise the standards of each, but there can be little doubt that such co-operation throughout so vast a continent as Africa would have a most useful international reaction in Europe and America. An institution whose primary object is friendly co-operation on scientific lines, largely for the benefit of backward races, may very possibly exert an influence outside Africa not less beneficial than Locarno. For it differs from any other international institute that I know of, in that its objects are practical. Its programme is one of definite work and not merely of periodical congresses and of the preparation of scientific essays. England is more concerned than any other nation, for she controls by far the larger proportion of the people of Africa.

Lynchings in the United States.

According to the Tuskegee Institute, in 1926 in the United States 29 persons were lynched. This is 13 more than for 1925 and 1924, four less than for 1923, 28 less than for 1922. The courts had acquitted one of the victims. Twenty of the lynched were taken from the hands of the law, eight from goals, and 12 from officers of the law outside of gaols. Two of the lynched were women. There were 33 instances in which officers of the law prevented lynchings. In four instances persons charged with being connected with lynching mobs were indicted. Of the 34 persons thus before the courts nine were sentenced, eight for terms ranging from four to 20 years, and one for life. Of the 29 persons lynched there were 22 Negroes, six Whites, and one Indian. Five, or less than 17 per cent. of those put to death, were charged with rape or attempted rape.

Stamps in 1926.

"Wasu."

"Wasu" is the magazine of the West African Students' Union of Great Britain, and it is published at 1s., copies being obtainable from the Secretary, W.A.S.U., 31, St. Luke's Road, London, W.11. He will, it is to be hoped, receive many orders for copies, not from Africans only, but also from that ever-growing number of British officials and non-officials of the Coast who try to put themselves into the Africans' place a little, more especially the place of those Africans who, as is the case with many members of the W.A.S.U., are spokesmen and leaders of others.

The present number is opened with a series of editorial notes, in which, as indeed throughout the number, there is evident a sturdy determination to press patiently and resolutely for freer and wider recognition of the place in the world which British West Africa deserves. "We in West Africa," says the writer, in words which the wiser sort of Britons will endorse, "want a distinct individuality as component members in the Imperial Commonwealth." In another place it is remarked, truly and well, that to insist, as some people in Africa do insist, "that the difference of viewpoint between the educated and the uneducated" [should not this read "more educated and less educated"?] "is due to the former's mischievous tendencies is to . . . betray the cause of education." Of course it is. The President of the Union, Mr. E. O. Asafu-Adjaye, in a brief message, makes the point that "institutions are not ends in themselves," but mechanisms which "should be subjected to continual improvement and repair." Mr. W. F. Hutchison writes in his usual philosophical vein on the introduction of European civilisation into West Africa; and Mr. Abiola Akiwumi follows it with a paper on West Africa and the world, which expresses the sound sentiment that "West Africa desires to become an efficient co-operator towards the harmony of all the world." Mr. Julius Ojo-Cole, who seems to write with real distinction on whatever subject he takes up, translates some Yoruba verse and shows that the original is full of fire and movement. Mr. R. S. Blay writes on Gold Coast marriage customs, contending that the modern, so-called "Christian" marriage has developed a more commercialised element than the older, African form, though he holds that it cannot be said that "Christian" marriage in the Colony "is a mere affair of purchasing a maiden to wed."

The editor reproduces an address to the Union by Mr. Casely Hayford during his recent visit to London. Most properly Mr. Hayford pointed out how misleading and otherwise objectionable it is "to apply the word 'native' as if it were a substantive and a generic term for all Africans." He added the welcome statement that the Gold Coast Government recently substituted the word "African" for "native" wherever necessary in its proper connection. Why do not the three other Coast Governments and the Colonial Office do the same thing? Mr. Ladipo Solanke contributes a scholarly paper on the Ogboni institution in Nigeria, and Mr. M. A. S. Margai one on music in the Sierra Leone Protectorate, while verse by Mr. Asafu-Adjaye, a review by Mr. J. B. Danquah, and correspondence and reports, bring an excellent compilation to a close.

West Africa v. East and South.

There is political wisdom in this summing up, but in the last paragraph he might have added that not only the African should be a true Christian, but that all of us should be true Christians. After outlining the industries of Africa, and showing in figures the wisdom of leaving the land of the West African alone, and encouraging him to become a producer on his own property, he compares conditions there with the less happy state of the people of East and South Africa. In conclusion he urges the Government to extend the educational facilities of Africa; to improve the industries; to promote health; to train the people to manage their own affairs; and above all not to condemn them for crude beliefs, "for it was not so long ago, that we frequently burnt people at the stake on the charge of being witches." A photograph of the youthful editor appears elsewhere in this issue.

IRRECONCILABLE VIEWS ON NATIVE FRANCHISE.

No Resolutions Adopted.

CAPE TOWN, February 3.

At the last moment, after, apparently, a more or less unanimous debate, a vital difference of opinion arose in the Native Conference when the time came for the submission of resolutions concerning the Cape native franchise.

It was announced that the Drafting Committee had been unable to agree, and had decided not to bring forward any resolution that could not be unanimous. Certain European members of the Committee had insisted upon the retention in the Native Franchise Bill of the principle of communal representation for natives, while a section of Europeans and native members were equally insistent in advocating the principle of a common voters' roll. Although the natives expressed their willingness to accept the idea of substantially raising the standard of qualifications for native voters, the dissentient European members were unable to see their way to relinquish the principle of communal representation.

In other words, as Mr. Stallard, K.C., put it, the fundamental difference between the two views amounts to this:—The natives desire economic and political amalgamation with the white races, while the Europeans favour segregation. It is true that the native demands for amalgamation do not extend to social amalgamation. For instance, the natives support as heartily as the Europeans the Morality Bill, which was yesterday read a second time in Parliament, and which penalises equally blacks and whites for illicit sexual intercourse with each other. Nevertheless, the European members who favour segregation felt, in Mr. Stallard's words, that even economic and political amalgamation "would mean ruination to the white races and would harm the natives, too." The conference accordingly decided not to adopt any resolutions on the franchise and to leave the difference of opinion within the conference to speak for itself.—"The Times."

Republic of Liberia.

OUR LIBERIAN NEWS-LETTER.

("African World" Correspondent.)

MONROVIA, January 5.

Spanish Hydroplanes' Visit.

Three Spanish hydroplanes arrived in this city at about one o'clock p.m. on December 21 on their way to Fernando Po. Their appearance created great interest on the part of the population, who cheered them immensely. During their stay in the harbour their vessels were visited by many persons. They left on December 23 with the intention of visiting Grand Bassa before their departure for their final destination.

Immigration on the Increase.

Many immigrants are arriving every week from the United States of America and the British West African Colonies. Most of the British subjects are being employed by the Firestone Plantations Company. This company has modified its attitude somewhat in the matter of employing Liberian clerks, as a good many are now being given employment. Immigration is being given impetus by the favourable and progressive policy of the Administration towards this question.

The True Whig Party recently adopted the programme of selective immigration in its platform for the coming campaign, in line with the policy of President King's Administration.

Activity of the People's Party.

A meeting was held by the People's Party on December 31 for the purpose of submitting their platform for the ensuing campaign. In their platform there is a plank favouring the policy of immigration in order to develop the natural resources of the Republic. It is reported that the party have decided on a member of the True Whig Party, who is an official in the present Government, to be their candidate to oppose President King for the Presidency. His name is being kept secret until the opportune time arrives.

President King's Reception.

The President and Mrs. King received on New Year's Day from 12 a.m. to 6 p.m. at the Executive Mansion. There was a large gathering, which included the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, members of the Cabinet, the Diplomatic and Consular Corps, the Liberian Consuls-General at Liverpool, Hamburg, and Fernando Po, distinguished citizens and foreign residents. The Liberian Frontier Force Band was in attendance, and rendered excellent music.

On January 3 His Excellency President and Mrs. King gave a ball in honour of New Year's Day at the Executive Mansion and the Department of State, which was well attended.

ECONOMIC POSITION OF THE NATIVE.

CAPE TOWN, February 1.

The Native Conference to-day discussed the economic position of the native, the subject being introduced by a paper from Mr. Henderson, Principal of Lovedale Institute. Mr. van der Horst, the prominent Nationalist, repudiated the prevalent idea that native impoverishment was due to the whites, saying that many whites were also impoverished.

There was general agreement that the economic pressure on the natives is severe and increasing, that the land allotted to them is inadequate, and that a system of wage payment on farms should be substituted for payment in kind. The conference is also tending towards pressing the Government not to treat the four Native Bills as an indivisible entity, but to allow them to be treated independently of each other. The same demand was made by the native representatives, who interviewed Mr. Tielman Roos, Minister of Justice, in Pretoria last year during General Hertzog's absence.

The opinion is general that the conference is serving a useful object, and, with a single exception, the speeches by the native representatives are proving extremely moderate.—"The Times."

Race Problem - 1927

Africa

SIR GORDON GUGGISBERG VISITS MRS. AGGREY.

ADDRESS TO STUDENTS OF LIVINGSTONE N.C. COLLEGE.

Livingstone College, Salisbury, N.C., had the pleasure of meeting close up and hearing Sir Gordon Guggisburg, until recently Governor of the Gold Coast.

His purpose in coming to Salisbury was to call on the widow of the late Dr. J. E. K. Aggrey, vice-principal of Achimota College, Gold Coast. Sir Gordon is travelling under the direction of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, visiting, among other points, some of the principal negro institutions in the United States.

President W. J. Trent presented Bishop G. W. Clement, who, in turn, introduced the Governor. Turning to Sir Gordon, the Bishop said: "It is my pleasure, Sir, that you should come here. This college is named in honour of one of the greatest Englishmen of all the years, David Livingstone. The college has Methodist connections, accounted for in John Wesley. The first graduate of Livingstone was a British subject."

The audience received the Governor with some enthusiasm. There were present, in addition to the school family, a score of white visitors and a goodly number of coloured neighbours. The student group consists of a little less than 300.

To say that Sir Gordon is typically English describes his manner and method of speaking. He neither made startling statements nor spoke above a conversational tone. He began by saying how much tempted he was to address students as "Children," as he does the natives of Africa.

In a lighter vein he told of his former custom of choosing to speak first when he and Aggrey were on the same programme on the West Coast, because of the superiority of the latter's appeal. Continuing, he said, with some apparent feeling, that Aggrey had promised to show him Livingstone College, and for that reason he felt lost this morning.

Negro Education.

The speaker stated that he came to America to acquaint himself with America's methods in Negro education. "I believe that the system of education for Negroes in the United States will prove to be the solution to the problem which we have so much talked about—the race problem. . . . I believe that you have arrived at the beginning of the solution of this great difficulty." The present state of affairs in race relations "was created by the devil," continued Sir Gordon, and the highest civilisation can never be reached in the United States until some adjustment is made.

Pride in Africa.

The Governor expressed surprise in finding so little interest taken in Africa by Negroes in the United States. "Also I find, to my dismay, so little pride taken in the African race." He then set out to give some reasons why Negroes may be justly proud of their race, pointing out how, in his own experience extending over 25 years in the West Coast region, he has seen natives respond to modern civilisation and how far advanced the Gold Coast natives are because of superior contacts.

A second instance given was the discovery of worthy age-old customs and institutions among the most primitive of the tribes. A third reason for having pride in the race was the industry of natives on the Coast in growing and shipping more than 200,000 pounds of cocoa in 1926.

Sir Gordon decries what he terms the faulty education of African natives of the past. As in the case of the Indian, he holds that the African has been too often educated to Western civilisation, and away from his native background. "This fault is now being remedied . . . keep the African an African in spite of all his education."

Dr. Aggrey's Example.

Addressing himself to the school group the speaker went on to say "I hope that some of you will become inspired to go to the Gold Coast . . . to help the race from which you sprang." He gave assurance of their being accepted providing they are educated, of good character, and "above all, those who come to serve their people." In this connection Dr. Aggrey stood out in Sir Gordon's mind as a well-nigh perfect example.

At Livingstone this morning there were sitting on the rostrum only five persons, but each of them was an awful fact, writes Lewis K. McMillan in the "Afro-American," a retired Government official of Great Britain's Foreign Service: beside him sat the sister-in-law of a Southern United States Senator, in whose home the guest was stopping, because it "looked bad"—out of place—for a high-class visitor to put up in the home of a negro: a third person was a native chief of the Gold Coast, at whose expense the high-class guest held his job; a fourth person was the president of a struggling denominational college—an honest, eager, burdened man, handicapped by the "rich blooded woman" and her kin, who also make it necessary to conduct such schools at all; a fifth person on the rostrum was a Bishop of the Zion Methodist Church.

His denomination was brought into being by the sins of white Christian Methodists. The polite Englishman hurt nobody's feelings—seriously—because he was saying kind mild things about a distant people in an academic manner. As one of the hearers put it, "He was just another Excellency."

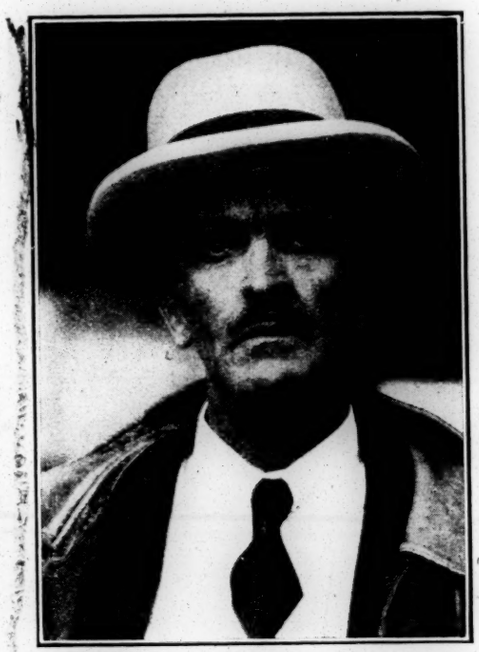
SIR GORDON GUGGISBERG'S VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES.

Interpreting Imperial Aims to America.

(Special to "The African World.")

The visit of Sir Gordon Guggisberg, K.C.M.G., D.S.O., to the United States has proved to be a notable event. Arriving in New York on October 3, Sir Gordon has travelled extensively in the Southern States and in the larger Northern cities. In the Southern States he has observed educational activities related to rural conditions and to the needs of the negro people, and in the Northern cities he has studied industrial processes, clinics and hospitals, and educational institutions adapted to urban needs. His conferences and addresses have helped Americans to understand Africa, and especially the contributions which British Colonial activities have made to the welfare of Africans.

Through the intimacy of his knowledge of West Africa and through the sincerity of his interest in African people, he has convinced all who have heard him that Britain's Colonial influence is genuinely concerned in the full development of the native people. Sir Gordon's presentations have helped to dispel whatever doubt there may still be in the minds of Americans as to the selfish aims of Empire control. In terms of his personal experiences he has made clear to the American audiences the truth of Sir Frederick Lugard's classic interpretation of Empire responsibility as a "Dual Mandate" first, for the development of the people, and second, for the development of the natural resources for world problems.



BRIG.-GEN. SIR GORDON GUGGISBERG, K.C.M.G., D.S.O.

In the South Sir Gordon visited Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes, internationally known for their sound education of the negro people. He has conferred with Government officials, both Federal and State. In Washington he met President Coolidge. In the Northern cities he has exchanged ideas with such outstanding industrial leaders as Mr. Henry Ford, Mr. Harvey Firestone, and Mr. George Eastman, and also such leading educators as President Lowell, of Harvard, and other outstanding authorities in medicine, science, and education.

Honoured by American Educationists.

The final event of his visit to the United States was a Phelps-Stokes dinner, given at the Hotel Astor, New York, on November 2, in honour of Sir Gordon's services in Africa and in appreciation of his enlightening interpretations of the British Empire to American audiences. The dinner was attended by officers of the large educational foundations, leaders in philanthropic interest, important educational authorities, and secretaries of Church Boards responsible for African Missions. Dr. Anson Phelps-Stokes, Canon of the Washington Cathedral, presided at the dinner, and addresses were delivered by Dr. F. P. Keppel, President of the Carnegie Corporation, who spoke on "Some African Impressions," Doctor Thomas Jesse-Jones, Director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, who dealt with "African Responsibilities," and by Sir Gordon Guggisberg, Sir Gordon's address, which was entitled "Some African Problems and Opportunities," was a most impressive presentation of the possibilities of the African people and of the helpful influence of the British Colonial activities.

From the United States Sir Gordon proceeds to Canada, where extensive arrangements have been made for his reception. His plans include visits and addresses at the leading universities to influential groups of business leaders and conferences with Government officials.

H. W. L.

Correspondence.

A Suggested Jubilee Presentation.

[TO THE EDITOR, IMVO.]

Sir, Please allow me some space in your widely read journal for the following notification. A few friends have approached me with the object of appealing for a good Native Fund to make a tangible present to on to Mr. Sol. Plaatje on the attainment of his fiftieth birthday during October.

Had I known earlier that Mr. Plaatje was about to complete his half century, we should have made an earlier move. Nevertheless we could still make the best of the time at our disposal and raise a Fund that will prove helpful to the recipient in his work on behalf of the native people besides proving a testimony to Native and Coloured gratitude for services unstintingly rendered on their behalf. Cape Natives should celebrate their pride at having among their ranks a fighter of Mr. Plaatje's calibre. His most recent achievement was the retention of the Hofmeyr Act, the bulwark of the rights of the Cape Natives, which the Prime Minister was determinded to abolish with the coming into force of the Native Administration Bill. When that Bill was referred to a Select Committe, General Hertzog decided to admit no evidence from anyone except the Heads of the Native Affairs Department. Native hearts must have swollen with pride when they read in the report that, in spite of this ban, Mr. Sol. Plaatje's own protest was read to the Select Committee by Mr. Tielman Roos, he having sent it in through the Speaker of the House. We owe it to the dramatic though singlehanded lobby of Mr. Plaatje, both in the Senate and the House of Assembly that any concession was made in that important Bill in favour of the retention of the Cape Policy, especially the retention of the Hofmeyr Act which Parliament was anxious to expunge. I may be permitted to observe that, one week after the Act was gazetted, I read of a native meeting at King Williamstown taking steps (too late) to protest against the passage of the "Bill." Such belated awakenings on the part of native communities when their very lives are at stake (and I am aware that this was not an isolated instance) emphasise the need for encouraging the vigilance of a wide-awake worker like our friend who attains his fifty next month.

This proposal should appeal to the African National Congress. Mr. Plaatje was one of its founders and, as first General Secretary did much of the spade work. On two occasions the Congress sent him abroad on expensive missions which largely dissipated his property, destroyed his flourishing printing business in Kimberley and reduced him to his present circumstances. It is only human to try and do something for him on this occasion in recognition of his loyalty and the unselfish devotion to our cause of his good wife, and also for the encouragement of younger men and women.

Such a proposal should make a profound appeal to Free State natives whose welfare seems to be uppermost in Mr. Plaatje's heart. Transvaal natives on reading his great book on native conditions and his regular contributions to the Cape Town press where

the laws are made, should be convinced that the condition of farm natives in Transvaal has seldom been better put. Most of his labours are chiefly in the interests of our oppressed brethren in adjoining Provinces, but lack of information will easily explain the seeming lack of appreciation on the part of natives for the unpaid services of this untiring champion of their rights. Few natives are aware that Mr. Plaatje travels to Cape Town, at his own expense, nearly every session when a serious Bill is looming over the heads of the natives.

My letter should interest the native clergy and native civil servants for a very good reason. At the commencement of Union it was the intention of the Government to clean natives out of the civil service—see the first Public Service Commission Report. There was no Joint Council and no I.C.U. and the Congress had not begun to function. Mr. Sol. Plaatje's persistent and tactful appeals to General Botha, Mr. Burton and their colleagues secured for us a better paid native Civil Service, the concession of Native Marriage officers in Transvaal, O.F.S. and Natal, including something we never had before recommended by him to Gen. Botha, namely, Native Post Masters in Location. All this we owe to the sound advocacy of our friend who left a soft billet in the Cape Civil Service, twenty five years ago, and has since turned grey while burning gallons of midnight oil in the native interest. Having assisted Mr. Plaatje on several occasions, I know his sacrifices and the difficulties under which he often has to leave at awkward moments for Capetown or Pretoria to forestall an injustice contemplated against his people. So let it not be said by people who know the value of his services that the African is an ungrateful race.

The first intention is to try and raise a fund that will restore Mr. Plaatje's dwelling house lost to him while he was abroad at the instance of his people. This is not an innovation. Indians and Europeans often make similar presentations to encourage their social and political workers. One instance is the very recent grant of £10,000 to Lord Oxford by his friends, plus an annuity of £2,500 to save him from financial worries. Even in South Africa they have more than once made presentations of money and pedegree cattle to the present Prime Minister although his services to them were not unpaid.

I should be glad if your readers could communicate with the undersigned, or if they think otherwise, form a local committeee to create a Jubilee Fund and forward it later, October being already close at hand we wish to use October and November as the rallying months and make the presentation on a date and place to be decided on.

W. T. MACLOED,
Chairman,
Diamond Fields Non-European Association,
5 Baronial Street,
Kimberley C.P.

Treasurer:
MR. W. I. MACDONALD,
Location Superintendent,
West End, Kimberley.

NATIVE EVIDENCE.

Twenty pages of the Minutes book of evidence on the Premier's Native Bills are occupied by the reports of Chief Walter S. Kumalo of Ladysmith, Natal, Rev. Z. R. Mahabane, President of the African National Congress, J. D. Ngojo, organising Secretary of the same, and the Rev. Elijah Mdolomba, President of the Cape branch of the National Congress. These witnesses have offered illuminating testimony on the direct effects of the Land Bill in Natal, and have amply shown that this is a problem bristling with difficulty if the blacks are to be treated fairly with regard to land distribution.

On the Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill they were singularly unanimous on the opinion against any change whatsoever in the Cape franchise. Chief Kumalo said "I would like to urge that the vote for the Cape Natives be not abolished. Even if in the opinion of the government it appears that the time is not ripe for all Natives in the Union to have this privilege I think we would rather wait until such time arrives. As long as the Cape people have the vote we hold that in due course of time we shall also have the vote." President Mahabane in the name of the Bantu Chiefs' Convention submitted that this bill cannot be accepted unless the Cape Native vote is left intact and unless the Bill is so amended as to provide for the direct representation in parliament of African interests by members of the African race." He stated that it was the decided view of his Congress that this bill should be dropped and that the increased rights given in these bills to the Natives of the Northern provinces must rather be dropped for the present than make any alteration in the Cape franchise. That was the unanimous opinion of the Congress, and the Congress in these decisions was not guided by Cape men, but by its own first hand knowledge of conditions because that franchise has some influence in the policy of the government, an influence not only for the good of the Cape Province but for the good of the other provinces as well.

Local Councils.

Perhaps it may not be generally known that long before the Bunga system was introduced in the Transkeian Territories, Captain Blyth and Veldman, whose word was law, had inaugurated in Fingoland a local tax of 5/- for all male adults—2/- for educational purposes, 2/- for road maintenance. As the imposition had no statutory sanction, the advent of lawyers in Fingoland upset the whole arrangement. But Captain Veldman, the far-seeing statesman he was, resolved not to be defeated in accomplishing what was for the good of his people. After several interviews with the late Cecil Rhodes the Bunga system was introduced into the Territories with the salutary proviso that it must be compulsory. Without that proviso the desirable measure would have been delayed years and years, and the present fruits of good work performed by the Bunga viz., £10,000 contribution towards the establishment of the Fort Hare Native College, Agricultural Schools, Bursaries towards the College would be non-existent. The Union Government seeing the progress of the Bunga in the Territories passed an Act for the establishment of local councils generally, but made the fatal mistake of making the measure optional; thus "throwing a bone of discord" between progressive and non-progressive Bantu. As a result of that fatal error of making the measure optional we have the sorry spectacle of wrangling over the measure. Rumour has it that in some centres where the Bunga has been introduced, legal proceedings are threatened; and even an enlightened place like Healdtown, which has not the necessary quota for a seperate Bunga, insists on having its own Bunga. It is said they would sooner accept an advisory board than be affiliated to Victoria East for fear of being in the minority. Their interests would suffer and what is more, they would be forced to share commonage rights with Victoria East. Ofcourse that is a mistaken notion, as the Bunga has nothing to do with adjusting boundaries. There are also places like Kamastone and Herschel which are open enemies of the Bunga. Needless to say it is hard to understand the mentality of people who, paying all Bunga taxes yet refuse to have a say as to how their money shall be spent. The present economic position of the Bantu with these ever recurring droughts, shortage of water and no hospital accommodation, places in the fore-front the need of local councils so that our people may be better able to combat the drawbacks in their national life."

It is apparent that the recalcitrant Natives in the aforementioned districts would have been saved from the disastrous results of their own shortsighted obduracy if the council system had originally been made compulsory as in the Transkei Territories instead of optional.

Events have now proved that this is the better policy for people in a backward state of culture.

Race Problem - 1927

I

Africa

UGANDA'S MA. OMPETITION IN COTTON.

Problem of the Japanese Buyer.

("African World" Resident Correspondent.)

KAMPALA.

I have often said in these columns that there is little danger of the native grower of cotton not getting full value for his stuff. Lint is quoted at 77 to-day, and the price paid for raw cotton is 20 cents of a shilling. At the price of lint as quoted it is absolutely impossible for the ginner or buyer to make any profit on 20 cents, but it is said that, in the desire to keep the ginneries going, ginners must pay or get no raw cotton.

It was thought a few weeks ago that because the ginner tried to arrive at a price which would be agreeable to all buyers the ginner was trying to make a ring. The ginner would be well advised from his own standpoint if some sort of agreed-on price was arranged and kept to, but there is the Jap to account for, and this sort of upset any prospect there was for a betterment of buying conditions. That's the way things stand to-day. On the one hand we have some natives holding back their cotton because they believe they are being done down by the buyer: on the other we have the buyer and the ginner buying cotton at prices which they cannot afford to pay. We have it on the best authority that the Japs are the heaviest buyers—in fact, there are those in the trade who say the Japs will take the bulk of the crop this year. In these circumstances it will be interesting to know what the Liverpool coterie will think of this turnover. It is also a well-known fact that Japs are permitted to buy ginneries and land here. How much land, some "nosey" people here are asking, would a Britisher be allowed to purchase in Japan?

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Anyhow, the crop this year will not be three-quarters what it was last year, and already everyone is crying out that hardships are to be the order of the day in trading affairs. It will be always the same till the native gets going on other crops beside cotton. It's the old story of the eggs all in one basket, and it can have only one result.

The Native Affairs Reports.

The only two Government reports that treat primarily with Native matters have been issued with a dilatoriness amounting to criminous negligence when one considers the crisis at which the Natives find themselves to-day under a Government bent on establishing European supremacy in South Africa quite regardless of the hard consequences that may befal the blacks as a result of their discriminating legislation. The report of the Native Affairs Department (price 1/9 post free) dates from 1922, and formally recounts such antiquated events as the visit of the Prince of Wales, the launching of the Urban Areas Act, The Taxation Act, the issue of the Separatist Churches Commission Report, and the Bloemfontein riot as if they were occurences of last month. The really interesting section of this report is the series of statistics that are brought up to date, on Native population, provincial Native areas, employment, mortality and education.

More interesting is the report of the Native Affairs Commission (price 2/6 post free) because it includes the minutes of the Government conferences of both 1925 and 1926. There is nothing here about the intention of the Government to introduce a Sedition Bill that singles out the Bantu. One might well ask, where is the principle of consultation? Both of these departments might just as well be non-existent when their head, the Prime Minister, can be so autocratic as to launch such a far-reaching measure as the Anti-Native Sedition Bill without even a pretence at consulting either the official Native Conference or the Commission or the N.A.D.

Rightly does the Commission remark with reference to the Cape Native Disfranchisement Bill that all the Natives in every Province made a solid opposition to the disfranchisement of the Cape Native as a price for a new pseudo-franchise for the Northern Provinces. Three months ago at Cape Town, the greatest authority in the Dutch Reformed Church said that disfranchisement was a penalty imposed for rebellion, and as such was hardly fair in the present case. The Commision here says "Had the Cape "franchise been untouched by "the Bill the Commission is "assured the other three "Provinces would have ac "cepted the measure readily "and gladly." Yet in the same breath they favour and suggest the insidious principle of debarring all new Native voters from entering in the new registers. This is the pivot around which all the Premier's Bills revolve under their character of interdependence; for the Minister of Justice is reported to have let the cat out of the bag by declaring in a recent speech that the Pact Government is *out to kill the Cape Native Vote.* Every consideration in other Bills, we may boldly assert, is subsidiary to this object, a political object.

We therefore hope that all the representative Natives who are to offer evidence before the Select Committee will maintain the same degree of unanimity as they have exhibited heretofore on this point. A united front will be our salvation, for then the Government will stand condemned in the eyes of the whole civilised world as an unjust aristocracy when they force a distinctly anti-Native measure such as this one in the teeth of solid Native opposition.

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WE published in our last issue the agenda of the Conference which the Secretary of State for the Colonies has arranged to be held in Downing Street, London to commence on the 10th instant.

The personnel of those attending is to be Governors or senior officials of the non-Self-Governing Colonies, Protectorates, and Mandated Territories. The main object is to endeavour to secure more effective co-operation between the various Colonial Governments in matters of general interests. It is evident that great changes have gradually been coming over the outlook of the Colonial Office in relation to the grave responsibilities which England owes as Trustee of those who are declared unable to manage their own affairs. In times past this inability to manage their own affairs by the people of the non-self-governing Colonies was accepted as an axiomatic proposition that it was only necessary for "the man on the spot" to make suggestions and there was ready the consent or approval of the authorities at Downing Street, with literally no regard as to what the people's views were. Then again the fact that climatic influence has rendered it difficult for such long stay in the Tropics to make possible anything approaching a continuity of policy, it has become necessary that some general principles be arrived at on certain given subjects to bring about some sort of harmonious working in these outskirts of the Empire. Now in view of the fact that this policy has already become a settled principle of the Colonial Office, for there have been as a result of conferences set up, committees to advise on several technical matters, as the Committee on Native Education, that on Health and Sanitation, and we are not certain whether one has not yet to be formed to advise on Roads and Transport facilities. In view of this fact, we are extremely sorry that there has been such desperate efforts on the part of the West African Governors to discourage and place difficulties in the way of the formation of similar conferences by the people themselves.

If we say we are sorry for the part the Governors have taken, we are more sorry for the shortsightedness, the lack of faith in the foresight of their men of vision manifested by many of those who might have been helpers to the cause of laying stress on minor points of difference from officialdom against the inauguration of began to adopt, as we have seen in the the National Congress of British West Africa and unprecedented.

If the National Congress of British West Africa had met with the loyal support and co-operation of every member of the British West African communities, if instead of there had occurred the wisdom to agree to which we now write would be the most unique

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UGANDA'S MA. OMPETITION IN COTTON.

Problem of the Japanese Buyer.

("African World" Resident Correspondent.)

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If it is a right and proper thing for the Governors and high officials of the non-self-governing Colonies, Protectorates, and Mandatory Territories to meet together and consult on matters of general interests, we ask why was there so much hue and cry from officialdom against the inauguration of the National Congress of British West Africa?

If we say we are sorry for the part the Governors have taken, we are more than sorry for the shortsightedness, the lack of faith in the foresight of their

If it is a right and proper thing for the vision manifested by many of the men of those who might have been helpers to the cause of laying stress on minor points of difference and stand hostile to the development of which, after the West African Governments had succeeded to throw cold water on, they began to adopt, as we have seen in the several conferences held, of which we now write would be the most unique and unprecedented.

If the National Congress of British West Africa had met with the loyal support and co-operation of every member of the British West African communities, if instead of

differ in things unessential but to stick with dogged determination to support things which are of vital moment and indispensable to the interest of the people, the Congress would have established itself by this time to deal with such decisions which may be arrived at by the several Government Conclaves, and not only that, it would have been in the position of submitting its considered views on matters which affect the interest of the people but on which they are not recognised as entitled to any expression of opinion. We sincerely hope the action of these Governments will prove an eye opener to the educated of the several Colonies so as to be impressed with the patent fact that unless they can sink every difference and by any means be united to give co-operative efforts towards the amelioration of conditions political and economic, unless the intelligentia section of British West Africa will disrobe itself of the cloak super-self and try to think in terms of solidarity of interest, there can be no hope at least of the present generation, and it were better we recognise the doleful fact in time and put our necks under the yoke of white supremacy.

The subjects to be dealt with at the Conference are grouped under three heads viz :—Questions of general administration (2). Economic questions covering Trade and Communications (3). Problems of Technical Service. The three absorbing questions of the present time, range around Education, Sanitation and Health and Roads and Mechanical Transport. We do not know whether there can be any new light thrown on these subjects than what has been given by the Under-Secretary of State in his reports on his recent visit to East and West Africa. But what we are anxious to ask is what part in the programme of development has the Colonial Office assigned to the Educated African?

Reluctantly he has forced his way to take part in the political discussion of his country, with what effect perhaps he knows better; but if he has eyes to see and heart to understand, he will soon realise that the doors of economic development are bolted and barred against him. Unless he can reconcile himself to take to the production of raw materials for the European markets he will be given no place in the plan of work. He will not for instance, be allowed to use his skill in turning out these raw materials into some finished products. If he persists, not only would he be faced with legislation which may come upon him with terrific suddenness but every possible handicap will be placed in his way to forge on. This is the aspect of the situation that has sent the chill of despair into the hearts of many and it is getting to be recognised that in such Conferences the educated African must be content to become a back-number if not take the place and importance of a nonentity.

Leribe Notes.

(By Our Own Correspondent,

On Mondav the 15th April the Assistant Commissioner of the district, Mr. J. H. Sims, accompanied by Mr. H. S. Doherty, clerk and Mr. C. G. Norman, Scab Inspector, went out to Leribe to meet the chief Jonathan, chiefs and people of Leribe. There was a representative gathering although the pitso was not a big one. Nearly all the principal chiefs of the district were present and those who were unable to come were represented. There were besides the aged chief the following chiefs present :— Motšoene, Motsarapane, Mopeli Joele, Joseph Masupha, Qhobela Joele, Tumo, Letsie Moshoeshoe Jonathan, Setsomi and Lelingoana, chiefs Thasi Mohoeca. Joang Khethisa and chieftainnesses Ma Lihotetso's and Mathe's representatives and a host of minor chiefs and chiefs and principal men of the district. The pitso lasted about three hours about half of which was occupied by the A. C. in explaining the various matters he had called the pitso for. This was also the first time for the A. C. to meet the chiefs and people of Leribe since his arrival here some two months ago. This is an exceptional instance of which the people have taken notice of and it is all the more talked about because he has not been introduced or presented to the chiefs and the people by His Honour the Resident Commissioner as has been the practice in the past.

The pitso having assembled in a large circle with a large open space in the centre in front being an array of chiefs and principal men and the aged chief sitting by the A.C. and the other officials, the A.C. then opened the proceedings by introducing himself to the chiefs and people as the new A.C. for the district. He mentioned that he had been in the district for two months already. On his arrival he had been overwhelmed with work and had had no time to meet them earlier, but this had given him an opportunity to learn something of the affairs of of the district which today enabled him to speak with some knowledge which he had obtained during the two months he had already been in the district. His greetings to the chiefs and people were vociferously acknowledged, and then he plunged into his programme for the day.

There were eight or nine subjects with which the A.C. had to deal, and they took him just under two hours to explain them to the pitso. At the very outset he brought up the subject of the administration of justice and other affairs of the district. He stated that chief Jonathan was old and that this was the time for his sons to gather around him and give him the help he greatly needs in looking after the affairs of this district. He refused to the venue of Leribe appeal court which was established at Hlotse in the Government Reserve against which the government had protested. This court should be removed from Hlotse to Leribe (the chiefs residence), and it should be presided over by the chief's own sons who are of weight. He thought the holding of the chief's court on the Government Reserve was not acceptable to the Basuto as they would think that the chiefs were handing them over to the government. There would possibly be an outcry from the people if the Paramount Chief were to hold his court in Maseru He therefore strongly advised that this court should be removed from Hlotse and that the chief should appoint some of his principal sons to preside over it.

The next subject he touched upon was that of tax. He explained how easy it was to work the collection of tax if only the chiefs and headmen did their part of the work as laid down in the proclamation.. He mentioned that there was a shortage of £700 for the past financial year, and remarked that he had noticed that a lot of people were being brought to him for exemption on account of old age and other infirmities but that very few new names were enrolled to replace those who had to be exempted. He blamed the chiefs for this whose duty it was to see that young men who attained to their majority were shown to the tax-collectors for registration. He regretted to mention the lack of interest shown by the chiefs in the work of collection of the tax and that the only time they showed any interest at all was when their gratuities were due when they would want to know why it has been reduced. He further explaineed that the chiefs should tell their people to provide themselves with their tax receipts when leaving Basutoland as by the new law in the Union they would have to pay tax there if they could not show produce their current Basutoland tax receipts. He advised the chiefs and headmen that he would have to apply the provisions of the law if they failed to carry out their duty and reminded them of the old English saying? "No work, no pay." He then concluded by telling them that from the first of April this year tax had been increased by 3s on every tax payer. This information was greeted with a loud noice of dissent. The people remarking that they had not been consulted After the uproar had subsided he went on to speak about infectious diseases amongst human beings such as small-pox and other diseases of an epidemic nature. He told the chiefs and people that an outbreak of such diseases should

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immediately be reported to him so that he may instruct the Medical Officer to go out and investigate and to see what was best to do to prevent the spreading of the disease. He mentioned a case where a school had to be closed on account of an outbreak of small-pox which was not reported to him until it had taken a firm hold of the people. He also spoke about the Bubonic plague which was still killing a lot of people Replying to a question which was put to as to who was to kill these rats which were said to carry the disease he said that every man who owned a hut should see to it himself that he killed the rats in his hut to avoid contracting the disease.

The next subject he discussed was that of the Scab Proclamation. He was daily trying cases for the contravention of this proclamation and in nearly every case the ples was that if "not guilty" occampanied by: "Ha ke tsebe." There were a lot of his being told by the accused in many cases, but he had to mention that he believed the people living in the mountain area did not know the provisions of this law as some of "the bad chiefs" did not take the trouble to inform them. He was very sorry to have to punish these people as it was not his wish or that of the government to punish people. But he had to do his duty and to punish those who broke the law whether they knew it or not as the law had been made and it was their duty to know it. He then went on to explain the more important provisions of the law which were those most people were charged under. If the chiefs could only take the trouble to explain the law to the sheep owners there would be very few prosecutions under this law. The law was made for that interests of the Basuto themselves. A few years ago Basutoland wool was worth more than that if the Transkei. But today its value had gone down considerably and the Transkeian wool was now worth more than our wool. The reason for this was because the people of the Transkei were taking advantage of the advice they received and were striving to improve the condition of their wool when unhappily the Basuto were not taking any trouble whatsoever in the improvement of their wool and were allowing things to drift as best they could. He exhorted them to follow the advices given them and to see to the cleansing of their flocks by dipping and also by separating bastard or persian rams from their merino ewes. If they did not regret the little trouble they had taken in the matter. There were dipping supervisors to whom they could go if they were at all in doubt and if they did that they would be saved a lot of trouble and expense.

FORT HARE and the FUTURE

By C. F. ANDREWS

To those who have vivid imaginations, enabling them to gain a perspective of the life of the Indian community in South Africa for generations to come, it is not difficult to picture the importance of the proposition that Fort Hare should be the centre of Higher Education in the future. This is the agreement arrived at between the Indian and Union Governments There is one thing and one thing alone that can bring about a true equality of races. It is education.

The attempt to pass the Asiatic Bill last year has had one notable effect, which in the long run will be of quite inestimable value; it opens one's eyes to the perilous state into which our education had fallen. It is demonstrably true that if things had been allowed to go on in Natal as they were doing, educationally, for another ten years, no power on earth could have set them right.

Not a moment too soon the Right Hon. Srinivassa Sastri has given us our motto —"Education is our Salvation." Nothing could be truer and terser than that. t was with these thoughts in view that I came to Fort Hare from Bloemfontein and have had the great privilege of staying there, at the house of the kindly Principal of the College, Mr. Alexander Kerr, for nearly a week. It has been an experience whose immense value I could not have anticipated beforehand and it has taught me very many things.

First of all, I have been convinced that all the things that have been told me by Indian students in praise of the institution are literally true. There is an atmosphere and an outlook that at once give satisfaction and hope. Indeed the ideal spot for building up a new University could not have been better chosen. Lovedale — that wonderful practical school where the Bantu have proved themselves to be able craftsmen both with hand and brain work—is close by Fort Hare. Lovedale is nearly a century old; and the whole neighbourhood is rendered sacred by the pious lives which have been spent there in the service of God and man. The situation is one of the most beautiful in its outward nature also that can possibly be imagined. The air is sweet, pure and bracing. The surrounding hills are supremely lovely, especially at sunset. The peace and quiet of the place enter into the soul. It is altogether different from the life of the town.

Furthermore there is freedom. No colour bar has any place at all. There is an absolute liberation from all sense of the inhumanity of racial prejudice. Here at least there is perfect equality reigning throughout. To live here is to be free.

The college is young, but it has obviously a great future. It is growing in a very healthy manner. The Staff is devoted to the work. The institution is full of idealism. It has all the new generations of South Africa before it. The sons of chiefs come side by side with the sons of poor men. Men and women study together. The moral tone is high and ennobling. Nothing could exceed the fatherly care and love which the different wardens of hostels give to those under their care as students. There is a common dining hall with admirable cooking arrangements. The food is wholesome, simple and thoroughly well cooked. The health of the college is excellent.

When the name of Fort Hare was mentioned in the Indian agreement there was at first some wonder and even anxiety about it among Indians themselves; for nothing had been said to the Indian community nor to the Fort Hare authorities beforehand by the Minister. But during these very valuable days, while I have been present here, all that anxiety has passed away. There will certainly be a readiness on the part of all the authorities to receive Indian students with open-hearted goodwill and kindness; and this will be warmly reciprocated.

The College is founded on a Christian basis; but a conscience will amply provide that nothing shall be done to compel anyone to attend religious services against his will. At the same time, the truly Christian standard of living which has been established will truly keep Fort Hare College from the taint of racialism which has infected Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban.

On the whole, I have been immensely pleased and gratified by my visit. It has more than fulfilled my expectations; for it would appear to me now quite certain that a warm welcome will be given to Indian students; and a very hopeful prospect indeed will be opened up before them in their University life at Fort Hare. The terms for board and tuition are remarkably low. "Plain living and high thinking" form the fundamental standard of the college. A wholesome friendship and comradeship with the leading educated Bantu is certain to develop. The future is clearly with such an institution rather than with modern artificial and temporary educational developments in the larger towns of the Union. Oxford and Cambridge, Santiniketen and Sabamati, have all been founded in the heart of the great country, close to nature. They will survive long after the great modern towns of this mechanical age have passed away.—"*Indian Opinion.*"

TALY WOOING ABYSSINIA IN LANES OF PEACE

Report That Church of Abyssinia Is Turning Toward Rome—Pope May Succeed Where Mussolini Will Fail—Italian Duke Brings Gifts

(From the New York Times)

The disappointment of the Abyssinian Government, to judge from the official paper of its capital, Addis Abeba, was keen last spring because the United States had not sent a Minister resident, when the Duca Degli Abruzzi appeared on the scene bringing a luxurious automobile for the Regent Ras Tafari, a war flag for the King, a diamond bracelet for the Dowager Queen, and mechanical and beautiful toys for the royal children. The cousin of the King of Italy was also accompanied by an important official of the Vatican, traveling incognito as the "Abbe Brancaldi."

The result of this mission, judging from the official organ of the court of the "negus negusti," or king of kings, and the reaction produced in the press of Italy, has been a great revival of diplomatic and commercial bonds between Italy and Abyssinia, and the obliteration of all memory of the alleged conspiracy on the part of Italy and England a year ago to obtain political dominance in the kingdom. It is also said that the mission of the "Abbe," which was to establish a modus vivendi between the church in Abyssinia and the Vatican, has every promise of an early success.

In Abyssinia, the State religion has a modification of the Coptic Christian Church, which has been most expensive to carry on because the bishop is "purchased" from the Coptic patriarch at Cairo, the doubtful successor of the patriarchs of Alexandria, one of whom appointed Frumentius, later declared a saint, as the first ruling ecclesiastic in the fourth century. Since then, with the exception of eight years in the seventeenth century, when the authority of Rome was acknowledged, successive Abyssinian bishops have been appointed by the head of the Coptic Church in Egypt, and in the old days wars were fought to sustain his authority.

Early in the sixteenth century, unknown to the authorities in Egypt, a mission was sent to the Vatican, and later the Portuguese mission succeeded in having Andre de Oviedo sent as the first papal nuncio. This was done, however, without any attempt to dispute the authority of the Coptic hierarchy in Egypt.

The crisis came in 1604, when the king of kings made full submission to Rome, was dethroned, and slain, by the army of the Coptis, who even expelled the Society of Jesus, the Portuguese priests who had succeeded in bringing many parishes under Rome, and firmly re-established the authority of the Patriarch of Alexandria.

As there is no longer any Coptic army to fear, individual parishes have from time to time offered obedience

to the Pope, particularly since the price of a bishop furnished by Cairo has been deemed excessive.

Recently Rome ecclesiastics, urged on by the Fascista Government of Italy, it is said, have deemed that the time was ripe to make an attempt to win back the church in Abyssinia. In the past, many missionaries have sought to do what "Abbe Brucardi" seems to be on the point of accomplishing. Seventy years ago Michael Ghebre became a martyr in the cause and was recently elevated to altar honors by Pope Pius XI.

The Regent Ras Tafari has great respect for both the Quirinal and the Vatican. In spite of objections from Cairo he permits the Abyssinian church to use native missionaries trained in the Abyssinian Ecclesiastical College of Rome, and is said to be ready to enter the fold of Rome just as soon as a sufficient number of parishes acknowledge the Pope, so as to make objections from Cairo of no great importance.

A Merciless Policy.

When the Minister of Finance accompanied the Prime Minister two years ago in a tour through the Eastern Province for the special purpose of studying Native conditions, he was encountered with strong representations made against the imposition of a Blanket tax on the ground that it affected directly only one section of the population, namely, the poorest of the poor black people, whose entire wardrobe consists of the cotton blanket. It was pointed out that this was an unfair indirect tax hitting hardest on the Native as an unfortunate victim.

The Minister was relentless, pleading that his object was a worthy one, that of protecting a new local industry giving employment to whites. Further supplications were made last year in Parliament by members representing Native constituencies, but Mr. Havenga proved relentless. This year the subject has again come up in Parliament and a strong case was made in behalf of the Natives by their sympathetic representatives Mr. A. B. Payn (Tembuland), Sir Thomas Smartt (Fort Beaufort), Mr. L. D. Gilson (Griqualand), Mr. J. W. Jagger, Mr. A. G. Barlow and Mr. L. Blackwell who all stressed the painful fact that as a result of this unjust tax many Natives had to wear skins and sacking, things which arm-chair critics like Mr. Alexander, who supported the Minister, could not know. The case of the Bantu in these Parliamentary debates is a thankless task. Hence our gratitude to Mr. Payn and other defenders in the Assembly, and to Dr. Roberts in the Senate with regard to the Drought Distress debate, is unbounded. Mr. Havenga has done much, in this single instance, to make us believe that he has no tender feelings for the Native people, who, being inarticulate, have to bear a grievous burden for the sake of bolstering up a protectionist policy which might have been better applied to industries other than that of cotton blankets used exclusively by the poorest Natives.

POLL TAX HARDSHIP.

NATIVE VIEW UPHELD.

At the meeting of Zwart Ruggens Farmers' Association last week, the native poll tax was strongly condemned. Mr. Hiscomke, of Westbrook, declared that through this tax the native had to pay probably one-sixth of his net income for the privilege of living here, while the coloured man or Hottentot getting the same pay and doing the same work was exempt. That was a gravel injustice, especially seeing the native was directly taxed without representation in Parliament. In most cases the native could not pay, and the farmer, to save his servants from gaol paid the tax. If the government wanted more money to spend let them tax the farmer direct. If the native were gaoled for non payment the ratepayers had to pay for their keep. Mr. Harry Archer, of Ferndale, described the tax as one of the most iniquitous the world knew; and in weighed against taxing the most valuable asset the farmers have. Without the native they would be nowhere. The way natives and poor whites were taxed through the Customs, chiefly on cheap blankets, was an everlasting disgrace to our civilisation. Was it impressing the native with our superiority to single him out like that? Let them be honest and admit that the native was not being paid adequately for his service rendered to the country. This tax was class legislation of the worst sort, and imposed simply because the native was a "sk peel" who could not help himself. He saw a great danger ahead, as the minds of the natives—north, south, east and west—were being greatly disturbed, while formerly they were absolutely complacent and satisfied, bowing to the country's laws. "We have got to see justice meted out to those who are not in a position to have their views voiced in Parliament

A GREAT EXPLORER.

Death of Sir Harry Johnston.

We regret to announce the death of Sir Harry Hamilton Johnston, the explorer, which occurred on Sunday at Woodsetts, Worksop.

The passing of Sir Harry Johnston removes from the world one of its few knight-errants in what are too often unpopular causes. Yet at the same time few men will be so widely mourned, for Sir Harry Johnston had devoted friends amongst every civilised nation, every native tribe, and in every learned society; he was as much at home in the council-chamber of the Royal Geographical Society as he was in the kraals of South Africa, the huts of Liberia, the palm groves of Hayti, or the canefields of Dominica.

Born in Kennington in 1858, Sir Harry Johnston gave himself early to African travel, making his first journey to North Africa at the age of twenty-one, and accompanying Lord Mayo to the Congo two years later. In 1884 he undertook for the Royal Society the exploration of Kilimanjaro. His official career commenced in 1885 through a fortunate but casual meeting with Lord Salisbury at a garden party in a London suburb. Within a few weeks of this meeting Johnston was on his way to the Cameroons as British Vice Consul, there to spend nearly two years almost alone on a rocky island off Ambas Bay. But this apprenticeship once served, he rose rapidly in the favour of Downing Street until his retirement in 1901 with the G.C.M.G. During his official career and afterwards he was on intimate terms with every known African, and King Leopold, Cecil Rhodes, Starr Jameson, Mary Kingsley, and General Smuts all sought his counsel and help.

Sir Harry Johnston's many activities found outlet in three directions—exploration, administration, and literature. It is difficult to say in which of these he excelled, for his energy was immense. His service as a British Consul led after ten years to an active administrative career, and in 1890 he began the work for which Africa has most reason to be thankful. The treaties made with the chiefs of Nyassaland and Northern Rhodesia are in many respects model agreements, but that made with the Uganda rulers constituted a landmark in African history because it laid down for the first time rudimentary principles of future land laws. These have frequently been called "the Johnston principles." Their main features are well known: (a) administrative ownership of bona-fide waste lands; (b) native ownership of all lands in beneficial occupation; (c) land revenues credited to the Administration. It was said at the time by a high official of the War Office that this settlement had prevented war in East Africa. It is equally true that had such principles been universally adopted in Africa millions of lives would have been saved.

In later years Sir Harry Johnston undoubtedly became embittered, not altogether without reason. At the close of his official career he was most anxious to find a seat in Parliament in the hope of bringing into Parliamentary life a real knowledge of colonial affairs, but it was only possible for him at that time to fight once—he fought that once, and lost! Following upon this blow, he watched with increasing concern the decadence of the Colonial Office, particularly during and at the close of the war, and at times he expressed the fear that nothing would save Britain's Colonial Empire from disruption. It was this feeling, which he occasionally expressed, which led to his estrangement from the one department in Downing Street to which he was sincerely attached.

This estrangement, however, had its advantages in that it left Johnston more time for his literary labours. Between the years 1900 and 1910 he averaged more than a book a year. In 1910 came his most notable work up to that time—"The Negro in the New World." After this he again wrote several works of modest dimensions until in 1919 appeared that to which he was most devoted—the first volume on Bantu languages. In the same year he published his first novel, "The Gay Dombeys"—an ingenious continuation of Dickens's Dombey family in our own time. It was a considerable success in England and an even greater one in America, where it was the founder of quite a school of American novels. "Mrs. Warren's Daughter" followed in 1920, and "The Veneerings" in 1922. In 1923 he published "The Story of My Life."

AFRICAN NEGROES FOUGHT EUROPEAN INVADERS

(Preston News Service).

NEW YORK, Aug. 1.—"Not a whit more spirited and determined was the North American Indian in protecting his native land than was the Negro in protecting his native land." So says the famous writer, J. Alex Rogers, in an interesting article on "Bambaata, leader of the Zulu Revolt" in August number of Messenger.

Mr. Rogers tells the thrilling story of Bambaata. How he aroused all Zululand against the whites. Although short of ammunition and rifles, and forced to do most of their fighting with assegais and spears, the Zulus defeated and killed several expeditions of whites and native police set against them. Finally, the whites became so alarmed that they declared martial law and brought to bear all of their military machinery to crush the dangerous Bambaata and his men. This, because of their machine guns and rifles, they were able to do, after several desperate battles in which the Zulus with great bravery charged to the very muzzles of the machine guns. The rebellion lasted nine months and cost the Nata government over five million dollars before it was finally crushed.

Race Problem—1927

Africa.

The Oil-Palm

In a day when oil-seeds are being brought into use more and more, it is difficult to write sufficiently restrainedly of "Elaeis Guineensis," although from the black man's viewpoint, this wonderful palm is surpassed in usefulness, perhaps, by that other prop of his existence—"Raphia vinifera."

Yet in this attempt to render some idea of the tremendous economic importance of these two African marvels, and the methods of their exploitation, priority has been given to consideration of the oil-palm, because of its greater value to ourselves. For our present civilization depends, to a degree seldom realized, upon the palm oil of West Africa, and its kindred product—palm-kernel oil.

Moreover, the discovery made within the last six years, that low-grade unrefined palm-oil actually can be burned satisfactorily, i. e. completely, and without causing corrosion, in certain types of motor engines, is bound, in the near future, greatly to influence and accelerate the development of those West African dependencies, attention to which has been so profoundly stimulated recently.

The free fatty acids, present in palm-oil in such large proportions, quickly render rancid this famous grease, which thus is available in Europe only for manufacturing purposes—never for food. But in its country of origin, not only do the natives find it the chief basis of all their trade, but also employ the freshly made oil in all their cookery. Most West Coasters are agreed, too, that no dish out there can beat a pukka "Palm-oil Chop." If a native mammy is entrusted, as sometimes happens, with the correct preparation of this precious "chop," it would be as well for the would-be diner to employ a woman known either to himself, or at least to his cookie. Otherwise, he is liable suddenly to lose all further interest in his meal, by fishing out of the soup-tureen what looks to him remarkably like an infant's hand!

To be sick were simply folly, however, the thing is merely a monkey's paw, which all natives consider the greatest possible delicacy.

As yet, no product from West Africa bulks so prominently as this indispensable palm-oil, which is nowadays exported to the tune of some 150,000 tons per annum—principally from Southern Nigeria, but also from Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and the Congo.

Palm-oil! Palm-kernels!—how the words wake wanderlust, and conjure up unrest-compelling visions!

In those steaming West African lands, of torrential rains, fierce sunshine, and riotous vegetation, the graceful oil-palms grow everywhere. Here they group themselves round villages, or singly raise aloft their grey-green stems among the fields; there they cluster into groves and even forests, or like serried columns border the narrow, winding roads on either side.

Labour is still most rigidly divided in this Land of Ham, where each class, age and sex has its special task in the winning of the valuable oil. Right down the ages has this product been famous in Africa—since long before the days of Cleopatra. As of yore, therefore, the natives still send their male young hopefuls wriggling up the straight, towering palm-stems. Safely fixed in their trunk-encircling piassava girdle, these soon reach the tree-tops, where they quickly cut out the ripe fruit-drupes, sized and shaped like Rugby footballs, and fling them to the workers who are waiting for them below. The women and girls pounce at once upon the clusters. Quickly they prise off the plum-coloured, pigeon-egg shaped fruits, and throw these into a large cauldron in which a little water bubbles gently over a slow fire. Continuous pounding of the fruits then follows. This breaks their brittle, parchment-like skin, and tears away from the nuts their matted, fibrous pericarp that is heavily loaded with yellow little globules of fatty palm-oil. When boiled, this oil rises to the surface, and is skimmed off and ladled into earthenware crocks, disused paraffin tins, gourds, casks of all sizes—any and every sort of container, in fact, which the natives happen to have handy.

The sable ladies next place the cleaned nuts one by one upon a flat stone, and crack them by striking them with another. Incredibly primitive must this method seem to many in industrial Britain. Yet is there nothing to mock at in the incredible speed with which these accurate blows are given, the undamaged kernels whipped out, the shells swept away, and fresh nuts substituted; while the mountains of palm-kernels ready for shipment in the sheds of the white traders, cannot but arouse admiration for the diligence of these much-maligned, diligent, dusky mammies.

Practices such as these are, of course, most cumbrous, wasteful and antiquated. But the Dark Continent is an old, old land and offers a dumb but dour resistance to any innovations. Nothing ever changes there, or only very slowly. A few large firms of British and Belgian soap-boilers have nevertheless been established for some years now, within the Congo Basin, where they purchase the palm-fruits directly from the natives. By modern machinery they then scientifically de-pericarp the nuts on their own premises, and express the oil therefrom. But so comparatively new are all such endeavours, that it was only four years ago that at last a really satisfactory 'gin' was placed upon the market.

Since then, a further advance has been made in the matter of expeditiously treating the palm-fruits, and visitors to Wembley were able to see in operation there the Nottingham-made invention of a Glasgow man. This absorbed the fruits at one end, and at the other expelled not only the expressed oil, but the kernels also—shelled, riddled and bagged.

If this machine sustains its promise, it must speedily revolutionise conditions on the West Coast. From the point of view of Nigeria's interests, it certainly has made its appearance none too soon. For owing to the modern, vastly-increased demand for the products of Elaeis Guineensis, this palm has been planted extensively during the last decade in Brazil, Ceylon, the British and more particularly, the Dutch East Indies. These estates will soon be coming into bearing now, and those folk responsible for our West African dependencies are regarding with considerable anxiety this imminent challenging of their principal exports by the energetic inhabitants of those other lands.

Where the white man's Nigerian factory, or trading station, is situated up-country, the produce arrives in the bright, early mornings overland, brought in by long files of laden women and girls—never men or boys. These females are of all ages, from the withered old crone to the tiny mite just able to toddle, but who, like the rest of them, also bears upon her shaven pate her little jar of the golden-red liquid or her weeny bag of kernels.

The native middleman travels to the villages, too, buying here a few calabashes of oil, and there a few more, till his puncheons are full. Then, with infinite caution, the cargo of sometimes three tiers—maybe thirty-six puncheons of one hundred and eighty gallons apiece in a single canoe—is steered to the white man's wharf, where it is duly hove up and tested.

When bought, the oil goes mostly to Liverpool, although Hamburg and Bremen also managed formerly to secure considerable quantities.

A plentiful supply of this relatively cheap grease is nowadays almost a sine-qua-non for certain important industries, and the enemy's deprivation of palm-oil, through the operation of the blockade, was one of the severest blows suffered by him during the war.

Formerly, when the palm-oil had been cooked out of the nut-covering pericarp, the nuts themselves were always discarded as useless, and gradually accumulated in great heaps beside the ashes of the fires. But about sixty years ago, a German missionary discovered that the kernels of these hitherto despised nuts held no less than 50 per cent of a sweet, edible oil. His countrymen thereupon speedily collared the resulting trade, which now has reached, for the whole West Coast, the huge total of more than 400,000 tons per annum. Our English seed-crushers delayed in adopting this trade, and thus, prior to the war, the bulk of even our own kernels went to Hamburg and Rotterdam; direct, or transhipped from Britain. Since that time, however, both France and England have greatly multiplied their crushing-mills. Nowadays, indeed, they are using these splendid kernels more and more, this mainly being due to the recent increased consumption of margarine.

Scientific analysis, moreover, has disclosed that the albuminoid ratio of palm-kernel cake is, in fact, almost the same as that of rich, new milk. Nutty palm-kernel meal—the residue left after extracting the oil from the crushed kernels—when slightly sweetened is also invariably relished by the most fastidious animals, and recent experiments have proved that, when fed with boiled swedes, it is of quite exceptional value for the fattening of hogs.

On the West Coast, indeed, it is always difficult to keep the natives' sheep and goats from straying on to the factory's wharf, there to snatch up as many as possible of the loose-lying kernels. These actually taste remarkably like coconuts, and the black mammies and kiddies of those regions constantly are crunching them like sweets.

Such a habit may be all right for women, but for himself the West Coast native demands some stronger enjoyment. In Equatorial Africa, however, all physical wants are fairly easily satisfied. Thus when a drink with some kick to it appeals to the black man—and when does it not?—he simply scales a cherished "Raphia vinifera," or wine-palm and speedily obtains one.

With machet firmly clutched between chin-point and shoulder-blade my gentleman, or more likely his son, is soon at the top of the tree, where a small fire is kindled in the trash around the cut opened in its crown. The heat engendered by this causes the wine or 'mimbo' to gives the stuff its native name, to rise and well over when the negro quickly fills it into the calabashes or gourds he carries slung over his arm for this very purpose. As soon as drawn, the liquor begins fermenting, rapidly gaining alcoholic strength. After a few days, indeed, the yeast that has formed at the bottom of these calabashes has thickened to such an extent, that the white man's Accra cookie often can use it *for raising bread*, when temporarily short of commercial yeast!

Most Europeans deem this liquor, which resembles ginger-beer, most delicious when new, and they often declare that nothing could be more refreshing in Africa's heat than a good draught of mimbo. But as this brew ages, it gets very highly pungent. Its taste and odour nevertheless, do not seem to trouble the blacks, who evidently like it better the more powerful it becomes. Great quantities of it are consumed in their council or palaver-houses, where the chiefs and head-beringed Idiong men sit in solemn conclave in the afternoons; puffing away at strong, rank tobacco in long churchwardens, or eagerly discussing trade, women, or the latest tit-bit of scandal.

As well may be believed, therefore, few possessions of the negroes are so highly valued, or so jealously guarded as these beloved wine-palms. Most folk may imagine that all of them in a grove near the waterside would belong to one or two persons, or to nobody in particular, but this would be the gravest possible error. For each tree, or several of them, are owned by a specific family in the adjacent village, and no man may tap the wine-palm of another—that would be a sure ground for trouble.

To furnish this beverage, however, is merely the winepalm's first contribution to the profits of its owner, who promptly cuts down the tree when incessant tapping at last has prematurely killed it. Then, lopping off its huge leaves, he abandons the palm to become the prey of the women and children of his always numerous family. These carefully strip the leaflets from the leaves' huge mid-ribs, and carry them home in bundles, there to convert them into the slabs of matting used for the thatching of their huts. If properly put on, these slabs can turn the heaviest rain of the tropics, and at times this certainly is needed!

The mid-ribs themselves are employed as rafters, or for fences and even furniture. Although the wine-palm has so far provided its masters with some of the joys of life, with protection from the weather, and with house-building materials, it has not as yet furnished them with money for the household, or its equivalent in saleable goods. But its turn for this is now approaching!

The large bases of Raphia vinifera's twenty-foot banners just lopped off, and of those it shed while advancing to maturity, hitherto have encased as with armour-plating the lower third of the tree's stem, which right speedily now is rendered bare indeed. For without further ado, these leaf bases are prised off the fallen giant by the army of chocolate-coloured women and children now swarming all over its trunk.

With the many hands available, these petioles then are pounded and beaten with clubs or blunt stones till thoroughly friable, when they are placed in the nearest stream, weighted down, and left for several weeks; that the water may ret or rot away most of their vegetable matter. On next being attended to, they are washed and well rinsed. Despite their severe handling by the clubs, these bases still hang together quite a bit. But now their fibres are loose and can be pulled out—one of the regular tasks, by the way of our African lady friends.

These slender, straight little sticks of tough piassava fibre which form the bristles of the white man's street brooms, scrubbing brushes pan whisks, etc. are then put through a primitive scutching-comb rinsed once more, dried gradually in the shade—not in the sun, for that makes them brittle— and finally are ready for selling to the white trader for ultimate shipment to Europe.

Seen in large masses, good piassava has a glorious red-brown colour. Its warm glossy appearance is a sure guide to its quality, and the lovely shade of it a rare feast to the eye. The fibre must be quite dry when bought, or it will surely rot in transit, and as it has to be washed in preparation, and easily absorbs water, which weighs—piassava is bought by weight, and judged for quality by length, strength and colour—the native, who is in no way behind the white man in his tricks, naturally is tempted to produce this for sale in as wet a condition as he imagines will escape detection.

When it is remembered however, that each single fibre, or brush-bristle, as we know them, has to be treated separately, and when one sees

he trader's wharf covered, sometimes with piles and piles of piassava; thousands of pounds weight of it, if his Kroo boy labourers are baling up the stuff for shipment; one stands amazed at the patience and diligence of its black producers, and at the enormous quantities of this material there must be in West Africa, of whose possible supply only a tiny fraction is as yet exploited.

Sometimes this piassava arrives at the white trader's wharf in great canoe loads of several hundreds, or even thousand pounds weight but much of it is brought in overland, in small quantities, from one or two pounds, to as much as can be carried on the women's heads. Quaint is it then to see the tiny, naked black urchins, mischievous as any white boys, approaching the white man's scales with their little bundles. Half fearfully, half daringly they come, to receive their tickets for the amounts bought, then scamper off again; relieved beyond measure to escape in safety.

Although mostly too young exactly to understand the meaning of it all, they will take their 'books' as these precious bits of paper are styled home to mother, who will change them for goods the next time she comes along to trade.

And well may that fool tremble who thought to cheat her youngsters; assuredly he will hear the truth from HER!

The Fort Hare Record.

We heartily congratulat Professor Alexander Kerr, th Principal of the Fort Har Native University College and his staff over the excellent record of successes at the examinations of last December. From the lists we note that three men have passed the final B.A. of the University of South Africa, thus bringing up the number of graduates produced by the College to eight, when we include the two doctors who have finished overseas. Five others passed the Intermediate B.A. and one, the Inter. B.Sc., six the Premedical course, three the Diploma of Agriculture, one the Diploma of Education, three the National Commercial Certificate, while twelve completed the University Matriculation with one man scoring a first grade, two in the Second, nine in the third. One student completed the College Matriculation.

All this redounds to the credit of the efficient organisation of Principal Kerr, the effective teaching of his staff, the energy of his students for whom there is no need to apologise in regard to mental capacity. Any European school of the same size would be proud to produce one first grade in Matriculation and three degree men in one year. The only danger that threatens the College is an inadequate supply of students. We therefore appeal to our people to keep Fort Hare supplied with students as much as possible, especially the Transkei Council who did so much to get the College established.

REDUCED COTTON ACREAGE.

Exceptionally Promising Citrus Crop.

Cotton is very much reduced in acreage this season, and the area planted is probably only one-sixth of that of last year, writes Mr. W. E. Meade in his valuable review of agricultural conditions in Southern Rhodesia. The season to date has been favourable except for the late plantings, which have suffered from lack of rain. Growth of the earlier planted crops has been uniformly good, and at the present time the plants are looking much cleaner than they did in the two previous seasons. There has been much less shedding on account of boll worm attack, and as yet stainers have not appeared in anything like the same numbers as they did last year. It must be very distinctly remembered, however, that there is yet time for an infinite amount of harm to be done, and it is significant that jassaid is beginning to multiply in the crop. How far this will affect the manner in which the bolls will open cannot as yet be said with any degree of certainty.

A report of the experiments carried out last season at the cotton-breeding station at Gatooma is included in a volume issued by the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation. Although the results obtained are by no means conclusive, it is interesting to note that of five new varieties of cotton tried all gave better results than did Improved Bancroft, which is the variety universally grown in the Colony. All mature earlier than Improved Bancroft, while the staple of two, Delphos and Express, are of equal quality to Improved Bancroft. Further trials are to be carried out with these varieties, the results of which may have an important bearing on the cotton-growing industry of this Colony.

Big Export of Citrus.

As mentioned in last month's review, the citrus crop is exceptionally promising, and an export overseas of some 150,000 cases is looked for. Export will commence about the last week in April. It is interesting to note that the exhibit of fruit sent to the Poona Agricultural Show, to which reference was made in an earlier review, gained the gold medal for oranges. This fruit came from the Premier Estate, and consisted of eleven cases which were sold after the show for 34s. 3d. a case. The success of this exhibit opens up the prospect of a profitable market for Rhodesian oranges in India, and the Rhodesian Co-operative Fruit Growers' Association have arranged to send over three consignments of 200 cases in each during the coming season. It will be interesting to learn the results.

The African Coast fever restrictions are interfering with the cattle export trade, and the figures for February show a considerable falling off as compared with those of last year. Prices were firm at a recent sale at Gwelo, slaughter oxen and cows realising up to £7 17s. 6d. and £6 15s. respectively. Store cattle were in good demand, while compounds were sold at prices in excess of those of previous sales.

Unless we get more rain during April it is feared that water supplies will be short in some areas during the coming winter. The grass is surprisingly luscious, considering the short rainfall, and from present appearances there should be ample grazing during the dry season. It is regrettable, however, that many farmers still fail to provide for contingencies by making hay.

PICTURES.

Those in the Colony who in their school days used Chambers' Geography would remember that of the illustrations given of the various peoples of the world, that typifiing the Negro was the ugliest. At that time, Africa was a sealed continent to the civilised world. Only the blacks along the Coast of Africa were known by whites and the conditions under which they lived, left much to be desired. In process of time, Africa was opened up by explorers; it was then seen that there were various types of black men and black women: some had thin lips and aquiline noses; the colour of their skin was of various hues, varying from yellow to intense black, whilst others had thick lips and flat noses such as are to be seen among European, Asiatic and American people. In every part of the Globe among Red Indians, Europeans, Americans, Mongolians, Africans and Asiatics, are to be found handsome men and pretty women, as well as ugly men and uncomely women. Did not Othello the Moor charm Desdemona the white woman by his handsome presence and deeds of valour? We now know that civilised people used various arts to make themselves look handsome, sweet and charming. The further fact should not be overlooked that environment makes a great difference in the appearance of the citizens of every nation in the World. In civilised countries they have Art or Picture Galleries which contain paintings and sculptures, the creation of men's imagination, and which have effect in the appearance of the people of these countries. This explains why Europeans, Americans and Indians are far handsomer and prettier than those who have not these aids. In ancient Greece, where beauty was appreciated; the statues of Apollo, Castor and Pollux, Venus, Hebe, and the other gods and goddesses, were so numerous in the gardens and public places that they reproduce themselves in the sons and daughters of the passers-by. Apart from the picture galleries in various cities of Europe, there are in some of the churches and Cathedrals, especially in Roman Catholic countries, splendid pictures especially of the Madonna and child. Mr. T. J. Sawyesr noticed them at Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp and Brussels in Belgium. These churches are opened daily to which anyone can repair for meditation and prayer. A pregnant woman gazing, for instance, suppliantly on a Madonna and child with the desire that her offspring should be as beautiful and charming, is sure to have her wish gratified, and, is sure to bring forth an offspring that will gratify with delight her eyes. From the foregoing it will be seen that the value of nice pictures in the home cannot be over estimated. From experiment and observation Mr. T. J. Sawyerr has satisfied himself that his fellow citizens will welcome first class pictures and prints in their homes if brought within their reach. As yet, we have no art dealers. Mr. Sawyerr thinks the time is come when we should have one. The newspapers from abroad afford us information of the fabulous prices that are paid by wealthy Americans who know the intrinsic worth of good pictures. Mr. T. J. Sawyerr is now offering for sale a selection of excellent pictures, the cost of which runs into pounds. The high cost is due to the frames in which they are put up. They make acceptable presents from wealthy parents to their daughters on marraige. After Easter, there will be weddings and Mr. T. J. Sawyerr trusts that wealthy fathers will take the hint.

The following are some of the pictures —

India Print "Into the heaven of Peace" painted by Professor Herbert W. Holden, and dedicated to the motherhood of the world. This picture and the two following are reminiscent of the Great War. It depicts a child clinging to its dead mother whose corpse was floating on the sea. Price £5. framed in two and a half inch marbutt and silver slip. The like picture in plain print framed in two and a half inch oak and silver. Price £4 10 0. etc. [illegible] others to follow later on.

Race Problem - 1927
Africa.

EDUCATION IN TROPICAL AFRICA.

The Committee appointed by the Duke of Devonshire in 1923 "to advise the Secretary of State on any matters of Native Education in the British Colonies and Protectorates in Tropical Africa . . . and to assist him in advancing the progress of education in those Colonies and Protectorates," has issued a Memorandum (Cmd. 2374) which "represents the results of mature consideration by members of the Committee" and formulates "the broad principles which in its judgment should form the basis of a sound educational policy . . . together with some indication of the method by which they should be applied."

The broad principles are the encouragement of voluntary educational effort which conforms to the general policy "laid down by governments" and subject to supervision "by inspection" and other means, co-operation being encouraged by the setting up of Advisory Boards of Education which "would include senior officials of the Medical, Agricultural, and Public Works Departments, together with missionaries, traders, settlers, and representatives of native opinion, since education is intimately related to all other efforts, whether of Government or of citizens, for the welfare of the community." The Committee recognises that the aim of education should be to make the pupils more useful citizens, whose training will enable them to promote the advancement of the community to which they belong. Education should, therefore, be adapted "to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life." They must be prepared to support the inevitable changes produced by economic progress, and shielded from the shock of the invasion of new ideas which follows on the opening up of the country through modern transport by adaptation of their social systems to the new conditions. There is real danger that the ancient fabric of the African social systems may collapse prematurely when the seclusion in which they have evolved and to which they are adapted is broken by the intrusion of European commercialism. The railway and road traffic conveys not only goods but ideas; to develop trade without at the same time profoundly modifying the wants, the habits and the social life of the peoples is impossible. The introduction of a modern code of law causes a conflict in the minds of an agricultural people to which prædial offences are more heinous than the crimes to which a commercial society attaches most importance. The transition must be prepared by careful study of the morality, traditions and history which have moulded native society. Such work as that being done by Captain Rattray on the Gold Coast is the best foundation for an understanding of the problem of finding ways to conserve what is sound in indigenous traditions and customs and for carrying it over to the new era.

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Race Problem - 1927
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It is a matter of course that the European Courts should be more developed and organised than Native Courts, but anyone who knows anything about the conduct of European Courts outside this Territory, will find that there is much room for improvement in the conduct of European Courts this Territory to which we hope His Honour will before long give his attention and to rectify. The charge of delay in the hearing of cases in Native Courts can also be laid against European Courts in this Territory. Not so long ago some unfortunate people have been known so have been kept in prison for weeks and sometimes for months before their cases could be heard and when at last the case to be heard the judgment would be for the time the unfortunate person had already spent in goal and he would be released forthwith after a few cautionary words to make the prisoner and his friends believe that he had been guilty of crime. This delay has however been much lessened by commissioning certain police officers to try cases of a minor nature and by the institution of acting Assistant Commissioners in large districts where there is pressure of work as Assistant Commissioners besides being judicial officers are also political and much of their time is taken up with the political of the work district. The fact of the Assistant Commissioners' time being too much taken up with the political work of the Territory and thus leaving them very little time to sit on the bench to hear cases, has created an anomalous position in this Territory—a position which is beset with great temptations to those whose is the unlucky lot to perform the duty. We refer to the commissioning of police officers to hear and try criminal cases which they themselves have been instrumental in bringing forward and have heard and sifted all the evidence against the accused person by virtue of their position as police officer and "ipso facto" public prosecutors. This matter has been consistently brought forward in the columns of this paper and those of its contemporary in Maseru but so far nothing has been done to alter this anomaly.

It is inconcievable that any person no matter how conscientious he may be, who holds the position of a police officer and arranges with the police under his charge for the trapping of any suspected person, would, after the arrest of this man has been effected do what he believes to be to his satisfaction, when he comes on the bench to try the same man, give any other verdict than that of guilty. The fact would be superhuman and we do not believe that such a man has yet been born. Egoism is the essence of humanity. Perfection in what one does is the sole aim of everyone of us. What everyone has done or has had a hand in doing he is always anxious to see it passed as correct or justified. He would be no man who after taking great pains to perform a duty, would not feel the insult if his endeavours were condemned much less if he himself has to sit in judgment of the works of his hands or brains. Policemen are also human like every one of us and they are therefore not exceptions to the rule which governs the Ego. It is unfair for us to expect them to do that which we ourselves cannot do. The temptation is too great and it is only right that something should be done to save them from the evil repute that is spoken about them that they come to the bench to try a person the contravention of Police Offences with an already biassed mind because they have been instrumental in bringing about the charge.

In speaking to this clause in His Honour's Address some Councillors in adverted that the Native Courts were being accused of injustice, that is, giving unjust judgments. These animadversions led His Honour to strongly repudiate these remarks as unfounded as they neither appeared in the High Commissioner's message nor his address. The only thing contained in both addresses which made special reference to the administration of justice in Native Courts was the delay in the hearing of cases. No charge was laid against the Native Court for giving unjust judgments by the High Commissioner or himself. Of course this was true but the mere reference to it by the triumvirate and their satellites, revealed the fact that there were cases of gross injustice perpetrated in these Courts to which the male factors insinuated from the plainly—expressed addresses of the High Commissioner and the Resident Commissioner. They have confessed and that is all we want.

Now returning to the governments Courts again we find that the people complain of injustice at these Courts for the reasons already explained and the outcry against this has become so accentuated that some writers in the Native press are clamouring for the introduction of lawyers even in minor cases of a criminal nature. The reason for this is because of the commissioning of Police Officers to hear cases in which they are prosecutors and are naturally interested in establishing a verdict of guilty. To an outsider who has been previously introduced to a gentleman in the Assistant Commissioner's office whom he was informed was a Police Officer, it must certainly grate on his mind to find that gentleman sitting on the bench and trying a Police offence case. It is anomalous to his knowledge and experience but none the less it is the practice in this Territory and he hears the questions from the bench as those that would be given by a public prosecutor whose sole aim is to have a conviction against the accused. The case ends, the verdict is given and the accused is found guilty and sentenced. To the outsider this is an experience and above all a travesty of justice!

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Race Problem - 1927

Africa

PRISON FOR NEGRO "PLENIPOTENTIARIES."

Forged Bank of England Notes.

Two West African negroes, called Macombe and Munome, have been sent to prison in Berlin for forging and issuing £5 Bank of England notes and £1 Treasury notes. "In the interests of the State" the case was tried in camera, but the newspaper accounts unveil an astounding swindle.

One negro had posed as the "Commissioner for King Bondongula of Accra, on the Gold Coast of Guinea." There is, of course, no such king or kingdom on the Gold Coast, but the black "Commissioner," nevertheless, ordered from a Berlin firm of printers some paper with the water-mark of the Bank of England. Such paper was wanted (so the black "envoy-plenipotentiary" of the "Gold Coast king" said) for printing—not false notes—but leaflets to be used as propaganda on behalf of "King Bondongula."

One firm in Berlin asked another firm to supply certain necessary plant. The second firm suspected a fraud, and informed a British Consul, who placed the matter in the hands of the police.

It is believed that the negroes have been issuing English bank notes for some time past. One of them was actually arrested last July, when he was trying to change a false £5 note; but the police could find no evidence against him, and so he was liberated.

His companion (it is now known) had already served three years' imprisonment for a financial fraud perpetrated in the rôle of "Minister of the Republic of Liberia."

African Vernaculars.

In the discussion as to the place of African vernaculars in African education the supporters of their use have a powerful advocate in Miss Alice Werner, than whom there is no higher authority on the languages of Negro Africa. Miss Werner has long combated the idea that the African tongues are mere "kitchen languages," incapable of application to any but the lowest and meanest of human needs and thoughts. It is true—no one will dispute—that many of them have no terms to express abstract ideas—or, at least, the higher of those about us—language is the vehicle of expression of human ideas its development waits upon, and follows, the development of ideas. When new ideas are born or introduced a living language will find terms to express them either by inventing new words or modifying the implication of old ones, or by adoption of words from the source of the ideas. The usual method is modification, and in course of time the original meaning is merged and forgotten in the new one. I remember a zealous, but not well-informed, missionary who was greatly shocked to find that the word for "the Annointed" in the Fanti translation of the Old Testament meant etymologically "to bathe," and his surprise when I showed him that some of the most sacred terms of his religion—chrism, christen, Christian, Messiah—were of the same humble origin. As Miss Werner writes in "The Language Families of Africa" (of which a new edition has recently been issued): "What are the most abstract terms of the most highly cultivated languages in the last resort but very material metaphors? "Spiritus" means "breath," but it is also used for "spirit" in any of the higher senses. . . . The truth is that language expands with the intellectual growth of a people." The African vernaculars have vitality enough to effect the same modification when new ideas are introduced, and sufficient vigour to absorb suitable foreign terms and to give them an African vitality. All living languages, like living bodies, are constantly carrying on the process of absorption and adaptation of new material; when they lose their power to do so the body and the language are dead. It is by this process that the English language has gained in extent, flexibility, and power in its growth from the dull and stolid Anglo-Saxon to the keen and brilliant intellectual medium of to-day. A glance through a few pages of Murray's great English dictionary will show how freely the language has borrowed from all sorts of sources, and how it has grown and been enriched by doing so. The African vernaculars must grow and burgeon by the same process.

W. F. H.

International Conference in Belgium.

[continued]

IMPRESSIONS

By the Rev. Z R. Mahabane (South Africa)

"No conciliation between Europ. pean and non-European" in South Africa, for this is the only interpretation that must justly be put upon the "Civilized Labour Policy" and the "Segregation policy" of the Union Governmet as embodied in the Colour Bar Act of 1925, and the Class Areas (Asiatic" Bill of 1926 as well as the pending Native legislation of the Government.

RESOLUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

A series of cogent and pregnantly worded resolutions and recommendations was, after careful scrutiny, passed, urging a more aggressive policy of Evangelism in Africa, greater recognition of the indispensability of the services of the African in developing the resources, spiritual, cultural etc. of Africa, stressing more definite religious education such as would tend to put greater emphasis upon moral training and character building, a more enlightened conception of the African School as training ground for community service, urging co-operation between the Governments, Missionaries, Africans and other representatives of the European Communities domiciled in various parts of Africa in educational work. The resolutions went further to recommend the inauguration of an education policy that is calculated to bring elementary education within the reach of every Native child The resolutions also recommend more security of land tenure by Natives as well as the allocation of sufficient land for native occupation, while they also condemned forced labour.

In this survey of African conditions it became evident that the peculiarly delicate situation created by the juxta-position of the white and black races in South Africa as well as the policy of the Government towards the African Community, called for a special resolution, the drafting of which taxed to its utmost capacity the brain-power of Conference. A special Committee, consisting mainly of the Delegates from South Africa, white and black, was entrusted with what proved to be the most difficult task of the august assembly In the laudable endeavour to reconcile the conflicting interests, the clash of colour between white and black, the antagonism between the forces of progress and of reaction in the sub-continent, the unique resolution was drafted and re drafted. In the process the committee realized that it has now been, brought face to face with the grim realities of the politico-social situation created by the advent of Western Civilization into the home of the black races of the earth. It was in this connection that Mr Oldham the highly esteemed "Chairman of Committees" of what might be regarded as the embryonic League of ecclesiastical nations displayed great tact and diplomacy; and when at last the resolution emerged from the ordeal of close scrutiny it was couched in language which while it is incapable of hurting the susceptibilities of any section or party or group it expresses a sense of profound sympathy with the white and black communities of the country in the racial problems with which they are called to deal. The resolution further recognizes the fact that the problem of race relationship presents itself in South Africa in an exceptionally difficult an acute form, while it goes on to express the conviction that "the welfare and prosperity of every community is inseparably bound up with the welfare and advancement of all its parts." This is, of course, in direct contradiction to the political and economic creed of a majority of the European people of South Africa, which is to the effect that the welfare, prosperity and existence of the white depends upon the suppression and repression of the black man with the consequent depression of his spirits. We share the belief of the Le Zoute Conference that the true solution of our problems in South Africa can only be found in the unreserved acceptance and fearless application of teaching and spirit of Christianity which has been summed up in the injunction. "Love thy neighbour as thyself," or, "do unto us as ye would that they should do unto you."

The future stability of the Union of South Africa depends upon a basis of racial co-operation between white, black and brown.

"Eendracht maakt macht
Tweedractit breekt krachtt."

Sierra Leone.

A USEFUL HANDBOOK.

Mr. M. T. Dawe, O.B.E., Sierra Leone's indefatigable Commissioner of Lands and Forests, is to be congratulated on the new edition of his attractive little handbook "Sierra Leone—The Oldest West African Colony," which provides all essential information regarding the Colony's history, trade, and development in a handy form. The historical, topographical, agricultural, and trade sections embody a large number of facts and figures which it would require considerable time and patience to collect from other sources, so that the handbook performs a useful function in disseminating information as to the Colony's resources and needs. Attention is directed to the subject of inter-Empire trade, which Mr Dawe has done so much to further by his work at the British Empire Exhibition, and the recent Canadian National Exhibition, at which Sierra Leone was the only West African Colony represented. It is pointed out that much may be done to encourage and develop trade between the various units of the Empire by demanding that the goods we buy shall be, as far as possible, of Empire origin, and a perusal of the facts contained in this handbook will undoubtedly convince potential purchasers and consumers that Sierra Leone, small though she is, deserves their attention by reason of her wealth of agricultural products, the volume and quality of which Mr. Dawe and his colleagues of the Lands and Forests Department are doing so much to increase and improve.

AFRICANS STIRRED BY "WHITE" POLICY

5,500,000 Negroes Would Ultimately Be Segregated Thru Measures Aimed At By Government

FOUR BILLS PROPOSED MEANS WHITE CONTROL

Would Prevent Raise In Industrial Scale Beyond The Most Menial Position Offered

NEW YORK, April 27.—At the coming session of the South African Parliament the famous four native bills, introduced by Prime Minister Hertzog, promise to be the most important legislation in the direction of a "white" policy so far enacted by the Union. The bills, which are aimed at the ultimate segregation of the 5,500,000 Negroes within certain reservations to be set aside, comprise a comprehensive program for solving the so-called native problem. Under the new legislation, license fees and certain color restrictions would make it difficult or impossible for the natives to receive employment in "white" territory in the future.

Only twenty-five years ago, when one of the Colonial Administrators. G. H. Nicholls, now a member of the Legislative Assembly, went to govern a territory adjacent to the Congo, he found that he was the first white man seen by many of the natives. Despite their seemingly savage condition, Mr. Ncholls discovered they had a developed code of law and a logical system of government. After five years of administration he recorded their enlightenment in the following terms:

"Gradually I saw the change come over them as they came more in conteact with economic life. The tone of the villages began to change. The old hospitality of the roads vanished Chiefs who before had never thought of the value of the food they grew*** began to demand the payments for the slightest help.. The returning workers brought back to their simple kraals the economic standards*** of civilization."

Oppression Called Mistake.

It is alleged that for more than a quarter of a century a policy compelling the natives, by taxation and other devices, to work for Europeans has been maintained; that natives have been absorbed in the agricultural and industrial life of the nation, chiefly in the former. It is now felt that the policy has been a mistake.

The proposed native legislation, which would undo this policy, is set forth in measures known as the Representation of Natives in Parliament bill, the Union Native Council bill, the Colored Persons' Rights bill and the Native Land Act Amendment bill. This legislation follows closely upon the Color Bar act passed last session the white labor policy and the Natives' Land act of 1913. The last mentioned act provided for segregation, which is to be carried out under the proposd new legislation.

Fears For The Act.

The Color Bar Act, it is asserted, will prevent natives from rising in the industrial scale beyond the most menial position by prohibiting their employment at any process that "receives, transmits or generates natural or artificial power." Finally, there is the white labor policy, which, its opponents assert, is designed to replace all natives in Government employment by Europeans.

Of the four bills the most important is the Land Amendment act. The underlying ideas in it are these: That natives should be allowed to reside outside the schedule reserves only as servants under the Masters and Servants act, and that squatters (most of the natives on the farms work under this system) are to leave all farms. This is to be effected by means of license fees.

Would Cancel Franchise

The representation of Natives in Parliament bill and the Union Native Council bill must be considered together as they are designed to complement each other. Their underlying principle is that the natives have not yet reached the stage of development be entrusted to elect representatives ers of local government; nor can they when they can be entrusted with pow to Parliament. The franchise enjoyed by the natives in the Cape for the last fifty years is cancelled; as a substitute for their former rights, a native Parliament will be set up in which the aspirations of the educated natives may be satisfied. Moreover, they will be given a command vote by proxy in the Federal Parliament.

Rights of Natives.

Finally, the Colored Persons' Rights bill. This provides for the registration of all natives who desire to become future voters. Education tests will have to be passed, however, before natives are qualified to vote.

The arguments favoring the above legislation are somewhat as follows: Contact between the natives and white population has proved bad for both; it has had a demoralizing effect on the European and has prevented the native from developing natives have set low standards of along his own particular lines. The production, yet because of their cheap labor they constitute the agricultural laboring class of the nation There is consequently no place for the poor white population in the economic life of the Union, and conditions grow constantly worse. As there are about five and a half million natives, as compared with one and a half million white persons, the potential danger of native domination and an inevitably inefficient civilization exists.

ETHIOPIA TO MEET MODERN DEVELOPMENT

Plan Program of Real Economic Progress

Ethiopia, formerly known as Abyssinia, is being scrutinized for its possible economic development, presenting one of the few productive regions on the African continent without recent modern improvements. This is reported by the divsion of regional information of the department of commerce in a statement of April 20, which says:

COUNTRY IMPORTS ITS CURRENCY

"The proposals recently made to develop some of the economic resources of the empire of Ethiopia, formerly known as Abyssinia, have served to focus a considerable amount of attention on this country, which is one of the few productive regions on the African continent in which no new modern developments have taken place in recent years.

"Although the political independence of Ethiopia has been recognized by the great powers since 1906, nevertheless the modern economic developments there have been largely accomplished by foreign enterprise. The Franco-Ethiopian railway, connecting the capital, Addis Ababa, with the French Somaliland port of Djibouti, is the only railroad in the country and is entirely in French hands. The only exploitation yet made of the valuable deposits of potash salts in the northeast part of the country has been carried on by Italian capital. The country's foreign trade is largely negotiated through resident Greek and American merchants. Even the currency of the country, the Austrian Maria Theresa dollar, is imported and distributed by foreign agents.

FIND TRAVELING INTERIOR DIFFICULT

"The subjects of recent British and Italian notes were a proposed concession by the Ethiopian government to British interests for the construction of a dam near Lake Tsana to control the waters of the Blue Nile for the benefit of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and a similar concession to Italian interests for the construction of a railroad north and south across Abyssinia connecting Italian Somaliland with the Italian colony of Eritrea. Both these projects while carried on by foreign capital, would be subject to the approval of the Ethiopian government.

"At present, transport to the interior by the Blue Nile or by caravan through Gambela, the trading station leased by Ethiopia to the Sudan government, is both slow and difficult, and the bulk of the country's trade is carried over the French railroad to Djibouti. The volume of trade over this route amounted in 1924, the last year for which figures are available, to 18,693 metric tons of imports and 23,885 tons of exports, being comparatively unchanged, the export total having trebled since 1914, but imports being comparatively unchanged. Prior to 1924 there had been a heavy annual import surplus.

"The chief commodities entering into the export trade via Djibouti are such pastoral and agricultural products as coffee, hides and skins, beeswax, grain and ivory. The leading imports are salt which is sometimes used in Ethiopia instead of money, cotton goods — constituting almost exclusively the dress material of the native population — kerosene, sugar, hardware and empty sacks, the last being used extensively to cover the loads carried by pack animals."

A CONGO UNIVERSITY.

To be Founded Shortly in Africa.

The University of Louvain has decided on the early foundation of a university in the Congo, which, although not possessing the number of chairs as its five-century old venerable Alma Mater, will be destined, none the less, to become a centre of important studies. Already, as is well known, a college of higher medical instruction has been organised in Katanga.

"The Catholic University of the West Congo will only comprise for a start," writes the Rev. Father Vanderhyst of Kisantu, "a small number of faculties, which will be later supplemented as funds permit: philosophy, theology, the natural sciences, and medical and agronomic sciences.

"The section of preparatory studies will comprise Latin humanities and modern classics. As supplementary, there is to be a school for infirmary students of both sexes, another for medical assistants, one for midwives, and one for agriculture and zoology.

"This instruction of primary and medium order may, of course, be organised in a number of districts. We will not now refer in any special way to studies of philosophy and theology preparatory for the priesthood, nor to medical courses. We only note that these will be lengthy ones. Instruction in classics and modern literature will be open to all students desirous of undertaking the higher studies. This will, it is believed, appeal to a large number of natives, and will, in due time, be organised under the best possible conditions with a capable personnel.

"Scientific studies will comprise two years, and will be the same for colonial, medical, and agronomic students. This instruction will be confided to doctors of science, medical men, and agronomic engineers. A third year of study will be devoted to practical work, and may be extended. Studies of intellectual order, such as excursions, laboratory work, drawing up of reports, preparation of plans, etc., will take precedence of such work as agriculture, cattle breeding, etc. These latter practical courses will be at the option of students."—From "Neptune."

BANTU PHILOLOGY.

Dr. Doke's Researches in Rhodesia.

Dr. C. M. Doke, senior lecturer in Bantu philology at the University of the Witwatersrand, who for some time past has been conducting research studies in Northern Rhodesia, is due to return to Johannesburg shortly.

Dr. Doke has been investigating language structure and language sounds among the natives of the districts where he has been located. He is bringing down with him from Northern Rhodesia a number of natives for the purpose of experimenting upon them in the philology department of the University.

It is interesting to learn that Dr. Doke is next month publishing a new Zulu grammar, based on a new system.

Race Problem - 1927

Africa

The Legal Status of Slavery.

The decision of the Appeal Court in Sierra Leone regarding two cases in which owners were upheld in claiming a right to use reasonable force to recapture runaway slaves has created much surprise in Freetown, where the fact that the right is localised to the Protectorate is overlooked by many. The reasoning followed by the judges was that slavery is recognised by law, and has been regulated by statute for the past 30 years, and that the whole position, therefore, turned on the meaning of a clause in the Protectorate Ordinance of 1924, prohibiting *unlawful* compelling of the service of any person. The world "unlawful" was held to mean "forbidden by definite law," and since the recapture in the cases mentioned was not accompanied by undue violence, it had to be regarded as a legal recovery of property until the whole position was changed by the Legislature. This judgment was that of the majority, but the third judge held that the whole state of slavery was repugnant to natural justice, equity and good conscience, and therefore could not be legalised. Among facts brought out by the proceedings was that of the number of runaway slaves to be found in the Protectorate, a position which shows that even the African "domestic" system is not accepted so passively as some would have the world believe, while the assurance that no ex-slave can be re-captured while resident in the Colony will undoubtedly influence the plans of all future runaways.

A YEAR BOOK OF FRENCH COLONIAL ENTERPRISE.

Into the 775 pages of the "Annuaire des Entreprises Coloniales" (Union Coloniale Française, 17, Rue d'Anjou, Paris, 25 francs) is compressed a wealth of information concerning the commerce, industries, and agriculture of the French Colonial Empire which could otherwise be obtained only after a laborious search through a great diversity of publications. Owing to the tardy issue of the official trade returns, the 1927 edition contains particulars of trade up to 1925 only, but for all the larger Colonies development has been so steady that it is fairly easy to predict the results for 1926. The volume is divided into six parts, dealing with transport, finance, a commercial directory of each Colony, subdivided into firms with or without a European head office, brokers and agents, general information, and a classified directory of European suppliers. It is fully indexed, and there are useful cross-references, with a list of the abbreviated titles of companies which will be most welcome to English users puzzled by the Continental method of referring to firms by artificial words founded on their initials. Apart from advertisements, the various sections contain information regarding some 1,200 firms, including their addresses—postal, telegraphic, and telephonic—with codes used, their capital, recent dividends paid, their objects, and a list of directors. There being also a valuable index to the names and interests of the last-named.

The section containing particulars of commercial, industrial, and agricultural undertakings, includes a short summary of the extent, population, and trade of each Colony, with clear maps showing the principal towns and areas of production. The absence of large towns in French West Africa is noticeable, for even Dakar has but 32,257 inhabitants, while Timbuctoo has only 7,219, while in French equatorial Africa there are no towns larger than Fort Lamy and Bangui, each with 6,000 inhabitants, and the capital, Brazzaville, has 500 less than this. With regard to the way in which leaf tobacco is being supplanted by cigarettes, the year book attributes the change to fluctuations in the dollar exchange affecting prices, and not, as British officials do, to a direct change in public taste. In the industrial sub-sections one finds a variety of activities that are more or less neglected in British territory, partly, of course, owing to differing views regarding concessions. The railway, transport, and planting companies are the chief of these, but cement and brick-making, fishing (including whaling in Equatorial Africa), cattle-rearing, and anaphe silk production, represent a few industries which remain untouched in British Colonies, or are known chiefly through the activities of the Government.

The miscellaneous information includes particulars of the Colonial Chambers of Commerce, associations with Colonial aims or interests, and official research stations, with a Colonial press directory and information regarding firms wound up since the issue of the 1926 edition, and of houses either new or hitherto omitted. The list of suppliers is comprehensive, and ranges from exporters of ginning machinery to police dogs, and from manufacturers of duplicators to those of shell-boxes. It is an education to those desirous of extending the West African import trade, for it lists many articles that the practice of the simple life leads the trader to forget would be as welcome in African households as they are in those of Europe.

Indirect Rule in Ijebu Ode.

It is sometimes puzzling to the newcomer to Nigeria that in spite of the fact that indirect rule seems to be the natural method of reaching home rule, and that the ruling power must ultimately fall into the hands of educated persons, yet among educated Africans in Nigeria there is a strong feeling against the whole system. The reason, of course, is to be found in the mistakes made by Native Administrations, sometimes on their own account, and sometimes through a wrong European interpretation of local custom. A case reported from Ijebu Ode shows how suspicion may arise, and it is probably better to give its two sides separately. The one side is fairly simple. A vacancy at Ode, Ijebu Remo, was filled by the appointment of a new Chief, and opposition was quashed by the maintenance of a "firm" attitude, which, since it was silent as well as strong, left open to misunderstanding the motives that influenced it, however justifiable they may have been. The other side—the only one to be heard locally—is as follows: Those dissatisfied with the new ruler organised a committee to prepare a petition, and an appeal for signatures was placarded in Ode. The petition stated why the appointment was considered wrong by local law and custom, and also brought personal charges against the new Chief. It was apparently signed by some 900 persons, and this fact, it is claimed, caused the display of "firmness" by the Judicial Council, for four men, including an African pastor, were arrested for "conduct likely to cause a breach of the peace, namely, the posting of a placard meaning that the ruling Chief was not the rightful one," and were awarded three months' imprisonment! The defence seems to have been that the placard was merely a call for constitutional protest, and was followed by no disturbance, but the pastor, the Rev. D. Epega, states that a request for retrial by the D.O. was refused, as was an application for a copy of the proceedings, while appeals to higher authorities merely produced a stereotyped refusal to interfere. This aspect of the case suggests to most Africans, of course, that the Government is conniving at an unjust imprisonment, for, as most Lagosians would say, a similar placard in Lagos would pass without official notice. It needs to be remembered, however, that the relative effect of such a placard in cosmopolitan Lagos would be *nil*, whereas in Ode it might stir every son of the soil. Moreover, the placard bore no means of identifying its author or publisher although, unless read in the narrow sense in which it apparently was read, it could hardly lead to trouble. Unfortunately it was probably made more suspect in that the committee which drew it up was at Lagos, which, as Egbaland knows, sometimes harbours rather peculiar "patriots." But even these facts are insufficient to account for the reported refusal to rehear the case, especially as it is said that a promise of rehearing, if required, led the pastor to submit to trial in a court which was both prosecutor and judge. If the matter is merely one of misunderstanding, no harm could be done by a full official statement of the case, while if it is one of injustice, continued official silence can only help to create further prejudice against indirect rule.

BITTERNESS IN SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS.

From the last mail papers received we gather that General Smuts has arrived at the painful conclusion that there is bitterness, a violence of language, and indulgence of personal invective in South African politics to-day such as is probably not exceeded in any other country. Harsh though the statement appears, there is, unfortunately, ample justification for it. The controversy surrounding the Flag dispute, or rather the manner in which it was conducted, proved this only too clearly. General Smuts has heard language used in Parliament and on the platform which has appalled him, language which is the negation of all true sportsmanship or gentlemanliness. Too often such language has been directed against him personally, but it is not for this reason that the General complains. The object of his indictment is to warn the younger generation against the folly of pursuing such questionable tactics. Make public life sweet and fair and attractive. Such is his plea, and we earnestly trust it will not fall on deaf ears. It is encouraging that it has been followed by an appeal by Dr. Malan for a better spirit in Union politics. Dr. Malan rightly points out that the real importance of problems in South Africa is entirely lost sight of owing to their being approached in a party spirit. We hope that Dr. Malan's words will be taken heed of by those of his colleagues whose utterances in the past have not always been in the best taste; while we also urge those members of the South African Party whose speeches at times can hardly have been described as models of tact, to consider whether they will not obtain better results by displaying a more conciliatory and more friendly attitude towards their opponents.

WHAT WE THINK.

A GREAT ANGLO-AFRICAN.

The death of Sir Harry Johnston this week came as a shock to many old friends, for, although his serious illness—much accentuated by being badly gassed at the Western Front during the latter years of the Great War when lecturing to the troops—was known, such an early fatal finale was not anticipated. In Mr. Hobley's fine memoir published on the opposite page, it will be easily seen under what great obligation the British Empire is to the dead explorer-statesman, a son of Britain who probably added more acres to her territory in his lifetime than anyone else. In fact, it is almost strange having to record that at the impressive funeral at Poling Church yesterday, when he was laid to rest, apparently no representative of the Government was among the mourners—surely a regrettable and probably an unintentional omission. For over twenty-five years THE AFRICAN WORLD has had the invaluable co-operation of Sir Harry Johnston as one of its most expert and cherished contributors. In the last years his indisposition prevented our readers from having the benefit of his almost encyclopædical and astounding knowledge of Africa. In his beautiful garden study at St. John's Priory, Sussex, many great volumes of outstanding merit were created amidst enchanting environments, and where his devoted life's comrade did her great share in the almost ceaseless work of the distinguished *litterateur*. To-day we sorely feel the blank created by the passing of one not too well treated at times by those who control the destinies of our great territories overseas, but whose name will live for evermore in the great annals of Africa's records achieved by the finest type of Englishman, who not only fearlessly risked the best years of his life in attaining them, but placed his incomparable knowledge on record for the benefit of generations to come.

WHAT WE THINK.

THE FUTURE OF EAST AFRICA.

Attention has again been focussed on East Africa as the result of the opening of the third Unofficial Conference at Nairobi. It is being held at a most opportune period in view of the recent statement by the British Government on the question of future policy in East Africa. Naturally the federation issue will be in the forefront of the discussions, and already Lord Delamere has expressed himself on the subject with characteristic courage and candour. He has also been at pains to show that if the East African territories are not to drift into a form of federation which will rivet upon them the chains of bureaucracy there must be set up guiding posts. His fears are naturally mainly concerned with Kenya, who, he avers, would be unwise to throw herself into the melting pot of federation unless her civilisation is safeguarded from swamping by Downing Street policies passed by official majorities in the other territories. The argument is a sound one, but for our part we think Lord Delamere is causing himself needless anxiety. The Royal Commission which is to study the whole problem may be relied on to examine the questions that may arise from every point of view, and to see to it that Kenya's future is no way jeopardised by any hasty decisions. It is well, however, that the views of the settlers in the various territories affected should be ventilated. A frank interchange of opinions make for harmony and a satisfactory solution of common problems. East Africa is also fortunate in having so far-seeing an Administrator as Sir Edward Grigg in her midst. His wise counsel and breadth of vision have already been responsible for much of Kenya's progress in recent years.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN FARMERS' TOUR.

The tour of the South African farmers, which concluded yesterday, proved an outstanding success from every point of view, and reflects the greatest credit on all who were associated with the venture. In this connection we would particularly mention the name of Sir Pieter Bam, who has rendered signal service in furthering the spirit of Empire. Without the hearty co-operation of great organisations like the Union-Castle Company, it would, of course, be no simple matter to arrange tours of this character; but where the cause is a worthy one and the objects calculated to be of national benefit, the ready and generous support of the undertakings which Lord Kylsant controls is assured. Tours, such as the one just completed, do an incalculable amount of good, especially in the direction of tightening the bonds existing between the Mother Country and the Dominions. For that reason alone they are justified, while their importance from an educational point of view cannot be too highly estimated. It is to be hoped we shall have many more tours of the same kind.

Two Great Workers for Africa.

Testimony, both public and private, to the greatness of the loss Africa has sustained by the deaths of Dr. Aggrey and Sir H. H. Johnston is continued. The new Governor of the Gold Coast, Sir Ransford Slater, and a large concourse of Europeans and Africans, attended a memorial service at Achimota on Sunday afternoon for Dr. Aggrey. Sir Ransford's predecessor, Sir Gordon Guggisberg, who knew Dr. Aggrey so well and appreciated him so greatly, has this week, through one of the missionary organisations, made known his own sense of loss, and paid Dr. Aggrey an eloquent tribute on the lines of that from him published in WEST AFRICA last week.

One correspondent points out to me that the obituary article on Sir Harry Johnston should have made mention of the fact that his early education was at the school, in The Grove, Camberwell, at which Joseph Chamberlain had been a pupil.

Another correspondent sends me these lines, from Tennyson's "Aylmer's Field," as a not inapt description of Dr. Aggrey on the more personal side of that modest Christian gentleman :—

A grasp
Having the warmth and muscle of the heart,
A childly way with children, and a laugh
Ringing like proven golden coinage true.

Then, Captain F. W. Butt-Thompson, whose work in and for Sierra Leone (and, indeed, for Africa as a whole) has evoked such widespread admiration, says in a note to me this week :—

It was sadly strange that in one issue of WEST AFRICA you should have had obituary notices of two such men as Sir Harry Johnston and Dr. Aggrey, one of whom was Britain's greatest gift to Africa and the other, Africa's greatest gift to the world. I could not help feeling, as I saw the names at the head of consecutive pages, that such men as Aggrey are the finest monument that can be thought of to the memory of Johnston, for only such men as Sir Harry can help out their natural evolution.

I never knew either intimately, but had met them both more than once, and admired them. From Sir Harry I have three letters concerning my own work for Africa and the Africans, in the first of which he wrote, anent some question about the Kru tribe, "Watch Liberia. With less criticism from those who have never visited her and more encouragement from those who do, she will yet play a conspicuous and honourable part in the permanent uplift of the African Negro." In another he says, "The rough tongue of Burton may be forgiven, it was barking rather than biting in which he indulged, and he gave some of his best years and work to Africa." (By the way—no man could more appreciate Burton than Johnston, who served long periods in some of the places known to the Orientalist.) And in the last he says, "No work done for the Africans in the right spirit can be finally lost, no matter how inadequate may seem the reward (if any) at the time. The continent is still a nursery, and some of us are chosen to foster-mother the babes, and some to aid their first tottering steps into a larger life and resonsibility, and only a few have the chance given them of enjoying fellowship with the, still youthful, product of the care and training, but all the work, whatever its nature, is worth while, and should be an honour to the best of Britons."

During my last trip through the Union of South Africa, I heard many (and various) opinions of Dr. Aggrey, but those of value registered his charm and versatility, and paid tribute to his manhood. One of my friends there, who has had opportunity of knowing the African both in his own land and in America, roundly asserted that Aggrey was almost as great an orator as Booker Washington. That stalwart Colonial, Bishop Sitwell of George, and that beautiful old saint, the Bishop of Kimberley, had both entertained him and were proud to talk of it. That his character had equally appealed to both these gentlemen is a sufficient guarantee of its greatness. His passing is a supreme loss, but it must be also, to Afric's sons, a supreme stimulus.

EAST AFRICA'S FUTURE.

The decision of the British Government to appoint a Royal Commission to examine the possibilities of federating the East African territories comes as no surprise, for Mr. Amery and other statesmen, in addition to Sir Edward Grigg, who have made a close study of the problems affecting our dependencies in that part of the Empire, have never made any secret of their opinion that East Africa's destiny lies in federation of some sort. Leaders of public opinion in East Africa have also recognised the soundness of the argument on which this conclusion is reached, and we have no doubt that the step which the Government contemplates will meet with almost unanimous approval. The European settlers have long urged the need for closer contact between the administrations of the neighbouring territories, appreciating as they do that Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika are faced with many problems which, if not exactly identical, have at least much in common, and are better capable of solution by common action. This was made clear at the various unofficial conferences that have been held. The desirability of federation also figured in the programme of nearly all the candidates at the recent election for the Legislative Council in Kenya. It is obvious, then, that in paving the way towards closer union the British Government are giving effect to a popular aspiration. And in this connection it is worthy of note that the fact that we have undertaken mandatory responsibilities in respect to Tanganyika creates no difficulty or complication. The intimation that, for the present at any rate, the question of the grant of self-government to Kenya is outside the pale of practical politics is also not unexpected.

NIGERIAN REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.

The "Nigerian Gazette" for June 30 gives the figures for the revenue of the financial year 1926/7 as £7,734,429, as compared with an estimate of £7,788,670, and a total of £8,268,928 for 1925-6. The expenditure, exclusive of loan works of £11,109, was £7,584,692, compared with an estimate of £8,066,935 and a total of £6,583,167 for the previous year. The surplus at March 31 amounted to £6,063,228, plus £11,109 recoverable from loan funds.

Agriculture in Sierra Leone.

The feature of the March official agricultural report just published in Sierra Leone is the effort that the Government is making to extend the culture of swamp rice. In the Northern Province, rice instructors have been preparing for nurseries and farms in order to teach the people the cultivation of swamps by the transplantation method, and in the Roonieta District this type of farming is becoming decidedly more popular. In the Pendembu District, Central Province, the swamps yielded on a average seventy-three fold, the total production of rice being over 3,000 bushels, but in the South Province it is very slow. The growing of castor beans is extending, in some places rapidly, and the production of cocoa has also made some progress in suitable areas, although in the South Province monkeys have proved great pests among the ripe pods. The ginger production is, of course, likely to suffer from the disappointing prices offered last year, which led to the bulk of the crop in Moiamba being left unharvested.

Race Problem - 1927

Africa.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCENE.

FLAG IMPASSE AND AFTER—MR. DUNCAN'S FEARS—MR. GROBLER'S CONFIDENCE — UNION JACK SUPPORTERS — NATIVE EDUCATION — MISCELLANEA.

("African World" Special Correspondent.)

CAPE TOWN, July 9.

Though we are all thankful that the Parliamentary session has come to an end, our energetic M.L.A.'s are not prepared to let us forget it and the unpleasantness associated with it. They continue to fill columns of the papers with their views on the work done, and for the most part these views are couched in severely critical vein.

Mr. Patrick Duncan, of whom we have not heard much of late, takes rather an extreme and, let us hope, exaggerated view. He considers the session was the most disappointing since the Great War, while the Government's Flag policy was a disaster. In fact, says the former Minister, never since the Act of Unic has South Africa been threatened by so gre a disaster. The Government had achieved great thing with the resolutions agreed up at the Imperial Conference. All this goo work, however, had been nullified by the Government's attitude on the flag question. When General Hertzog came back from London he had publicly stated his intentions of leaving the Flag Bill for at least a year. Then he actually stated in Parliament that because of a statement made by the Empire Group and a certain leading article he had decided to go through with it immediately. Could anything more comic than General Hertzog's action be imagined? Anything more hopelessly incongruous it would be difficult to find.

At the beginning of the session the Government had expressed its intention of never including the Union Jack on the national flag. After certain speeches, however, were made in Parliament which aroused the British section of the people, they agreed to include the Union Jack and the Republican flags, but only as dead flags, and in such a way as to make them almost invisible. Now Dr. Malan had said that the Government will go no further. If this were so, then any hope of a solution had been definitely knocked on the head.

A Miserable Affair.

The whole flag question was a "miserable affair." The South African Party policy from the very beginning had been one of delay, but the Government would have none of it. They all knew that General Hertzog did not speed up the Flag Bill because of a newspaper leading article or an Empire Group statement. The real reason was that his colleague, Dr. Malan, said to him, "You've either got to go through with the thing or drop me."

Well, the Prime Minister evidently took the line of least resistance. Next session there would be a joint sitting, and then a referendum, and the whole country will be ablaze. Mr. Duncan can see nothing but danger and disaster in front of South Africa.

We are certainly not finished with the flag affair and the trouble it has led to, but for all our sakes it is to be hoped that the outlook is not so gloomy as Mr. Duncan would have us believe.

Mr. Piet Grobler takes a very different view of the position from Mr. Duncan. The question, he states, should not be dealt with on party lines, and the Government had endeavoured to eliminate politics from the discussions. As a Transvaaler he considered that he had had no flag since 1902. The Union Jack was not the Transvaaler's flag, and never would be. From 1919 a national flag was agitated for. General Smuts at Rustenburg, when asked by a supporter, had replied "it was impossible for the country to recognise the Union Jack as the national flag, and South Africa must have one of its own."

The recent opposition, in Mr. Grobler's opinion, did not come from the English people as a whole, but from the Empire group and similar bodies, who refused to recognise the Union's independence. He understood the pride felt by the English for the Union Jack, and rightly so, but as a Transvaaler he could not respect it, because his flag was taken away by the Union Jack.

Mr. Grobler is confident that a large number of the English will vote for the Government design.

Meanwhile the United Flag committees, which are representative of all the four provinces of the Union, are leaving no stone unturned in order to bring about the rejection of the Government flag design at the forthcoming referendum. Even if the referendum goes against the committees, the latter are determined to continue their efforts to secure a reversal of this decision at the first opportunity.

Future of the Native.

The native and his political development loom large in the public eye these days, and as time goes on he will become an increasingly important factor in the scheme of things in South Africa. It were as well to recognise the facts. Mr. H. S. Scott, Director of Education in the Transvaal, has been chiding us for taking too little interest in native education. He points out that while there are about 1,500,000 natives in the Transvaal, of whom nearly 250,000 are children of school going age, only 50,000 are actually enjoying educational facilities.

If one believed in education, declares Mr. Scott, one had to believe that without systematised education the native could not emerge from his savagery. The duty and the responsibility of Europeans were to guide and encourage the aspirations of the natives; if such encouragement was denied, the aspirations would find their own expression.

Mr. Scott criticises the general European attitude as negative and often apathetic. Within the last 20 years, he points out, the native has changed in his outlook on education and the motives underlying the demand for education have changed, and while the native aims might often be materialistic, a similar charge could be laid against Europeans, whose motives are sometimes other than idealistic.

The natives are demanding education, but are beginning to admit that a special kind of education might be suited to them or their people. If one could persuade the natives that one was playing the game, one might induce them to accept a definite scheme different from the purely literary education regarded by natives as the prerogative of the European.

If our politicians viewed the position from the same angle as Mr. Scott, the native problem would be less difficult of solution

Plea for Marcus Garvey.

Before leaving the native question, it is interesting to note that the African National Congress which has been sitting in Bloemfontein has passed some weighty resolutions. With all of these it is not possible to deal here. One or two, however, call for mention. The Congress deplores the attitude of those Natal farmers who dismissed those of their employees who are members of the C.U. The Conference is of opinion that unless the Government takes steps in the direction of suppressing this "iniquitous policy of brute force and autocracy," the African National Congress and kindred organisations of people of similar characteristics should formulate a uniform policy that will bring about a state of tranquillity for both races in this our mother land.

The Conference also saw fit to make an appeal to the Union Government on behalf of the notorious Marcus Garvey.

This, needless to say, will have very little effect though made with the best intentions

AFRICA SHOULD OFFER WEALTH TO RACE FIRMS

That Africa would offer a prolific field for big commercial enterprises of the Race is evident from the report of Mr. Gaukel, St. Louis representative of the U.S. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.

"Signs of rapid expansion in the foreign trade of certain tucked-away territories should be heeded," Gaukel said, "as they indicate potentiality if not immediate, markets for products of the Mississippi Valley. The British possessions in East Africa, now known as Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Tanganyika Territory, and Zanzibar, should occupy the attention of progressive exporters, as this large agricultural area, supporting 10,000,000 inhabitants, is taking increased quantities of American goods.

Among other articles for which sales are increasing, Gaukel listed canned and bottled foodstuff, small tools, hardware, office furniture and supplies, druggist supplies and proprietary articles, cameras, ammunition and hosiery.

NIGERIA LETTER.

Muslim Difficulties.

The feast of the Greater Bara, observed throughout Nigeria generally, without any untoward happening, afforded an indication that in Lagos this important body of the population is not yet united, for the various sections kept it on two different days, a precedent which in the interests of business, it is hoped, will not be repeated. In spite of much criticism, the Government adhered to its normal policy in religious matters, and merely provided the usual extra police services on the two days, and it is difficult to see how it could have dictated on so domestic a matter as the intended date of a religious festival. The wisdom of the procedure is shown by the fact that both days passed without any troublous incident, and that neither side has been able to consider itself supported in its spirit of non-compromise.

The Iwofa System.

The news that the pledging of children under sixteen is to be prohibited in Abeokuta from the beginning of next year is very welcome, for while the system has proved useful in many respects, it is obviously open to much abuse, and has also been, in some instances, one of the causes of the misunderstanding that has made people unwilling to send their children for industrial training unless they received some monetary payment in return. For adults, the pawn system in Abeokuta is to be regulated, and the services of persons who pledge themselves will be regarded as equivalent to a daily repayment of sixpence, while—most important of all, perhaps—the rate of interest on the sum borrowed will be limited to six per cent. These restrictions, added to those already imposed by African custom, will go far to ensure that human pawns will never become really "gilt-edged" securities, and will remain merely persons who have contracted to receive their wages, but not their subsistence, in advance.

An Egungun Assault.

A very serious case has recently been tried before the Lagos magistrate. During an Egungun play in the town, an "Egungun" threw a quantity of fluid over two spectators, and since it proved most painful, the two men concerned seized the player and unmasked him. He proved to be a young druggist in training, putting his knowledge to such misuse that only the best of good fortune had prevented his victims from being blinded. The worst feature of the case is that the incident does not seem to have been a merely thoughtless youthful escapade, since the prisoner claimed that he had been incited to the act by an Egungun leader who had a personal quarrel with one of the spectators injured. Evidently if there are to be many repetitions of this attempt to restore the former evils of such plays, it will be necessary in the interests of public safety to modify the benevolent light in which the molestations of "Egungun" in the public streets are regarded by the police.

A NIGERIAN COMPANY'S CAPITAL.

Mr. Justice Eve, in the Chancery Division on Tuesday heard a petition for the reduction of the capital of the Batura Monguna Tin Co., Ltd., Nigeria.

Mr. Byrne, for the Company, said it was desired to write off certain items which appeared in the balance-sheet but which did not represent any assets at all.

His Lordship: How much is the reduction—£75,000?

Mr. Byrne: Yes. The authorised capital is 750,000 4s. shares, the whole of which had been issued. That is £150,000, which is being cut down by half. Counsel said the items in the balance-sheet being written off were the property accounts, mining claims, roads, bridges, and works, and there was to be revaluation of buildings and machinery.

His Lordship: It is difficult to see where you have any assets at all.

Mr. Byrne: It is like so many of these companies. Its assets side of the balance-sheet is represented by entries which represent nothing. The sooner they get rid of them the better.

His Lordship: Where is this mine?

Counsel: In Nigeria.

His Lordship: I will give you a chance. I don't think much of you. I will sanction the reduction.

A WISE POLICY FOR NIGERIA.

THE "Financial News" is to be congratulated upon having obtained from Sir Graeme Thomson a communication upon prospects and policies in Nigeria which is interesting as an article and re-assuring for its important indications of policy in that great country. How great Nigeria really is Sir Graeme brings home to the British public with his reminder that the country contains two-fifths of the population of the whole Colonial Empire; and with his prediction—and his reputation is that of a Governor who would understate rather than overstate—that in 20 years it will have become one of the most important parts of the Empire. Naturally the Governor deals with the health standpoint. He considers that a reduction of the European death-rate from 27 to 11 or 12 within 15 years suggests that there is no reason why Europeans should not support life in it as well as they do in India. His Excellency dwells with legitimate satisfaction upon the new road and railway extension policy, and as to external transport "the services," he says, "are improving, and Elder Dempster and Company have shown that they are expecting big trade developments by recently putting two large and up-to-date cargo and passenger steamers (the s.s. Accra and Apapa) on the West African route, in addition to the building of several new cargo steamers." The financial position is excellent. Revenue, in 1914 only about £3,000,000, is now about £8,000,000, and the accumulated surplus is well on for £6,000,000. "With the idea of hurrying on the development of the Colony we are therefore budgeting for a deficit in 1927 of about £1,000,000."

The chief wealth of Nigeria, as Sir Graeme says, is agricultural, and this, quite apart from any considerations of moral duty or political wisdom, imposes a policy, the leading principles of which his Excellency states with a clearness and emphasis which should, and we believe will, ensure its cordial acceptance by the African population, and their leaders' hearty support in applying it:—

It is the policy of the Government to encourage the Natives by help and example, to *develop their resources for themselves*. We are opposed to the entry of foreign or European companies into industries that can be satisfactorily developed by the *Natives*. This entails a number of difficulties, especially when a *Native* industry has to meet efficient external competition, but they are being gradually overcome. The largest single industry is that of obtaining palm-oil and kernels. . . . We are discussing how best to *introduce the Natives to modern methods*. The wisest course is thought to be to invite European commercial firms to introduce oil mills equipped with the most modern machinery and to start a limited number of properly cultivated plantations. It has been found that once an example is set the Natives *are quick to follow it*—if they can be certain that it will enhance profits—and the presence of successful firms using new methods should stimulate them to adopt the necessary changes for themselves. The principle of giving examples to the Natives has been most successfully tried in the rapidly-growing cocoa trade. The Agricultural Department has worked hard to show how great advantages (as much as £5 per ton) can be gained if the product is properly treated, fermented and dried before being exported. Demonstration stations have been established in different districts and the cocoa is being inspected and graded before being shipped.

The italics are ours. Such statements are doubly an assurance—an assurance that the old, well-tried *principles* will be adhered to, and that the African producers will be given, in the adoption of new *methods* that best of all help, the help which enables people to help themselves. Given the faithful application of such a policy, the result is sure. It will be solid success.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

A Great African.

The cause of African education has suffered a grievous loss by the death of Dr. Aggrey, the well-known Vice-Principal of the Prince of Wales' College (Achimota), while on a visit to the United States, whither he had gone to spend his leave with his wife and family.

James Esuman Kwegyir Aggrey was a Fanti, born at Cape Coast in the Gold Coast Colony, a descendant of Chief Aggrey of that town, whose services to the British settlers were rewarded by a gift of silver plate from Queen Anne in 1709. After receiving such education as he could get at the Wesleyan School, he went to the United States in search of higher education than could be obtained in his native country. On arriving in America he supported himself by working as a printer, and later took up agriculture on both its practical and scientific sides. He then became a student of Livingstone, Salisbury (North Carolina), of which he later became a professor. No instructor had ever been more popular among the faculty and students, whose respect and affection he gained by his broad humanity, culture, intense sympathy, eloquence, and force of character. All his speeches and addresses were imbued with a passion for the uplifting of his race, lit up by a gift of humour which enchained and held the attention of his audience. While at Livingstone he attended the special summer courses at Columbia University in New York City. During this period of study he gathered about a dozen degrees in various faculties. He was recognised by both whites and negroes as one of the foremost leaders of his race, and he exercised a powerful influence among the friends of negro education in both North and South, by whom his opinion was received with respect.

A Striking Testimony.

From a number of testimonies to Dr. Aggrey's character and abilities I select the following as being from men who were in a position to watch him closely and to form an accurate judgment. Professor Franklin H. Giddings, of Columbia University, acknowledged to be the leading sociologist of America, and the author of books accepted by all the schools and colleges of the United States as standard authorities, wrote in 1917: "Professor J. E. K. Aggrey is a man of ability and ideas. His record at Columbia has been excellent. He should do important work for his race; I shall be much disappointed if he does not. In the nature of things we judge him by two standards—that which we associate with his own race, and the standards we associate with manhood and scholarship irrespective of race. Judged by either of these standards, Mr. Aggrey is distinctly exceptional. He is well above the average graduate students in general mental vigour, intellectual honesty, scholarship, and rational curiosity, which takes all human problems as proper subjects for investigation. I admire him on the intellectual side." Professor T. N. Shenton, Instructor in Biblical Science at the same University, wrote: "Mr. Aggrey's record on the Campus has been unusual. For a number of years he has been mixing with a heterogeneous group of students in such a way as elicited the respect and appreciation of many extremely different types, and, as far as I know, the antagonism of none. He has worked consistently in our department, and has given evidence of unusual ability to grapple with social problems in a masterful way. This summer I met him daily in a small graduate seminar, where I had particular opportunity to test his ability working alongside of several other choice and carefully selected types of men." Mr. F. H. Curtis, one of the best known educational authorities of the Southern States, wrote: "I have known him for several years, and have formed an excellent opinion of him as a man and a scholar. I speak as an educator of thirty-three years, of broad and varied experience as a teacher, city school superintendent, county and state institute conductor, college president, and educational journalist. As to my ability to judge whereof I speak, I may refer to U.S. Commissioner of Education Claxton, Secretary of Navy Daniels, Congressman E. Y. Webb, and hundreds of prominent educators throughout the country." Many other testimonials from equally authoritative sources might be quoted.

Back to Africa.

It was Dr. Aggrey's high reputation as an authority on African education which led Dr. Jesse Jones to invite him to become a member of the Phelps-Stokes Commission on African Education, which did such excellent work for the cause of the Africans throughout the continent, and showed "the importance of the spirit of co-operation in the solution of all missionary, educational, international, and inter-racial problems" in Africa. It was no doubt his work on this Commission which drew Dr. Fraser's attention to him and caused him to insist on having him as his assistant at Achimota. His work since his assumption of that office is too recent and well known to require recording here and now. His death is a heavy blow, not only to the Prince of Wales' College, but to the cause of African advancement. The whole race will join his countrymen on the Gold Coast in mourning the loss of a great man and a great leader.

Dr. Aggrey leaves a widow and three children. Mrs. Rose Douglass Aggrey is a graduate of Shaw University, Raleigh, and a poetess of considerable distinction. While at the university she gained a gold medal for a song which was sung at the anniversary of its foundation. The sympathy of all Africa and friends of Africa will be extended to the family in their overwhelming bereavement.

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Dr. Aggrey's high reputation as an African education which led Jesse Jones to invite him to become a member of the Phelps-Stokes Commission on Education, which did such excellent work in addition to the Africans through- the importance co-operation in the solution of all missionary, educational, international, and inter-racial problems" in Africa. It was no doubt his work on this Commission which drew Dr. Fraser's attention to him and led him to insist on having him as his assistant at Achimota. His work since his appointment of that office is too recent and well known to require recording here and now. His death is a heavy blow, not only to the Prince of Wales' College, but to the cause of African advancement. The whole Coast will join his countrymen on the Gold Coast in mourning the loss of a great man and great leader.

Aggrey leaves a widow and three children. Mrs. Rose Douglass Aggrey is a graduate of Shaw University, Raleigh, and a teacher of considerable distinction. While at the university she gained a gold medal for oratory which was sung at the anniversary of the foundation. The sympathy of all Aggrey's friends of Africa will be extended to the family in their overwhelming bereave-

geneous group of students in such a way as elicited the respect and appreciation of many extremely different types, and, as far as I know, the antagonism of none. He has worked consistently in our department, and given evidence of unusual ability to with social problems in a masterful This summer I met him daily in a graduate seminar, where I had particular opportunity to test his ability working alongside of several other choice and carefully selected types of men." Mr. F. H. Curtis, one of the best known educational authorities of the Southern States, wrote: have known him for several years, and formed an excellent opinion of him as an and a scholar. I speak as an educator of thirty-three years, of broad experience as a teacher, city superintendent, county and state institute conductor, college president, and educational speak, I may refer to U.S. Commissioner Education Claxton, Secretary of Navy Daniels, Congressman E. Y. Webb, and hundreds of prominent educators throughout the Many other testimonials from authoritative sources might be cited.

the important industry is to be preserved for the prosperity of the Union, the Government must stand to its pledges, the sanctity of which is brought into question by the recent declarations of Mr. Beyers, who is said to have emphasised that the object of the Bill was not to limit output so much as to make illegal the splitting of farms which had been carried out under the existing law. The policy of any Government should be towards the encouragement of security of every kind, and not the continuance of a vendetta aimed apparently at one particular group.

Race Problem - 1927

Africa.

2

A Great African Statesman.

Captain C. T. Knox, in the "Morning Post," pays a distinguished tribute to the late Sir Apolo Kagwa, the African Prime Minister of Uganda. I extract the following :—

I was once asked by a lady whether it was not very dangerous living so much amongst cannibals. People visualise Uganda as a large country consisting of a great deal of sand, thickly peopled by black men who wear fig leaves and a ferocious expression. I was disbelieved when I remarked mildly that there was very little sand in Uganda, and that the Natives wear considerably more clothes than the young woman of to-day. Let people with such ideas imagine a vain thing. But to those people who know the passing of Apolo Kagwa will mean a good deal. It is a link with the past rudely broken. It is the loss of a great leader of men. It will conjure up memories of a far seeing, loyal, and most enlightened gentleman. To be Prime Minister of a progressive country like Uganda is no light task, and to rule over an enlightened Native Parliament calls for qualities and brains of no mean order. Apolo Kagwa paved the way for the occupation by the British and braved every danger and terror to compass his object. He realised that through the British, and only through them, could his unhappy and terrorised country drag itself out of the mire. Then the British came, and Apolo Kagwa was content. He saw his country grow to prosperity and content under the wise counsel of the British. He saw created a Native Parliament with the King as its head and with himself as its Prime Minister. He framed rules and procedure which enabled his countrymen to take a hand at governing themselves, and which enabled them to dispense law and justice to their own people in their own Parliament, with their own Cabinet. The Native Parliament, or Lukike, of Uganda, is one of the most marvellous institutions in the world.

THE CAPE NATIVE FRANCHISE.

(By Professor D. D. T. JABAVU.)

I.

[*Continued.*]

The spirit that produced this clause was without doubt illiberal, un-Christian, and subversive of all that is best in British tradition, resulting in palpable unrest among the people thus stigmatised, as well as considerable mystification and perplexity in the Imperial Parliament when the Draft Union Act was taken thither for ratification. Memorable speeches were made in the House of Commons by the Prime Minister, Mr. H H. Asquith, and in the House of Lords by Lord Crewe, all urging the South African delegation to abandon the un-British and short-sighted Colour Bar in the Constitution ; but to no purpose. In view of this adamant position on the part of the South African delegation, King Edward VII. took the extraordinary step of preserving the right of the Cape native franchise against future dispossession in his "Letters of Instruction" to all future Governors-General. Again, the Imperial Commoners in their despair, after endeavouring to influence the Convention delegates towards a more humane attitude, exhorted the delegates to modify their policy on their return so as to seek a way to withdraw the Colour Bar and to extend the Cape native franchise northwards.

It was not a question of uninformed English negrophiles unduly intermeddling in the local affairs of South Africa ; but a case of independent external examiners criticising the patent failure on the part of South African politicians to observe the universal laws common to all humanity. Locally, it was the historical conflict between the ideals of the liberal Cape and the inflexible Northern Provinces habituated to governing their subject races on the principles of so-called "firmness" The Imperial Parliament and the King of the British Empire in their capacity of unbiassed judges, could not forbear to censure the Convention delegates for the glaring injustice committed against the inarticulate Bantu races.

PRESENT-DAY EVIDENCE.

Less than two months ago a prominent Cape politician gave expression in a public speech to the following apposite remarks :

"A new spirit had come into native policy in recent years as far as the Union was concerned—a policy of repression, a policy of injustice, and a policy that went back entirely on the policy of the old Cape Colony. He would go as far as to say that had they at the Convention, or had the leaders of the old Cape Colony in those days, known the position as it was to-day, there would have been no Union That was absolutely certain. If they could have foreseen the Bills which were now before Parliament for discussion next session, they would never have dreamt of going into Union They thought at that time that, with the experience which the Union Government would get, the policy of the old Cape Colony would gradually extend and be supported by the whole of the people of the Union The policy now was to go back on the policy of the old Cape Colony . . . . Under this (Representation of Natives) Bill it was proposed to take every native off the register, which was absolutely contrary to the Act of Union . . . . and it is against the assurances given to the Imperial Government when the Act of Union was passed"—J. W. Jagger, M.L.A., "Cape Times, December 16, 1926.)

These facts are incontestable and cannot lightly be dismissed as political opportunism or platform chicanery Since then a change for the worse has become manifest from the spirit that obtained in 1854 and 1910. The Northern provinces have undergone no change of heart during the last 16 years. On the contrary, there is cumulative evidence that they have steadily overpowered the Cape policy. Indeed their political dominance has given birth to the Colour Bar Act of 1926, and now to the Native Bills, of which we are to consider clause by clause the one entitled "The Representation of Natives in Parliament."

THE FRANCHISE BILL.

The preamble to this Bill contains three extraordinary proposals :

(a) The first is to alter sub-section (2) of section 35 of the South Africa Act in order to remove all the names of native voters from the registers The original law guaranteed that "No person who at the passing of any such law (i.e. to disqualify any person by reason of his race or colour only) is registered as a voter in any province shall be removed from the register by reason only of any disqualification based on race or colour." This proposal constitutes a revolutionary violation of both the letter and of the Union Act.

(b) The second is "to make special and uniform provision for the representation of the native inhabitants of the Union in the House of Assembly" This proposal postulates what we cannot accept, namely, that the members of Parliament should be split into sections according as they represent whites or blacks who live territorially mixed It is further vitiated by its preliminary basis of depriving one section of the natives of its franchise rights enjoyed for more than 70 years without abuse or misuse.

(c) The third is "to alter certain other provisions of the South Africa Act, 1909, and the laws governing voters' rolls and Parliamentary elections, with a view to effect such representation."

There appears to be no justification for tampering with the Constitution for the purpose of introducing an injustice at the expense of the Cape native voters. On this preamble I would offer as a constructive suggestion that no alteration whatever be made in section 35 of the Union Act, but that special provision be introduced to initiate the natives of the three Northern Provinces into a modified form of the franchise with a high educational and property qualification. That would be a step in the direction of honouring the assurances given in England in 1909 by the Convention deputation. Incidentally it would rectify the long-standing anomaly of the existence of voteless educated natives, and create justice where it is clamantly wanted

Clause 1 of this Bill definitely disfranchises the Cape native voters, because it repeals sub-section (2) of section 35 of the Union Act ! As we oppose the retrogressive step of the disfranchisement of the Cape natives, we respectfully suggest that clause 1 be deleted from the Bill.

A CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTION.

Clause 2 establishes seven European members to represent all the natives of the Union, and divides each of the larger Provinces into two electoral constituencies where voting is to be carried on only by chiefs, headmen, members of local Councils, or by other groups to be organised by Government machinery. This clause is both revolutionary and indefensible; revolutionary, because such a system of group voting is without precedent in the British Empire; and indefensible, because (a) the number of members will be clearly inadequate for the immense population concerned; (b) the geographical size of the constituencies will be unwieldy for efficient management; (c) the character of the electoral brigades will be that of men indebted to the Government either as servants or nominees; d) it supplies only a shadow of its intended substance because the proposed electorates, being all but suborned in advance, give but a faint reflex of real representation. As a constructive suggestion I would eliminate this clause and substitute instead a modified individual franchise for the three Northern provinces based on an

educational and property qualification.

Clause 3 lays out the manner, date and place of elections.

Clause 4 makes the seven members additional to those in the Union Act, and perpetuates the old and contentious Colour Bar of section 43 of the Union Act.

Clauses 5 and 6 limit the privileges of the seven members in certain respects, and these respects are just those matters in which the native voters are at least as deeply concerned as are the European voters.

Clause 7 completes the process of the disfranchisement of the old-time Cape native voter, begun under clause 1 of the Bill.

Clauses 3 and 7 should be deleted under my scheme, inasmuch as they logically depend for their validity upon clauses 1 and 2 which we have already expunged.

Clause 8 is legal riddle. According to the reading of General Smuts it preserves the status quo of the native voters in their relation to the Provincial Council. According to Sir Charles Crewe it abolishes it. The ambiguity of this clause thus permits of two diametrically opposed legal interpretations. In either case it is difficult to imagine how the Cape native voters will continue to vote for their Provincial Council once their names are struck off the register as provided under clauses 1 and 2 of this Bill. This confusion of aim on the part of the authors of the Bill somewhat upholds my suggestion against any tampering with the old Cape native vote. Clauses 9 to 11 are negligible, as they merely define terms.

INSISTENCE ON VOTE.

Thus one is left with nothing to approve in the Bill, except the constructive suggestions already outlined. In support of this position, I may at this juncture state that the natives of the Northern provinces have, by means of their organisations, journals, meetings and all other methods of expression, unequivocally rejected the offers made under this Bill.

They do not want the Bill so long as its advantages to them involve the whittling down of the old Cape native vote. They prefer to wait until, in God's good time, the European race of South Africa may be induced to start them on a franchise similar, even if modified, to that of the Cape. It will therefore be purposeless to foist upon these people a pseudo-franchise they unanimously repudiate.

On the other hand, the Cape natives have already lost so many of their old treasured privileges since Union (that is, by the disabilities under the Colour Bar clause in the Constitution, the restrictions arising out of the 1913 Lands Act, the Poll Tax, Pass Laws, the abolition of the right to appeal to the Privy Council, the dispossession of the right to land tenure under the Urban Areas Act, the Colour Bar Act of 1926), they have already lost so many of their privileges, I say, that they can hardly be blamed for being now unwilling to sacrifice their greatest asset for the sake of confering the franchise to somebody who says he does not want it.

The Latest Negro Triumph.

I have to admit that I am not "in the movement"—the Charleston movement. For some time past I have observed a tendency among young people to shuffle their feet and to wriggle their bodies; girls coming from school twist their feet together along with steps that recall a hornpipe, young women standing in conversation seem unable to keep still for a moment; they knock their knees together, shuffle their feet on the pavement in a way that must be highly profitable to the boot trade, and shake their shoulders. For a time I thought that Sir Arbuthnot Lane's New Health Society had converted the youth of the country to the cult of "Savage Dancing," and started a vogue of wriggling to give exercise to the abdominal muscles. It was only a few evenings ago that I was "put wise." I was talking to two ladies in a friend's drawing-room, when, to my surprise, they began to shuffle and shiver and shake like the young people in the streets. "This is the Charleston," they duetted when I asked them what they thought they were doing. I was startled, and watched the performance with interest. So this was the latest negro invader! First the cake-walk, then ragtime, next jazz, and now the Charleston, and the "Spirituals" going on all the time. The white world is "going back to the primitive," but it has only got half way. It has taken to negro tunes and steps, but it has not caught the spirit of negro singing and dancing. The white races are too hide-bound in conventions to catch the negro singers' and dancers' utter abandonment to the sensuous joy of the music and the hypnotising rhythm of the dance. Great Bacchus is dead, the mænadic frenzy is irrevocably lost, and the Europeans' cold rendering of the Charleston is to the original but as the caged and tamed tiger of the Zoo to his wild fellow in the jungle. Go and see Miss Florence Mills and her Blackbirds doing the real thing.

Public Service and Pensions Act 1923.

WE ARE indebted to the 'Fort Beaufort Advocate' for unearthing some of the regulations guiding pensions to Natives and Coloureds. These regulations may seem generous in that no contribution is demanded from Natives and Coloureds towards the fund; but that does not compensate for the essential that matters—that is fixity; and why a departure was made from the old Cape Province law one cannot say—and this may only ascribed to the present trend of policy of dispensing with non-Europeans from all avenues of the Government service. The regulations may be described as "conscience easing" for having deprived non-Europeans of their due rights.

Following are the regulations:—

Sect. 67 (1) Native and coloured employees for whom provision is not otherwise made by law shall on retirement for one of the reasons described in sections forty-seven, forty-eight and forty nine be entitled to a pension as follows:—

(a) where service extended over a period of five years but under fifteen years—a gratuity of one half of one month's pay for each completed year of continuous service;

(b) where service extended over a period of fifteen years but under twenty-five years—an annuity of twenty shillings per annum for each completed year of continuous service, but not exceeding one-half of the average salary over the whole service;

(c) where service extended over a period of twenty five years or over—an annuity of thirty shillings per annum for each completed year of continuous service, with a maxium of forty years' service or two-thirds of the average salary over the whole service whichever is less.

(2) Superannuation age shall be the age of fifty five years, unless the person retiring is a member of the services, when the provisions of section forty-seven shall be applicable.

(3) If retirement is necessitated in the circumstances described in section fifty four or if death occurs in the circumstances described in section fifty-five the provisions of those sections shall respectively be applicable.

(4) No contributions to a fund shall be required and the benefits payable under this section shall be charged upon and paid out of revenue.

(5) Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in any law or regulation contained, it shall be lawful to permit native or coloured employees for whom provision is otherwise made by law to elect to come under the provisions of this section: Provided the election is made within a period of six months from the commencement of this Act.

WHO'S WHO IN OUR PICTURES.

In the Nigerian Marine, Apapa dockyard construction branch boat-builders and shipwright section picture, taken in connection with the retirement from service of Mr. M. A. Postance, Chief Foreman, are, back row, left to right: Messrs. N. A. Dawodu, J. A Thomas, A. John, J. Ogundiran, S. Jones, H. G. Martins, A. Adeniran, M. Lawani, E. Steward, N. A. Ekemole, E. M. Povey, M. Costa, Y. Adamo, M. A. Brunett, A. Ramonu, M. Ajasa and Ojo Ajayi. Second row: Messrs. J. B. Smith, A. Bashorun, A. Tella, I. Alade, J. Koomson, A. Banire, B. Kasumu, A Sumonu, S. Alabi, J. A. Hasstrup, Dan. Adeniyi, A. Taiwo, J. Akiboten, B. Macauley and J. A. Oshodi. Sitting: Messrs. B. Sibelle, B. Seidi, [illegible], M. Alayaki, J. A. Fakoliyon, M. A. Postance, A. O. Sule, G. Pedro, W. E. Stowe, O. Shekoni, Ben. Georhe and K. Balogun.

Mr. M. A. Postance was originally appointed to what was formerly known as Northern Nigeria as Foreman Carpenter, and on the amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria Marine he became attached to Apapa Dockyard, where he worked for several years, rising to the position of Chief Foreman, which post he will relinquish after vacation leave, on which he is now in England.

A. and E.T.C.'s Tribute to the Late Mr. Amorin.

The anniversary memorial service for the late Mr. J. J. Amorin (well known on the Gold Coast through his long association with Messrs. F. and A. Swanzy, and later with the A. and E.T.C.) was held on February 19, 1927, at Agoue, in Togoland. In the morning a solemn Requiem Mass was celebrated in the church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus at Agoue, the chapel and the churchyard being crowded with friends of the deceased and his family. Bishop Steinmetz, of Dahomey, and Bishop Ceasou, of French Togo, who were not on the Coast when Mr. Amorin died, took part in the memorial service. The French Administrateur en Chef, Monsieur Fontoynont, of Lomé districts, and the Administrateur of Anecho districts, Monsieur Juret, represented the French Government. Mr. G. M. Phlippeau, of Messrs. F. and A. Swanzy, Ltd., represented the African and Eastern Trade Corporation, Ltd. Madame Phlippeau, Messrs. de la Porte and Vittini, the two local French barristers, and Mr. Guenot, Comptroller of the French Customs, were also present. Bishop Steinmetz officiated in the chapel, and gave a brief sermon on the deceased.

After the ceremony, the congregation, headed by the Bishops, formed a procession to the cemetery for the consecration of the monument presented by the African and Eastern Trade Corporation, Ltd., as a mark of appreciation for long years of loyal service. Bishop Ceasou, in whose diocese the deceased lived, gave an impressive sermon on the life of the late Mr. Amorin, by the graveside.

After more than 30 years in Ashanti, the Rev. F. Yost, a Basel Missionary, has given up his work at Kumasi. His departure led to many expressions of gratitude from the people, and his own affection for them has led him to give the name Kwame Ashante to his own son, born in Kumasi.

Major N. R. Junner, of the Gold Coast Geological Survey, has been transferred to Sierra Leone.

In Messrs. W. H. Smith and Sons' advertisment elsewhere in this issue, the year's cost of the "Daily Mail," including postage, is given as £2 12s. This is an error; the correct figure is £3 5s.

From April 1 a spelling reform has been introduced into Sierra Leone Railway names, and Kissy, for instance, has become Kisi. Apart from changes in the representation of vowel sounds, and the removal of double consonants, the important changes are of Kabinkola to Binkole, Boia to Bauya, and Makump to Magburaka.

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NEW JAGERSFONTEIN MINING AND EXPLORATION CO., LTD.

Sir David Harris on the Precious Stones Bill.

The thirty-ninth annual meeting of the New Jagersfontein Mining and Exploration Company, Limited, was held at Kimberley, on July 8.

Sir David Harris (the Chairman) said: Diamonds sold during the year amounted to £585,404, a decrease as compared with the previous twelve months of £59,599, whilst the revenue from other sources shows an increase of £2,422.

Mining and washing expenses totalled £353,324, a decrease of £5,368; included in this amount are sums expended on the completion of the new power station, No. 14 washing gear, and heavy development charges. General charges amounted to £29,500, the gross profit for the year was £217,209, which is £55,768 less than the preceding twelve months.

This year's normal tax to the Government amounts to £30,600, which is a decrease on last year of £8,535.

Last year we produced 132,274 carats of diamonds, which realised £645,004, being an average of 97s. 6d. per carat. This year the output amounted to 140,991 carats, which realised £585,404, an average of 83s. per carat.

The decrease in the value is in a great measure accounted for by the fact that we washed a much larger quantity of hopperings and tailings this year than we did last year. An additional factor is that the abnormal alluvial production has naturally resulted in the lowering of prices.

The Board has sanctioned the erection of reduction plant and tube mills which will probably cost about £30,000. The installation will be similar to that used at the Premier Mine, and the general manager is at present busy getting plans ready for its construction. When completed it will reduce the handling of the deposit and assist materially in the extraction of diamonds from the concentrates after leaving the washing machines.

During the year under review we have dropped from the 950 to the 1,350 level, this entailing a lot of additional work and delay in hauling, as it takes months before the chambers on the new levels are capable of providing the normal output of blue ground, which means additional expense, but as this only occurs in about every sixteen years the directors felt justified in declaring dividends for the year amounting to £233,750, an excess of £16,500 on the actual profit made, which does not represent anything like the additional expenditure incurred in lowering and developing the new levels.

Shortage of Native Labour.

Our operations have been retarded by a shortage of native labour, which has existed for several months. Ordinarily we get an influx during the month of September when the cold season is past. I hope we shall have the same experience in this as in former years, and that the opinion publicly expressed by a Minister of the Crown in the Union Cabinet that Kaffirs cannot live decently under 8s. a day will not have the effect of influencing the natives to reserve their labour in the hope of receiving this prohibitive wage in the near future. The natives employed by this company receive on an average about 3s. 4d. per day, and if we were compelled to pay the higher rate mentioned the whole of our profit would disappear.

Mining is highly speculative; only a minority of companies earn dividends. If all the money sunk in mining ventures were calculated and the dividends paid totalled, it would be found that on the whole the return to shareholders would be below the interest paid on Union Government Stock. Successful mining ventures have their troubles, trials and risks in their ordinary daily operations, and should not be hampered and menaced by loose expressions of a Cabinet Minister.

Precious Stones Bill.

I regret to say that the Precious Stones Bill failed to pass both Houses of Parliament during the recent session, the Senate insisting on amending certain confiscatory and retrospective clauses, which amendments the Minister of Mines refused to accept. There was in consequence a deadlock, and the Bill lapsed. If the Bill had only dealt specifically with the control of the output of diamonds it would have passed both Houses almost unanimously, for it was felt by all parties that restriction was necessary owing to important discoveries of alluvial diamonds at Lichtenburg, which were being produced as rapidly as possible and thrown on the market regardless of the effect on the whole industry and the revenue of the Union. This Bill of a hundred and seventeen clauses contained a large proportion of extraneous matter, involving new principles of an important, unprecedented, and highly contentious character. The Minister would have been well advised if he had introduced two Bills, one investing him with the power of controlling and restricting the output, and the other dealing with subjects not germane to actual control. I gather from undoubted sources that the whole trade fully anticipated the passing of the Precious Stones Bill, and its rejection came as a great shock and disappointment, and had an immediate disastrous effect on the diamond trade, especially on the cutting industry, as was shown by the action of the manufacturers in Amsterdam and Antwerp, who decided to close down their factories, which would have brought about an utter collapse.

Government's Assurance.

As soon as I was informed of this I placed myself in communication with the Prime Minister (General the Hon. J. B. M. Hertzog) and the Minister of Mines and Industries (the Hon. F. W. Beyers, K.C.), who both were good enough to assure me they were determined to pass the Precious Stones Bill during the October session, and, if necessary, convene a joint meeting of both Houses to pass the measure. I hope this will have the effect of reassuring the trade of the Government's fixed intention to control the output, and thus prevent an excessive quantity of diamonds being thrown on the market. I have not the slightest doubt about this Bill becoming law in the next session of Parliament, as the State is equally interested in the industry from a financial point of view with the body of producers, both mining and alluvial. If a Bill to invest the Government with powers to control and check the output of diamonds and prevent the present overproduction is not passed during the October session, this company will be compelled to largely reduce its mining expenditure, which will not only decrease our profit, but will cause a serious set-back to the Jagersfontein township and the district of Fauresmith, as it will mean the withdrawal of a substantial circulation of money in that portion of the Free State. This state of affairs will also apply to the Premier Mine, South-West Africa, and Koffyfontein.

The world is prepared to spend a certain amount of money annually in the purchase of diamonds. If, therefore, the production is limited to the value of the world's purchasing power, I can see no reason why the diamond industry should not flourish, to the benefit of all producers and the maintenance of the large revenue derived by the State from this important industry.

The report and accounts were unanimously adopted.

White Paper of 1923.

The White Paper of 1923 was, in the main, negative in its character with regard to the aspirations of the white population. It said that responsible self-government was not in sight, and, of course, responsible self-government was not in question in the present White Paper either. It also rejected the idea of creating a self-government within the limited scope of white men only for their own affairs, reserving the whole control of everything affecting the native to the Imperial authorities. That was not a practical form of dyarchy in a country like East Africa, where white and black lived indissolubly bound together, and where there was no aspect of indication of the desire that existed in the Colonial Office to promote better co-operation and co-ordination of the territories of East Africa.

The essence of the situation was that East Africa was neither West Africa nor South Africa. It could never remain a purely black man's country in the sense that West Africa was a black man's country. It could never become a white man's country in the sense that South Africa was a white man's country. It was a country where the native races would always form the predominant element of the population, in which their interests would be paramount, but there were very considerable tracts in which the white man could not only stay for a few years, but in which he could live and settle and bring up his family, and acquire a real patriotism in the country, and, in the course of time, a responsibility for the conduct of the affairs of that country. From every point of view, the case for maintaining the present arbitrary divisions was a weak one.

Greatest Problem of All.

Perhaps the greatest problem of all in East Africa was the problem of research. In conjunction with the League of Nations, they were coping with the dominating problem of the tsetse fly, and they meant to carry it farther by co-operation with the Governments concerned. Obviously research was better carried on if it were co-ordinated. The Government were convinced that the time had come when the problem of better co-ordination ought to be seriously studied and a decision come to. In sending out a Commission, it was realized that their studies would take some time, and their report would be available for Parliamentary criticism before final action was taken upon it. It might be that legislation would be required in that House, and it might be that matters could be entirely dealt with administratively or by Order in Council, but, even in the latter case, there ought to be a discussion in that House before final action was taken. There was, therefore, nothing premature in sending out, at this stage, a Commission whose final conclusions could not be put into action for 18 months or a couple of years.

The Commission, obviously, could not confine itself to the purely administrative side of union or federation, and, whichever course were recommended, as regarded federation, it must bring certain consequential rearrangements of the legislative machine in its train. If these things were to be considered, it was only right that the Commission should consider them, not only from the mere mechanical and formal aspect, but also from the point of view of the whole future development of constitutional government in these territories, native and European. One of the great dangers with which we were faced everywhere in the Colonial Empire was when our Western institutions were suddenly placed on people who had never had any sense of the responsibility of administration. That danger was bound to come, even in the most backward parts of Africa, one of these days, and the only way to meet it was to be forearmed and gradually to build up a true sense of responsibility, locally, in the native population. In regard to the Indian community, nothing was under consideration which was to affect their position or rights as laid down by the Duke of Devonshire, and one member, at any rate, of the Commission would be selected by the Secretary for India in order that that point should not be left out of view.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

FUTURE POLICY IN EAST AFRICA.

IMPORTANT DEBATE IN THE COMMONS.

MR. AMERY'S ILLUMINATING DECLARATION.

Future policy in East Africa was the subject of a most important and interesting debate in the House of Commons on Tuesday arising out of the White Paper issued last week in connection with the recent Colonial Office Conference held in London.

Mr. J. H. Thomas, who opened the debate, congratulated Mr. Amery on summoning the conference of Colonial Governors. It was an innovation and a bold step. There were many people who were apprehensive as to its results, but just as the Imperial Conference had afforded an opportunity for an exchange of views in a representative capacity, so had the other Conference enabled the Colonial Governors to exchange their views and experience. But while welcoming that Conference, the Labour Party thought that a grave mistake had been made in going outside purely administrative questions. He did not wish to be construed as casting any reflection on the Colonial Governors, because no one knew better than he did how difficult was their task; but he thought that their work and their function should be limited exclusively to administration. In 1923, when the Duke of Devonshire was Secretary of State for the Colonies, a White Paper was issued setting forth clearly to the world that the Government accepted their responsibility in the nature of a trusteeship for the natives. There was considerable controversy in regard to that White Paper, and tremendous pressure was brought to bear on him (Mr. Thomas) to alter the situation. He, however, came to the conclusion that the policy set out in the White Paper was unanswerable, and on behalf of the Government he made a statement to that effect which he believed had the acquiescence of the Opposition of the day.

Whatever differences there might be between parties on domestic issues, nothing but harm could accrue if it became known that Colonial policy and administration in regard to the huge territories and populations were liable to be thrown into the melting-pot as a result of a political change in this country. Not only was such a position bad, but in the end it would be ruinous, because no Governor or administration would be able to act with the confidence so essential to the handling of difficult questions, and that must inevitably lead to chaos and disaster. But a new situation had developed in regard to the White Paper, a situation which was very disturbing to those who sat on the Opposition side of the House.

"Change of Policy."

They took the view that what they set out to achieve, and for which the Government of 1923 were responsible, was not only not likely to be achieved, but was being deliberately upset by the change of policy which was now being introduced. The new White Paper, on "Future Policy in Regard to East Africa," recently issued indicated a change. It referred to the growth of European and other settlements in the East African dependencies, and said their share progressively in the responsibilities of government could not be ignored. The white settlers who were responsible for the agitation in Kenya had made it clear that what they aimed at was the getting of the control of the Colony into their own hands. It might be said that the Government were not responsible for the sentiments expressed by the white settlers, and that they would repudiate them; but the apprehension he felt was that those sentiments were responsible for the change recently announced in the policy of trusteeship, laid down in the White Paper of 1923. He was afraid that the settlement of the Indian problem in Kenya, and also in South Africa, might be re-opened as the result of the agitation, and that all that had been accomplished might be nullified. He hoped the Secretary of State for the Colonies would state clearly that before any change of any kind was made in the policy laid down in 1923, the House of Commons would be given the opportunity of discussing it.

Sir Sidney Henn (Blackburn, U.) said that when early this year he visited the East African Territories he did not find any indication on the part of the white settlers in Kenya, or elsewhere, that in asking for an unofficial majority in the Legislative Council they were claiming thereby to acquire complete control over native policy and native interests. In discussing this question with some of the principal protagonists in East Africa it was admitted to him that native interests must, for many years, remain the special care of the British Government and be excluded from party play in the political life of the new countries. There had been in existence for many years, between Kenya and Uganda, a single Customs administration, with a division of the income thereby derived between the two territories on the basis of an agreement arrived at some years ago.

The territory of Tanganyika had now come into the most intimate contact with Uganda and Kenya, but the administration of the Customs was completely separated. Not only should there be one single Customs administration, but there should be no machinery of any sort connected with the Customs in the interior of this block of three Colonies or Protectorates. Tariff administrations should exist only at those ports—either marine, lake, or land ports—where goods crossed the international boundary and came into the country. It would be a simple matter to arrive at an agreement whereby the collection could be done by a single administration and the proceeds divided on the basis of an agreement which could be revised at periods of from three to five years.

Kenya's Shortcomings.

In Kenya there was only a single telegraph service, that of the State, and the colony was still deprived of what every civilised country ought to have—instant cable communication with every part of the world during twenty-four hours of the day. It would be a great gain to the community if this could be done. It was a great pity that the recommendations of the Ronaldshay Report had not been given a fair trial. Not only should the railway budget be separated from the budget of the colony or colonies, but private enterprise should be associated with the construction and administration of the railways. He thought it would have a very good effect upon the finances of those colonies if the questions of railway finance were completely taken out of their budgets. In that event, each of the colonies would be able to raise money for those social expenditures which they had been neglecting to a certain extent. Kenya, which was in many respects by far the most advanced of those countries, was short of those necessary public buildings, especially in the nature of schools and structures of that description, which any country that wished to advance must provide for all its citizens. In his opinion, the most important railway to be constructed to-day in the whole of Africa was a railway which would connect Tanganyika with the territories lying to the south.

Mr. Amery, replying to the debate, said that he had been for many years concerned in the problem of the closer union of East Africa, and had wished to consult with the Governors on what lines that problem could best be dealt with. The recent inauguration of the Governors' Conference was only one

self-government which the white could exercise without touching at every moment or his relationship with the black. There, too the Government had adopted and carried or the principles laid down in the White Paper of 1923. They said explicitly that while re jecting the idea of white and black dyarchy the progress towards self-government on th part of the white community must mean th association of that community with thi country in the sense of trusteeship for th weaker and more numerous part of the popu lation.

There was no question of a surrender of ou trusteeship to anyone else or of any transfe of our responsibility; the question wa whether, while retaining our trusteeship an control, we should associate with us the whit community, and he believed that respons bility would bring with it a wider outlook an a truer understanding. One of the great mis takes we made in the early history of South Africa was that the Imperial Government regarded itself as the one and only champion of the native, and thus alienated and thrust on one side the white community—often mistaken, perhaps, but sometimes right. The result of such a policy was to breed in the white community not only a hostility towards the Government which denied them a share of responsibility, but also a hostility towards the ideas and ideals with which that Government was associated. It bred in the white community the idea that they had no responsibility as white men for the black men; the British Government could look after the latter. That was a very false vision of responsibility. The day would come, unless the growth of white settlement came to a stop within the next generation, when no Government in this country could ultimately resist the demand for self-government. When that day came, did they want the men to whom they transferred the trusteeship for the peoples who had trusted to this country for generations to be men who had never shared any sense of responsibility for those people? If, on the other hand, they brought that community early into a share of responsibility and made them see something of the work and responsibilities of government from the inside, they would breed a race of men to whom in the fullness of time that House might be able to hand over its trusteeship without any fear that that trusteeship would be dishonoured.

Mr. Thomas's Query.

Mr. Thomas asked if the question of self-government for the settlers or others was any part of the Commission's terms of reference, and if so was that not in direct violation of the White Paper.

Mr. Amery said that he had said that the question of responsible self-government was not implied in this White Paper any more than it was in the White Paper of 1923. He had allowed himself to go ahead into the remoter future in order to justify the point of view which he felt very strongly—namely, that whatever the Commission recommended in the way of some association of the settled community with the Government—and a measure of association already existed—they should do it having in view the ultimate destiny of both the black and white men and of their both co-operating together. They were not going to proceed by too hurried steps in this matter. They had to build sure, and that meant building slowly. With regard to the composition of the Commission, he had not been able to make all the arrangements, and therefore he could not give the names, but he intended to make it as small a Commission as possible, composed of men who were able to deal with the special financial and administrative problems involved. He hoped to include one representative of the India Office and also someone who would be specially concerned with the welfare of the natives. With regard to the question of liability to compulsory training, it was not his idea to intervene to impose anything of the kind upon any Colony which was under the jurisdiction of the Colonial Office. In this particular case, however, the subject had been before that community for several years, and the measure proposed was a very moderate one for registration, so that if required individuals could be called out for a very small amount of what might be called Territorial training.

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Africa

NATIVE WELFARE SOCIETY.

ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR JABAVU.

"Current Native Legislation."

A gathering of about [illegible] Europeans and Natives assembled in St. Andrew's Hall on Wednesday evening for the purpose of hearing "A Talk on Current Native Legislation" by Professor D. D. Jabavu B.A. The meeting was under the auspices of the Native Welfare Society.

The Mayor (Mr. B. O. Schonegevel) presided and introduced the lecturer in a few appropriate sentences, and also spoke of the good work done by the Joint Council in Johannesburg, and by Native Welfare Societies generally.

General Principles.

At the outset Professor Jabavu expressed his appreciation of the honour conferred upon him in asking him to come to his native town to address a mixed audience of Europeans and Natives. The subject of his address, "Current Native Legislation," was really too wide to cover adequately in a single speech, and he proposed to confine himself to certain general principles, which he thought ought to be grasped, not only by members of the association but by the general public. The Eastern Province, and especially King William's Town, was regarded as the leading centre so far as black people were concerned. They were regarded as forming the vanguard of Native progress. The most progressive element of the European population landed in the Eastern Province—he referred to the 1820 settlers — and they brought with them from overseas certain ideals which they translated into action. The Cape Province was regarded as having the most liberal policy towards the Native people, and King William's Town was the centre of that policy. Native education commenced from this district—most of the Native leaders of to-day were educated at Lovedale or Healdtown—and the first Native newspaper was published in King William's Town, which also provided the first Native hotel. King William's Town was a centre of Native thinking; the whole country looked to it for guidance as to what Natives thought. At all conferences Natives from this part of the country were noted for their moderation in expression and thought. People living among Europeans who were reasonable and moderate in their policy had no excuse for being extreme, because anything they put before the Europeans would command attention and a good hearing.

Extremism Deprecated.

They had to realise that in South Africa they had British, non-British and Bantu people. That was a state of affairs unparalleled in the world as regards proportion of population. They all had a right to live in the country—the Europeans mostly by right of conquest and their enterprise which had opened up the country. The Bantu was also entitled to the country because nature had put them there. He strongly deprecated talk of driving the white man into the sea and of putting the black man under the heel. They all had a claim to live in the country, and if they looked at things from that point of view they would be able to give each other room. The black people were often obsessed by their rights, forgetting that rights implied duties. When travelling he often found his people living in insanitary conditions, and he asked himself why. He had come to the conclusion that they got good and bad government only as they deserved it. If they continued to live in a location that was insanitary it showed they wanted nothing better. Those who were intelligent had the obligation upon them to lead their people to better living.

Democracy and Enlightenment.

To-day Natives belonged to a democratic regime not of their own asking. The British constitution put them in a position to claim certain privileges and they had been taught to claim them from their youth up. His father taught him the British constitution provided fairplay, and to-day it came as a shock to him to be regarded by the country as a menace to civilisation. When he was in Johannesburg he was looked at askance; he was not allowed on tramcars nor to walk on the sidewalk. There was something wrong, and it was due to the different traditions obtaining elsewhere. It was up to them to educate public opinion so that the Cape policy should prevail rather than the other policy, which was not so favourable to the black man.

Touching on the tenets of Christianity, under which Natives were entitled to consideration, Professor Jabavu said Europeans should be consistent with them in their democratic institutions and enlightenment. They were all expected to be reasonable—white and black. The black man could not get everything he wanted, because he was new to the regime. There was some apprehension amongst Europeans that if Natives came into their rights all at once it would do more harm than good —that natural development was better. But the harsh treatment of blacks was also a danger to civilisation. What was necessary was normal development and assimilation.

Mutual Knowledge Needed.

There should be more mutual knowledge; they should know more of each other. Europeans in high schools never sought black people in similar schools. They grew up knowing nothing of each other. It was only in later life that they came into contact at such meetings as that evening's. They needed a mutual knowledge of each other. The black people needed to study the psychology of the white man to see how long it had taken him to evolve to his present position. It was not until about 1840 that the working man in England had any political rights. Natives must recognise that the growth of privileges to be safe must be slow. Natives, however, had certain things impinging on their lives which Europeans in the same stage of development did not have. They did not have such things as motor cars, railways, telephones, etc., and therefore he did not think Natives should be expected to take quite 2,000 years in developing to the stage Europeans had attained.

Race prejudice was usually founded on ignorance of each other: As he had heard one speaker remark: "Not all white people are devils nor all black people baboons." (Laughter.) They should break down suspicion and they would then begin to appreciate each other.

A Mischievous Word.

Equality was the most mischevous word in South Africa. It depended on what was meant by equality.. The black man did not want social equality: he wanted equal opportunity to rise. He wanted an equal opportunity to buy land, to rise in business, to open shops, and no Europeans could take exception to that kind of equality. He himself desired political equality because Parliament managed his money (the taxes he paid); therefore he could never hope to get justice until there was something like equality and cases like his were heard fairly by the Assembly. Had there been a black man in Parliament the poll tax would never have been passed in its present form, because it took no cognisance of the conditions of the Natives. Some Natives earning only £25 a year had to pay 30s. tax. They were taxed on £25; Europeans on £400. The Natives suggested that the tax apply only to those who earned a certain figure; and to begin with they should impress the European public with the fact that something like justice ought to be done in things like that. At Fort Hare he was the only black teacher. The European teachers were considered too poor to be taxed; he (the speaker) had to pay poll tax because he was a Native. That was due to having no direct representation in Parliament.

Practical Study Needed.

A society like the Native Welfare Society should make a practical study of the question. It was not enough to say they knew all about black problems because they had black men in the town. There were different conditions in different parts of the country. They should get literature of the right type, and in this connection Prof. Jabavu suggested "The Clash of Colour," by Basil Matthews; "Christianity and the Race Problem," by J. H. Oldham; "The Rising Tide of Colour," by L. Stoddart; "Anatomy of African Misery," by Lord Olivier; the report of the Select Committee on the four Native Bills; his own pamphlet, "Cape Native Franchise"; "The White Man at the Cross-Roads," by the Rev. Allan Lea; and the Report of the Economic and Wages Commission's Report (1925). He strongly recommended good reading on the lines indicated, to supplement their first-hand knowledge

The Four Native Bills.

Coming to the four Native Bills of the Prime Minister, Prof. Jabavu said General Hertzog had done the country a service by focussing attention on the matter in a way never done before. Proceeding, he asked why should the black man be a problem? Was he a problem? He did not think so. He was a problem only to those who had axes to grind and to those who wanted to get something out of him unfairly. He was a problem to the employer who wanted to get everything out of him for little. In the Cape Province the black man had never been a problem nor a danger: the political rights he had enjoyed had conduced to peaceful living. In the Transvaal the position was very different; the atmosphere was very trying. It reminded him of the Southern States of America, where a negro walking along the street felt his life was unsafe, because he might be lynched any moment if a white man charged him with an offence. There was no justice in that country; in South Africa they had justice. In America a black man could not be libelled; in S. Africa it was a crime. The only problem was to give justice to the black man everywhere. Europeans should impress the black man with the feeling that they meant well by him. The speaker expressed the opinion that Joint Councils were the most favourable bodies for dealing with the questions before

them.

The Land Bill.

The Land Bill affected the Transvaal and Natal more than any other Province because there was land available for newcomers, black or white. Europeans said they were chary of letting out more land to Natives, because the latter were very wasteful in land matters. But it was unfair to deny Natives the privilege of getting more land because they did not use it properly; they should teach the natives how to use land. In the Cape Province the Government proposed certain limitations to the right of the black man to buy land anywhere he liked. At present he was not limited, but under the Bill he would be able to buy only in certain parts of the country. He (the speaker) had been shown the eastern areas in the Cape Province set aside for Natives. Those areas were already congested with black people, yet they were called released areas. It was a mere playing with words. From the Umzimkulu to Capetown practically every yard of land was occupied. Yet one family of Europeans owned 19 farms, stretching from Alice to Cookhouse, kept for ranching. Ranching was a good thing, but in view of the congestion of black people in this district it would be more fair for the farms to be bought up by the Government and sold to Natives to live on intensive agriculture. In the Cape Province there was really not a yard of land which was free of occupation for black or white. The position was that in the Cape Province Natives had to take up a non possumus attitude towards the Bill. It was nice to know that Native could bid for land, even though they were outbid by Europeans; but the Bill laid down that they could not buy, which was very discouraging. In the Transvaal huge spaces were unoccupied, and if Natives suffered from land hunger they should be allowed to go there and buy land. Chief Zibi had gone there and had now got a big farm in the Rustenberg district and had made a big success of his experiment.

Native Council Bill.

Touching on this measure, Prof. Jabavu said the one fact which stood out was that it offered Natives nothing tangible. It gave them no autonomy, no money to handle and any Council was empty which did not finger money. It simply gave them a chance to register certain resolutions to be sent to the Cabinet, to be passed or not as Government thought fit, and did not take them much further than at the present time when they went to Pertoria once a year. If the Council was meant to be a solatium for the loss of the present franchise then the Natives did not want it.

With regard to the Coloured Persons' Rights Bill, Pro. Jabavu said the Coloureds were practically all against it, on the showing of the Kimberley conference. It would appear that under the Bill there would be families certain members of which would be Natives and the others Coloured!

The Franchise Privilege.

The Franchise Bill was the most important so far as the Cape Province was concerned, for it took away a privilege the Natives had enjoyed since 1854. The Bill proposed to change the present franchise for black people by substituting a kind of group voting by headmen and chiefs—people who were more or less indebted to the Government for their positions. So the Government was loading the dice in its own favour. It was a denial of democracy. They did not like to impute motives to the authors of the Bill, but the Bill actually took away that very treasured privilege of the black man—the franchise, and the only argument given them was that the franchise was a danger. It had never been alleged that the franchise had been misused or that Natives had been bribed for their votes.

In the Proceeding, Prof. Jabavu expressed the hope that in future the relations between the races would be better than in the past, that instead of hatred friendliness would develop between black and white. If hatred became more intense they might as well give up Christianity as bunkum. The Natives' great difficulty was inability to express themselves, for the English language was very difficult. He strongly counselled his people against the use of immoderate language. In Cape Province Natives were united on the point that they did not want any change in the present franchise. They did not want to lose the rights they held. The black people were against Union. They favoured federation under which the Transvaal would keep its customs, Natal the same, and they in the Cape could be left to their happiness with the white man. The Cape Native was better off before Union, for when the Union Government received demands from the other Provinces they started to out the Cape privileges down, and they had lost many privileges. They did not wish to come to any compromise on the franchise question. Before the Select Committee he said that if Government wanted to take away his franchise they could do so, but not with his consent—the responsibility was theirs. He hoped that that black day when they lost their votes would not come. They had something like the shadow of a black day when the Hofmeyr Act was on the eve of repeal. Sir Thomas Smartt, Major Ballantine, Mr. Payn and others made a splendid stand in the Assembly, but they were defeated and for a time the Hofmeyr Act was gone. But they were saved in an unexpected quarter by the Senate. Senator Stanford put the case before the House in very able fashion, supported by Dr. Roberts, Mr. Malan, and their new Senator, Mr. Ginsberg, and the Act was saved. Natives prized that Act. It was said in Parliament that the only privilege that Act gave them was that of buying liquor. He was sorry for that statement. There was more drinking in Johannesburg, where there was prohibition, than in the whole of the Cape Province. Many Natives were teetotal, but his opinion was that they would not stop drinking unless they prohibited it for both black and white. It was not the Native voter who bought liquor: it was someone else who was interested in the trade. Natives prized the privilege confered by the Hofmeyr Act because it protected them against pinpricks. The late Mr. H. Hofmeyr stood for education for the Native in face of the Bond and if only to perpetuate his memory the Act should be allowed to remain.

Native Administration Bill.

Turning to the Native Administration Bill, the Natives did not like the clause which made the Governor-General supreme chief, but it was passed by both Houses.

Senator Ginsberg: It is not applicable to the Cape.

Professor Jabavu said if that was so it was something gained for them by representatives who knew the Natives' feelings. Nor did they like location superintendents. If they had chiefs and headmen managing their locations European supervisors were a superfluity. Government should undertake the education of chiefs and headmen to fit them for the post of superintendent. Also they did not like the clause enabling Government to depose chiefs. Natives did not appoint chiefs. A man was a chief because he was the son of his father, and of royal blood. Government was embarking upon a risky policy, for Natives were very touchy on the question of chiefs.

Other things the Natives did not like was the idea of Government removing tribes to other areas, and the holding of meetings only under permit. He did not think the British constitution supported such a curtailment of liberty. They did not like passes nor Government by proclamation, which was the direct antithesis of democracy, and all kinds of evil might issue from that in future.

Although it did not come under current Native Legislation, he would like to refer to the use of the poll tax. Government paid 4/- into the Native Development Fund and 16/- into the Consolidated Revenue Fund. He urged Government to let the Natives have also the 16/- for their direct benefit. The Natives paid a good deal in indirect taxation through the goods they bought. In the Government books all Customs revenue appeared as accruing from Europeans, but much of it came from Natives. Every native family paid 15/- to £1 in indirect taxation, and the abnormally low wages they received, enabling Europeans to pay more income tax, ought to count for the Natives' benefit.

In conclusion, Professor Jabavu said he was very thankful for the privilege of addressing that meeting. He hoped that that Joint Council would be a real living thing. There was much matter for it to discuss, and it would carry greater weight because it was in an essentially progressive centre of Natives and where Europeans had fostered the growth of Native civilisation. He wished the society very success.

Mr. H. Britten, proposing a vote of thanks to the speaker, expressed appreciation of his lofty attitude and the moderation of his language. The progress of the local Native Welfare Society had been slow, but as a result of that meeting he hoped there would be a large increase in the membership. He suggested Professor Brookes' "History of Native Policy in South Africa." be added to the list of books given by Professor Jabavu.

Senator Ginsberg seconded. He said that in King William's Town there was general sympathy for the Native if only for the reason of self-interest. What they lacked was practical application of that sympathy. He urged that every opportunity be given Natives to learn about farming pursuits.

The Chairman expressed appreciation of the address and the vote of thanks was heartily accorded.

Rev. M. H. Wilson, proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman, referred to the valuable work done by the Native Farmers' Association, in which Professor Jabavu was keenly interested. He suggested that Mr. Germonde of Lovedale be invited to address the Society on that subject. Their meetings were usually for the Council, but he thought they should have quarterly public meetings.

Mr. Jabavu's reply brought the proceedings to a close.

Race Problem - 1927
Africa.

BLACK AND WHITE

WHEREVER a large group of whites come in contact with a large group of colored, a difficulty presents itself. For convenience we call it a race problem. That which creates the problem is the assumption of the white man to lord it over all other men and the indisposition of all other men to accept this lordship. Race prejudice is indigenous; it is not peculiar to America, nor did it have its beginning in the South. As foolish, as hateful, as brutal, as ungodly as it is, it is well nigh universal and affects all faces for weal or woe.

The Colour Bar Bill introduced in the British Parliament for the government of the natives of South Africa, has awakened certain sections of the British Conscience and aroused it to action and sympathetic expression. Yet the suggestion of Nordic superiority and its right to rule, is evident even in the proffers of sympathy and fair dealing.

The London Methodist Times of January twenty-seventh said editorially:

The letter on the treatment of natives in South Africa which has been addressed to General Hertzog by a number of well-known Englishmen is an excellent expression of a sound and progressive spirit. How to deal with native races is a perennial problem for the administrators of "white" governments. The signatories to the letter include Mr. George Cadbury, Dr. R. F. Horton, Dr. Norwood, Mr. H. G. Wells, Mr. Jerome K. Jerome and Lord Olivier. They write with commendable and cautious sympathy, and they are by no means blindly anti-Imperialist. They do not for a moment suggest that the white people of South Africa should be governed by the black people, neither do they desire to interfere in the affairs of a self-governing Dominion. They ask that the South African Government shall hesitate before it follows a policy "toward free-born subjects of the Empire which will tend to promote racial conflict and which is contrary to elementary principes of right and justice." The Colour Bar Bill is calculated to condemn the natives to a position of social servitude. A further proposal would deprive the natives of the franchise. The remedy which the signatories suggest is the extension of patient methods of education and experience. This surely is the Christian way. Christ is for the world and the world for Christ, and racial barriers are not to be strengthened and raised, but dissolved by wise and warm brotherly love. We hope that the South African Prime Minister and his Cabinet will give heed to a letter which is so wholly admirable in manner and matter.

South African Native Policy

General Smuts has issued a memorandum indicating to his party his views on General Hertzog's Native Policy as embodied in the Bills promulgated last August. The Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives has also published a statement. The Bill to amend the Natives Land Act, 1913, is not only disappointing but reactionary. It abandons the policy of segregation aimed at in the 1913 Act. It does not establish areas in which natives alone shall have the right to purchase land, but leaves them to do their best to obtain land in competition with whites in certain "released areas," and it encumbers the natives' chances of being able to buy land with many vexatious obstacles.

But the worst part of the Bill is that which is framed as a concession to the farmers who object to any liberal native land policy. It provides that no native shall be allowed to reside in the mixed areas unless he is either a landowner, a licensed squatter, a labour tenant, or a servant. What General Smuts calls a "ferocious" licence duty is imposed upon squatters in order to turn them off the lands of their birth and to drive them to become either labour tenants or bonded servants. There is a progressive licence duty on labour tenants, and the number of licences to be granted is to be determined by boards of farmers. The joint effect of these provisions will practically be to reduce all but those few natives who can buy land to the position of tied labourers to the farmers. The Bill must prove unworkable because there are 300,000 squatters in the Transvaal alone. ("Squatters" are mainly natives whose land the white man has taken, but whom he allows to remain on it for rent.) They cannot possibly find the cash to pay a licence duty of £5 per annum, in addition to their rents, and as there is nowhere for them to go, it will be physically impossible to turn them off the farms. Even if it were possible to turn hundreds of thousands of evicted squatters and labour tenants into the reserves, which it is not, or to provide new land for them (which there is no intention of doing), it would take them some time before they could earn anything out of the land to live on. The number of natives already driven into the towns is a growing evil which any attempt to put this Bill into force would immediately aggravate.

Two Bills deal with the franchise and parliamentary representation. It is proposed to disfranchise the Cape Colony natives. The privilege of obtaining registration can only be withdrawn from them by a two-thirds vote of the Senate and House of Assembly together. Those who already have the vote cannot be removed from the register without a direct violation of the Constitution established by the South Africa Act, which preserves their rights. It is proposed to give "coloured" persons outside of the Cape Province the Parliamentary franchise which they have not now, and to allow them to have one special representative in Parliament for their community. An artificial native electorate of nominated persons is to be made, and these are to have the privilege of electing six Europeans to sit in Parliament. These members are to have only limited privileges. The Bills necessitate the creation of entirely arbitrary and absurd genealogical definitions of what are to be considered native and what coloured persons, of which it can only be said here that they are preposterous and will make the most unjust discriminations between persons of obviously equal presumptive rights. Further, the Bill adopts the stupid and mischievous principle which has proved so disastrous in India of communal representation, and will, if adopted, introduce into Parliament a solid block of votes representing native interests only, whereas the native vote in the Cape has never resulted in any such sectional representation.

The fourth Bill makes provision for a general Native Council to represent and deal with matters of purely native interest. This Bill is on soundly conceived lines and with amendment may prove acceptable.

AFRICANS AND THE VICTORIA CROSS.

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—A correspondence has recently taken place as to eligibility of African soldiers for the V.C. In my book, "K. A. R.," I commented on the fact that though good enough to fight for the Empire the African was denied the highest award obtainable by a soldier.

My assertion was disputed and referred to the permanent officials of the Colonial Office, who replied that Africans were eligible, and though one case at least had been recommended no Cross had ever been awarded.

I should like to hear from one of your readers if a V.C. has ever been awarded to an African on the West side of the Continent, or if any have ever been recommended for the honour. In the K.A.R. till to-day few serving officers knew that their askaris were even eligible and in one case a senior officer pointed out to the G.O.C. that it was therefore useless to recommend an African for the Cross. How did such a situation arise?

Yours truly,
W. LLOYD JONES.
(Author of "K.A.R.")

Junior Naval and Military Club,
96, Piccadilly, W.1, March 22.

Native Jurisdiction.

In view of the great interest always shown at the Gold Coast in Native jurisdiction, it seems evident that the lack of comment on a draft Bill just published is but the calm before the storm. One section provides for the return of all Paramount Chiefs and Head Chiefs of particulars, approved by their Oman or other Councils, of persons who have the power of electing or destooling them—a useful tabulation which should remove a common cause of dispute, and should enable enstoolments or depositions to be carried out in strict accordance with Native law and custom. Provision is made for the removal and punishing of an unpopular Chief, who might otherwise remain in office with the aid of those empowered to destool him, and for the removal of destooled Chiefs to specified residences in their districts, such Chiefs, however, having accorded right to sue for maintenance in the Provincial Commissioner's Court. Bribery, conspiracy against authority, and attempted usurpation would be dealt with by the Paramount Chief of the European Political Officer—preferably the latter, for it is hardly just for the offender to be tried by his intended victim—and banishment would be the lot of Chiefs seeking to assert their independence of paramount authority. In all the foregoing provisions, customary procedure is upheld, but where there will be difficulty is in the proviso that appeals in most cases should lie first with the Provincial Councils and ultimately with the Governor, the Law Courts being expressly cut out, except where a criminal offence has been committed. The faith of Gold Coast disputants in politically-administered justice falls far short of that in decisions which may be challenged through the usual Courts of Appeal, and although the former should help to avoid costly litigation, it has not the complete detachment from suspicion of political bias that is acknowledged in the latter.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Fundamentals.

To impart the benefits of modern knowledge to the African races, and to furnish them with the best possible educational facilities, has long been the aspiration of the missionary bodies who devoted themselves to the conversion and uplifting of Africans. By the Covenant of the League of Nations the preparation of "the backward peoples" to stand alone and to play their part in the comity of nations has been imposed on the Powers to which Mandates have been granted. The task has been accepted by the mandatory Powers, which have taken the larger view of their responsibilities and have voluntarily extended their view of the claims to the races under their independent control. The extraordinarily rapid development of the British West African Colonies has not only awakened the British nation and its local representatives to the economic value of these territories, but has also proved the capacity of the peoples, and demonstrated the need for equipping them to draw from the bounty of nature the greatest possible benefit to themselves and the world at large. The two fundamentals of the problem are transport and education. The former is making rapid progress: outlying districts are being given outlets for their produce which used to rot where it grew because of the high cost of carriage. The advance of education is slower because the problem is infinitely more complex. The clearance of jungles, the bridging of rivers, the construction of roads and railways are simple mechanical problems. To clear the jungle of superstition, to bridge differences of mentality and inherited outlook, to lay out lines of progress which shall not be broken by chasms in which the old may be lost and races left on the further bank denationalised, deprived of their racial heritage, bewildered and enfeebled mentally and physically are problems calling for the highest qualities in the ruling Powers, and the most careful and sympathetic study of African religion and philosophy, as well as knowledge of the origin, meaning and implications of African life and customs.

Education and Life.

The need for a careful study of African life before formulating educational systems was recognised by Dr. Jesse Jones and the Phelps-Stokes Commission. Following on the lines of that Commission, the Duke of Devonshire, while Secretary of State for the Colonies, appointed, in November, 1923, a Committee "to advise the Secretary of State on any matter of native education in the British Colonies and Protectorates in Tropical Africa . . . and to assist him in advancing the progress of education in those Colonies and Protectorates," which has recently issued a memorandum embodying "the results of mature consideration by members of the Committee, and formulating" the broad principles which, in its judgment, should form the basis of a sound educational policy. In the forefront of these principles they put the adaptation of education "to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations, and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life, adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution." The Committee admits that there is "a widely held opinion that the results of education in Africa have not been altogether satisfactory." These unsatisfactory results are undoubtedly due to lack of appreciation of the fact that Africans have mentality and aptitudes of their own, conditioned by their history and environment, and adapted thereto. It is inevitable that education on Western lines should weaken the tribal ties which hold African societies together, for the tribal life is so bound up with the tribal religion that anything which weakens the "sanctions of existing beliefs (and) the all-prevailing belief in the supernatural which affects the whole life of the African" must tend to break up African society.

The Village Schoolmaster.

"The central difficulty in the problem lies in finding ways to improve what is sound in indigenous tradition." The place where the problem must be studied, and the solution found, is the village school. Agriculture must for a long time continue to be the occupation of the bulk of the peoples. The peasant farmers are the pillars which support the country: its prosperity depends on the profits on their crops. The rest of the population—the Governor and his officials, the railways, the shipping companies, the merchants, the doctors, lawyers and engineers, the labourers and the canoemen—all ride on the backs of the farmers. It is the peasant farmers who draw food and profit from the soil; they are the root of everything, and it is they who "stand upon the ancient ways" which the educated classes are led by their education to desert. The gap between the farmers and the literates is widening every day, and must be bridged by the village schools. Education must be carried to the doors of the farmers by village schools. Upon the village schoolmaster will devolve the task of pruning away the decayed wood of outworn beliefs and customs while conserving what is healthy, and grafting the new wood of modern education on the old wood of inherited custom. The village school is the apex of the educational system, and the village schoolmaster is the most important member of the scholastic hierarchy. On him more than on anyone else depends whether modern education shall be a blessing or a curse to West Africa.

W. F. H.

AFRICA BECKONS.

World Looks to Dark Continent for Many Things Says Speaker.

SHREVEPORT, La., March 11.—(AP)—Race problems are not limited to sections or to nations but are international in scope, Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, regional director of the Phelps-Stokes Foundation of New York told the women's missionary society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, here tonight. The difficulties experienced and achievements in American race relations are of direct value to Africa, he said, and the conditions of African colonies may at any time reach directly into the most secluded American home.

Doctor Jones said that there "is coming to pass a gradual developing world consciousness of Africa. Dense populations of Europe, Asia and even of the Americas are looking abroad for raw materials to feed, clothe, house and give pleasure to the ever-increasing masses.

"Inevitably they turn to the rich storehouses of Africa with its scant populations and its great potentialities. African cocoa, African rubber and African cotton are doubtless the forerunners of other African resources that will lure Asia, Europe and America into the heart of Africa."

"America's refusal to participate in the league of nations makes it all the more imperative," he said, "that we assist other parts of the world to solve their unique problems."

He termed the service of missionaries one of the most definite and real contributions to international welfare.

Reports of various officials and committees were heard during the day's sessions.

Race Problem - 1927

Africa

THE MAFEKING HOSPITAL.

Once again South Africa is considerably excited over a matter which should never have been permitted to happen. The fact that a native doctor, a fully-qualified Barolong, should be an official of the Mafeking Hospital, could in itself not be viewed as anything out of the ordinary, particularly if his duties were confined to the patients of his own people. That Dr. Molema should be permitted to operate on white patients is altogether different, and can only be viewed, to say the least of it, as being highly controversial. Those to be mostly blamed are the administrators of the hospital in South Africa under existing circumstances in the racial relationship of black and white a departure as apparently authorised at Mafeking would create a risky if not a dangerous precedent. There is a vast field available for Dr. Molema in attending to the alleviation of the ills of his own people. The attendance of black medical practitioners on white women carries too many unpleasant potentialities to be permitted. It must never be forgotten that South Africa stands in a singular position in this problem, and that the time has not yet come to consider a change. With every respect for a qualified native medico, we would suggest that if Dr. Molema cannot find sufficient practice amongst his own compatriots, there are vast areas in equatorial West Africa where his advent would be cordially welcomed, even in high official circles. To-day the principle of black doctors operating on white women cannot be tolerated for a moment as far as the Union of South Africa and Rhodesia are concerned, and for the reasons given above we join in approving of the attitude taken up by the matron and nurses of Mafeking.

WHAT WE THINK.

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Sir Graeme has gone further: he has stated that it will take 15 years before the contemplated scheme for giving West Africa the doctors it needs can bear fruit, and has indicated the means by which this object is to be attained. Meanwhile a junior subsidiary service is to be built up which should give the African some relief.

Would it be impertinent to ask whether it is necessary to wait 15 years? Admitted that the scheme outlined by the Governor of Nigeria cannot show results earlier, could not something be done, at once, to stimulate the interest of the proper class of African, so that he would be prepared to train for the medical profession and his people would be prepared to bear the expense?

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May 21. AJAX.

Customs Duties on Films.

"The Customs duties on films in the first category should be very low. Such reels might, indeed, be admitted free on account of their educational value and in view of the beneficial propaganda which they are capable of exercising. The duties on films of the second class, especially if they be of British origin, might also be moderate, so that amusement of a harmless nature may not be beyond the reach of the labouring people. But as regards the films which can do nothing but harm the Customs tariff may be used as a powerful weapon of control. The duties on them should be so high that they could only be shown in theatres that charge a considerable price for admission. The only people who could afford to patronise them would be Europeans and natives of superior class who have already a certain amount of knowledge of the world. I would even go so far as to suggest that a board of censorship should only license a display of such films on condition that the price of admission should not be less than a definite sum.

"By the adoption of this plan it may be possible to achieve our main object and to prevent the demoralisation of the unsophisticated masses of natives who are in a more or less primitive condition, and who still retain a high degree of respect for white men, and especially for white women. I would add that the flamboyant pictures of vicious and criminal scenes, usually displayed as advertisements outside cinemas halls, should be prohibited in the countries to which I have referred. In order to simplify the work of the Customs officers I would suggest that a uniform rate of duty on all films should be levied, as at present, on the importation of the goods, and that rebates or surcharges should subsequently be fixed by the censors in each case before the pictures are passed for exhibition.

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The supply of native labour has shown some slight improvement in the last three months, but is still far below the mine's requirements. At the present time it is not possible either to take full advantage of the crushing capacity of the plant, or to maintain the necessary development programme. This situation seriously affects the profit-earning capacity of the mine, both now and for the immediate future.

Considerable expenditure was incurred on the equipment necessary for the efficient working of the mine. This included additional pumping plant, a new 75-drill compressor, sinking hoist and cable for the Princess shaft, and renewals and additions to the reduction plant and general surface equipment. The compressed air plant is now in a position to supply all the present requirements of the mine. The reduction plant has been brought up to a capacity of 40,000 tons per month by the addition of a new crusher and ment Corporation, Ltd., and the Rand Mines, the extra tube mill which was installed early Ltd., and the amount owing in respect of this in the year. This improved equipment, in loan at March 31 last was £10,000. The conjunction with the greater number of stope debenture issue remains at £99,750; the first faces available, places the mine in a stronger instalment in redemption of these debentures position, and in the event of an adequate will be made on June 30 next.

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PRESIDENT KING.

The re-election—for the third time, by an immense majority—of our old friend his Excellency Mr. Charles Burgess King to the Presidency of the Republic of Liberia—the cabled news of which is dealt with on page 109 of this issue—cannot be permitted to pass without comment. Practically for a decade President King has been the pilot at the helm of his country, passing through stormy, even critical, periods, yet ever calm and unperturbed in facing what at one time looked to be almost insurmountable difficulties. To-day President King is an outstanding figure in Equatorial Africa. A Liberian by birth and tribal ancestry, highly educated and cultured in his agreeable personality, coupled with dignified discretion at all times, it is not surprising that his own people have realised the outstanding value of his guidance to their country and returned him to the highest position in their gift at the top of the polls. We have in this journal for the past twenty-five years spared no effort to interest British enterprise in Liberia. It is disappointing, if not saddening, to place on record that American friends and others have seized the opportunity to establish themselves on a very permanent basis in that extremely rich little country, and that to-day prospects of British commerce in these areas, with the exception of the efforts maintained by the Niger Company's branches, cannot be viewed as very promising. But even that melancholy reflection does not prevent us at this important time from tendering his Excellency President King and his charming consort our warmest congratulations on the latest achievement and high honour conferred, and we express the hope that London will very shortly have the pleasure of greeting them personally, for a most cordial welcome is awaiting them under any circumstances.

WHAT WE THINK.

THE AFRICAN SOCIETY.

Last Wednesday's banquet in honour of Sir Graeme Thomson (Governor of Nigeria) and Sir Donald Cameron (Governor of Tanganyika Territory) was, as always, a conspicuous success from the point of arrangements and excellent oratory. Earl Buxton as President dwelt deservedly on the pleasing fact that peace, order, and good government had been brought about in Nigeria with the minimum of conflict and fighting. The popular President was emphatic and in no uncertain terms, as to the actual position in Tanganyika Territory, which should satisfy some of our younger friends, too eager at all times to create bogey scares. Sir Graeme Thomson delivered a most interesting and informative address in his characteristically quiet manner, which made the outstanding facts all the more striking in their importance to his eager listeners. He paid just credit to the work of that great pioneer Governor and Empire-builder, Sir Frederic Lugard, who had happily recovered from his recent severe indisposition and was present. By utilising the power of the great Moslem rulers of Northern Nigeria and their tribal customs an existing system had been continued which was at the root of settled peace in the great Dependency, and it was proving equally successful in the southern areas. How many people in England realise at present that Nigeria has a fairly stationary population of twenty million people? Yet Sir Graeme stated this, and he knows the facts. He further dealt eloquently with the importance of public health and medicine, the most difficult problems, in his opinion, in the country. Periodical epidemics were still a great anxiety, and in Sir Graeme's opinion it is essential that there should be an adequate supply of African doctors, which fact might usefully be made known at Mafeking Hospital at the present time. The Governor emphasised native doctors and teachers were the greatest requirement, and concluded a fine speech by stating definitely that, given adequate transport facilities, the export and local trade of Nigeria could be multiplied enormously, adding that he felt the lack of good roads personally so keenly that he was aiming at a programme of road construction four times greater than originally anticipated or contemplated. The magnitude of this project can be realised when the Governor said he hoped to complete new roads at the rate of 400 miles per annum. The speech must be viewed as epoch-making in more than one direction. Sir Donald Cameron (Governor of Tanganyika) followed with a shorter but equally interesting address, giving the important fact that this mandated territory was now paying its way, and, further, that the local German element did not exceed 500 people, whilst the white British population numbered 2,800, half of whom were non-official. Sir Donald's statement that it was the endeavour of the Government to find a place for the native in the body politic of the country, that chiefs and sons of chiefs should be specially educated, so that a system of efficient native teachers would before long be working on a big scale, can only be viewed with great appreciation. It is a healthy policy in every way on the part of the Tanganyika Government to permit the native to work out his own salvation by his efforts in many directions open to him, thereby making him contented in mind and a credit to the British Empire. Sir Howard Byatt's reference in proposing a vote of thanks to Lord Buxton, that he believed Tanganyika had possibilities as yet undreamt of, and that ere long the country may prove to be one of the most profitable of our African Dependencies, was significant, and may, from private information we have, prove correct even sooner than anticipated. More and more the African Society is taking up the foremost place in the practical recording of developments on that great continent, and the periodical social gatherings under the invaluable guidance of its veteran President are rapidly becoming the most interesting and delightful gatherings of the Anglo-African community in the metropolis of the Empire.

INTERESTING SCHEME OF NATIVE EDUCATION.

The present session of the Southern Rhodesian Legislative Assembly is devoting considerable time to a discussion of Native questions arising chiefly out of the Native Education Commission's report and the Land Commission's report. The first debate of importance was opened when the Colonial Secretary moved an amendment of the schedule to the Education Ordinance of 1903, dealing with Native schools.

The amendment provides for first-class Native schools in which industrial work, the English language, and discipline will be taught, four hours daily being devoted to industrial work. Given satisfactory progress, an annual grant will be made of £300 for each pupil. Provision is made for second class schools, for which an annual grant of £100 per pupil will be paid and a further grant of £100 will be paid per head when industrial training is taught for two hours daily.

Third-class schools will be in charge of Native teachers, where the Natives will be taught in the Native language, for which an annual grant will be made of £50 per head. All schools are subject to inspection by Government officials, and additional grants will be made to third-class schools in respect to teachers with given industrial qualifications rising from £3 to £10 per annum. Provided the European missionary schools fulfil certain inspection conditions, further grants will also be made.

Other provisions include the establishment of night schools, in which female Natives will be given instruction in domestic training, and industrial work for males. Grants-in-aid of salaries on a generous scale will be made to Europeans who qualify as competent teachers industrially, as well as grants in aid of equipment.

FEARS RULE BY NEGROES.

South African Rotarian Tells of Plan to Disfranchise Natives.

The racial problem confronting South Africa, with a colored population of 5,750,000 out of 8,000,000, was discussed yesterday by Eric Louw, Rotarian Commissioner for the Union of South Africa, at a Rotary luncheon at the Waldorf. The time had some, he said, for the whites in the country to determine whether the country was to be in their hands or those of the native, who is now a political and an economic danger.

In Cape Colonoy negroes had the vote; elsewhere, they had not, he said, and the result had been discontent on the part of those who did not possess the vote. Since extension of the franchise meant native assumption of control, he said, it had often decided to disfranchise the natives of Cape Colony and give to the whole negro population the right of being represented in Parliament by white members.

He said that the natives were of a primitive order, in no way comparable to the American negro.

Race Problem— 1927

Africa

Leribe Notes

The Vagaries Of Justice.

(by P.)

Of the many proclamations with which the Basuto are still yet unacquainted is the Soap Proclamation, and yet it, with the Tax Proclamation is one of the chief sources of revenue under that mysterious head "Miscellaneous." There is cause for the reason why the Basuto have not yet fully grasped the provisions of this law. It is in the first instance very intricate for an ordinary Mosuto to understand, and secondly it is continually being added to and amended every year by the issuing of new regulations etc. But be that as it may whenever a Mosuto is charged with the contravention of its provisions and pleads ignorance of the provisions, he is cooly told that ignorance of the law is no plea, and yet even this bold statement when addressed to him from the bench in all its bareness is not understood by him and when sentence is passed on him in spite of his plea of ignorance, he seriously regards the white man who has passed sentence on him as a heartless and callous tyrant; and did he know would exclaim like Marcus Antory:

> "O judgment, thou art fled to britsh beast, And men have lost their senses!"

But however this legal maxim is relentlessly prosecuted without any qualms. There is however another maxim which forms the foundation of British justice and which is evidently and injunction to the Bench: 'andi alteram partem" (Hear the other party; hear both sides,. This means in other words, that no man can be judged before he has been given an opportunity to vindicate himself. No trial; no judgment.

A case of unusual intirest to Leribe in particular and to Basutoland in general arising out of the carrying out of Law No. 21 of Lerotholi's Compenduim of Basuto Laws and Customs which is a new law enacted by the National Council long after his death, has occurred in Leribe Camp; but at present it is swinging like the pendulum of a clock, and for how long no one knows. The case arises out of a charge preferred against one Jack Maoba and two others by the local headman for selling kafir beer and thus contravening the provisions, of Law No 21. It appears that the headman sent two men to Maoba's hut in his absence giving them money to buy beer. These men did not kn that they were being used as traps and had received the money from the headman as a free gift he being a chief. Soon after he had given these two men the money he sent his regular trapes in their wake and on their finding the two men in the hut enquired if they had got the beer and receiving an answer in the affirmative went straightaway to the headman to report. Maoba was in due time summoned to the court of the headman and on his arrival at the court was addressed thus by the headman. "I have been informed by my traps that you have sold them beer at your hut thus acting against the orders I have given you. For this act I sentence you to pay a fine of two pounds" Naturally Maoba protested against this summary and arbitrary treatment and asked for a hearing to vindicate himself; but this the headman refused to listen to and proceeded to deal with the others who were charged for the same offence and fined them one pound, and ten shillings respectively. Maoba appealed against this order but was refused and told that the matter would be reported to the Assistant Commissioner under whose orders he was acting A fortnight or so after during which Maoba continually asked for an appeal, the headman called him again to his court and there and then told him he was going to seize one of his beasts to satisfy the judgment he had given. Having thus deliversd himself he proceeded to Maoba's cattle-kraal and seized a cow and calf which were driven to the A.C's office where they were taken over by the police on the A C's orders. Maoba followed his cattle and lodged his complsint but was told they would not be released until he had paid the fine Thus ended the first part in this dramatic burlesque.

—:O:—

Undaunted Maoba carried on his protestations to the A.C. in whose hands the case now was as an appeal had been refused him by the local headman which in the ordinary circumstances and according to the law of the land should have gone to Chief Jonathan's court as the court immediately above that of the local headman's. After many interviews extending over many days the A.C. appointed his Native staff and the police sergeant to investigate the circumstances of the case, A lot of witnesses from far and near were called but no evidence of sale was proved inasmuch as none of the witnesses were able to identify the woman who is alleged to have sold the beer. The case was referred to the A.C. in its unfinished state and he confirmed the headman's judgment. Maoba noted an appeal there and then. This was not granted at the time as he was adviced (?, to go and reconsider his determination. He held on to his determination and kept on demanding an appeal. Eventually after some lecturing from the A.C. he was told to hand in his reasons for appeal. This he did and at the same time was ready to tender his deposit for appeal. This was however refused on the grounds that there had been no case in the A.C's Court as no records were forthcoming The reasons for appeal and the deposit money were therefore not accepted and poor Maoba is now at a loss as to the next step to take seeing the A.C has told him he would not see him again on this matter. But his cow has been seized to satisfy a judgment passed without even a semblance of trial and he has been refused an appeal by the headman's court and that of the Assistant Commissioner. In the circumstances whither must he turn for justice? Audi alterman partem.

Some time ago the same local headman's court which was then presided over by chief Ntšeke Jonathan who has resigned passed a judgment which was not carried out and he enforced it by the seizure of cattle as in this case but after having informed the A. C. about it. The act of the court was appealed against to the Paramount Chief's court which has upheld the appeal in a novel way by ordering a relative of the appellant who pointed out the cattle belonging to him to the court's sheriff to pay the equivalent number of cattle seized. In yet another case by the same court and under the same president a man was ordered to pay two pounds to a com-

plainant and he refused to do so. The court sent out two execute its judgment but its messengers were threatened and successfully resisted by the defendant. The court had had the A.C's sanction to execute its judgment but unfortunately he left before the execution was carried out and the officer who acted in his place disapproved of the action of the court blaming the court for daring so much. This judgment has never been carried out until now. Both these cases happened in this very place. Where is consistency in these matters? Who is responsible for these in consistencies and what impresion do they bear on the minds of those who are aware of them? I leave that to the readers to judge for themselves! At any rate that there is no consistency is true, and where no consistency exists there can be no justice.

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As I have said this case is of an unusual interest in this part of the country as it has caused great indignation among the people as they consider their homes and property no more safe from the vengeful minions of the headman who clothed in brief authority use it in and out of reason to satiate their lust for the servile submission of the residents of this Reserve to their selfish ends. The case has also revealed to us two or three things, (a) that the old saw "that a chief's word is law" has not yet outlined its term of life, (b) that there are some priveleged chiefs or headmen whose extempore orders have the force of law even if they were given in an unconectitutional manner (c) that the Native residents of the Reserves are no more under the jurisdiction of the Paramount Chief seeing that an appeal from the headman of the Reserve goes to the court of the Assistant Commissioner and ipso facto to the Resident Commissioner's court, and (d) that a complainant may be refused an appeal to a higher at the discretion of the lower court. These and many other things we have learnt and we are watching to see what the end will be whether might or justice will prevail I hold no brief for Maoba but I certainly hold one for justice

THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCENE.

MARCUS GARVEY II.—KADALIE'S AMBITION—PROBLEM OF NATIVE AGITATORS—MR. BARLOW'S OUTBURST—TROUBLE IN THE SOUTH-WEST.

("African World" Special Correspondent.)

The African World
Vol XC II
5-28-27

CAPE TOWN, May 3.

Clements Kadalie is still very much in the public eye and the Press are giving him almost as much prominence as the Flag Bill. This native leader is undoubtedly a force to be reckoned with. He is a man of strong personality, but it is unfortunate that he does not use the influence which he exercises over his coloured brethren with greater discretion, or rather less indiscretion, for more than once of late he has come forth in the role of braggart and spoken in offensive terms of the White Rulers of the land. Kadalie is ambitious, and he dreams dreams of the sort that Marcus Garvey dreamed.

Kadalie's Hero.

In fact, he would seem to seek to model himself on that notorious American negro. His essential object, he wrote to a friend, is to be a great African Marcus Garvey. Incidentally, he has little time and less respect for any of our institutions. In the official organ of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, of which organisation he is the leading light, he has been letting himself go with a vengeance, assuring his readers that they had been robbed by the white man for the last 200 years, and that it is time that the natives threw off the yoke of British Imperialism in South Africa. The Church and State, he avers, are here to fatten on the dead.

All this rot is published openly, and is indicative of the length to which native journalism is going in the direction of absolute offensiveness to the authorities. In the circumstances Mr. Marwick rendered a service in drawing the attention of the House to what is going on, but he received little sympathy from Mr. Arthur Barlow, who brought Mr. Marwick's illuminating address to an abrupt end by insisting on the closure being applied because Mr. Marwick had already reached his time limit. Members on all sides were eager to allow the member for Illovo to continue, but Mr. Barlow would have none of it.

He preferred to take the floor himself, and proceeded to launch a bitter attack on Mr. Marwick and the South African Party who were "after the native vote." He objected to the former "because the Prime Minister has on his shoulders one of the greatest tasks any Prime Minister ever had, and here we have this hon. member in this House deliberately setting himself up not only as anti-Dutch, anti-Jew, anti-Labour, but anti-black. He is making the position in South Africa as difficult as he can make it."

White and Black Agitators.

Mr. Barlow is also greatly impressed at Kadalie's courage in turning out the Communists from his ranks. Further, he considers Kadalie is working on sound trade union lines, an argument, however, that is open to question. But there is something to be said for Mr. Barlow's contention that the full glare of publicity should be thrown on native agitation and not drive it underground. The most sinister factor in the unsavoury native propaganda that has been carried on in South Africa for years is that among its most ardent workers are a number of white men, among whom, as Mr. Marwick pointed out, may be included Mr. Andrews and Mr. Glass, who in Mr. Marwick's opinion are "hastening the day when there will be a most bloody conflict between Europeans and natives in this country, and they primarily will be held responsible when that comes about. We have Mr. Andrews glorying in and not withdrawing or mitigating his statement that the natives should follow the examples of Russia and China and that, communicated to the native mind, means only one thing, the abolishing of white authority in this country."

That no doubt is an exaggeration, but one thing is certain, and that is that in finding solutions for our native problem, with its bewildering variety of aspects, a united front on the part of the white community is essential. Likewise native legislation should be kept outside the arena of party politics. The Prime Minister has shown clearly that he takes this view, and he displayed sound common sense and tact in amending the sedition clause in the Native Administration Bill which he introduced during the week.

Most people will agree with General Smuts who declared that it was a mistake to have a separate system of crimes for natives in a Bill of this kind, though it is highly desirable to have a sedition law. While there is no denying that there are native agitators who make a practice of subverting the existing state of affairs, there are white agitators too, and for that reason alone the impression should not be allowed to get abroad that the native offender is being singled out.

The debate, apart from Mr. Barlow's outburst, was carried on in a most friendly spirit, and the Premier did a graceful act in acceding to the Opposition's request that the Bill be sent to a Select Committee. This concession so pleased the Opposition that, not to be outdone on the score of politeness, they permitted the second reading to pass without a single dissentient voice. If only this conciliatory spirit were more frequently evident in the House! It is encouraging at any rate that it should come to the fore when a subject of national importance, such as a Native Bill, is under discussion.

Col. Reitz's Clarion Call.

Colonel Denys Reitz, one of the outstanding personalities in the South African Party, has been on the warpath again, telling adherents to the party to be of good heart and set about the greatest task of all that has ever confronted the party—namely, the reuniting and consolidating of all moderate thinking men and women in South Africa within the ranks of a common party. This ambition can be achieved, he considers, not by any insincere Vereeniging movement, but by the most democratic of all our institutions, the general election. The Nationalist Party represents only a portion of one of the races of the country, and Labour stands for but one industrial stratum. It was only in the ranks of the South African Party, representing all the elements of the South African people, that reunion and a return to a sane and safe South Africa can be hoped for.

That, of course, is only Colonel Reitz's opinion.

Last week I referred to a somewhat disturbing incident in the South-West African Protectorate's Legislature when the German members walked out of the Chamber because a Union member gave notice of a provocative motion dealing with the subject of German propaganda. Unfortunately it is becoming increasingly plain that members are finding it difficult to maintain the good relations which formerly existed among the opposing sections of the House.

The German section of the population do not like the land settlement policy of the Administration, and use as a term of contempt the expression, "applikatie brere," to indicate an unsuitable type of Union settler. While the German members have been careful not to allow this attitude of mind of the German section to become apparent during the debates in the House, they have systematically hammered at all items of expenditure in the estimates which have any connection with land settlement.

Since the Union members are either all farmers or the representatives of farmers, the German attitude has proved somewhat irksome, and there are clear indications that feelings are becoming somewhat fretted.

Race Problem - 1927

Africa.

Basutoland Inheritance.

:O:—

Dear Mr. Editor,

My attention was drawn to your leader which appeared under the above heading, in your issue of the 7th instant and I noticed that you attempted to translate the Sesuto leader which appeared in the issue of the 24th December 1926, for which I was responsible. I am sorry to say, as you will see, you missed the point altogether. You misunderstood the meaning of most Sesuto principal terms, and henoe reversed the whole meaning of that leader I therefore beg for your permission to have the attached translation published —

"We have heard of the judgment between chief Seeiso and his father. the Paramount Chief of Basutoland Before proceeding with the above subject we want, first to refer to the minor points raised in respect of this case. One of the correspondents of a Johannesburg newspaper called "Umteteli" in his report to that news paper alleged that the dispute is over the ward of Phamong as the Matsieng ward, Paramountcy belong to Makhaola, the supposed son of Letsie II This correspondent stated that this allegation was made by Chief Makhaola.

"It is not known the matter may have been misrepresented to us, because what we heard and know transpired and what remains as a fact up to this hour is that, when Griffiths was installed in the office of Letsie I it was not as a regent of the son o Letsie II It it was then contemplated this child was going to be the future Paramount Chief of Basuto land why was matter not made known when Griffiths was installed with full powers and he therefore inherited Letsie I fully. His inheritors have a right to full rights of their father They also have a right to the paramountcy to which theirfather is installed with full authority

"Again modern Basuto make the Basuto customs appear as if they were so debased According to Sesuto custom if a man dies leaving no male child and the relatives want to revive his name, these relatives come together to make an agreement (morero) and apoint among them one who is to substitute the deceased taking deceased wife to himself. Then his children are recognised as deceased In the case of Letsie II we never heard of any kind of (morero)

We carefully read the evidence which was led at the Court of the Paramount Chief. A very great majority of witnesses, emphatically denied the knowledge of the alleged divorce of Ma Seeiso, and that was the only bone of contention. The court failed to establish this, Seeiso made every endeavour, by cross-examination, to find if any of his uncles or grandfathers or Lerotholi's counsellors knew of his mother's divorce Every one of them denied the knowledge of that divorce

About a couple of the members of the court vainly attempted to convince the court that would not have been possible for other sons of Mosheh to know of this divorce other than Lerotholi and his son Griffith as it was family affair This is a wholesale degradation upon our chieftainship and upon us as a nation. Privacy has never at any time of the history of the Basuto existed in marriage, neither is it practised by white people. Dowry is paid in the presence of many witnesses, invited and uninvited, and it is accepted publicly.

Divorce (hlahlo) just as it is among civilized people, cannot, according to the Sesuto custom be recognized as such unless it has been so sanctioned by a legally constituted court and unless both parties have been given full opportunity to state their case, without the sanction of the court there can never be divorce.

It is altogether, not probable that Chiefs Lerotholi and Griffith (his son) on one side and Nkoebe on the other side could have effected the divorce of the marriage of Griffith and Ma-Seeiso without the knowledge of Chiefs Bereng, Theko and other sons' of Letsie I, nor it would have been possible to ignore Letsie II, Griffith's senior brother. What about the counsellors of this country? They would have surmmoned the court together to hear both parties.

What is there that has gone wrong, people should be so degraded. The divorce must be sanctioned by the court and be made public for many reasons. If a woman is divorced she is freed from the bonds of that marriage and she is free again to marry anyone There can never be secrecy there. it is inconcievable that Chiefs Makhaola, Api. and others could not have known of this divorce.

When members of the Court were winding up the case for judgment, of the many that supported the Paramount Chief only two spoke straight the rest were, "hunting with the hound but running with the hare," while others were engaged in threatening the young chief. Others concluded that there was no divorce and drew the attention of Seeiso to that fact but ended their remarks by warning him and persuading him to accept his father' explanation, which they themselves denied that it was

Divine Belief!

Shall you allow me leisure Sir, to expose my views on this subject which frankly has caused much confusion, pretence, and consequently much mis-understanding with regards the recognition of the presence of God the father whose power I propose to say is one bevond human reach!

This is the subject that is responsible for the slow progress of christianity among the dark parts of the world to day and also responsible for loss of many lives of people who were of the opinion that "There is no God." We have great men toaay that have obtained their degrees, some of them are professors in Arts, some are specialists in mechanic and medicine but even among these we detest such faults. Many of the cleverest men today will not solemnly confess the truest acknowledgement of God as his creator Science to some large extend has bred produce of such origin. It is very mean and vain to say that such people do not wish to be the leading models of the rank and file. The most illiterate human being will openly tell you that there is no God, but I say this man can be excuse on conditions What then about the man who is so suffiently equipped mentally to use his mind in understanding that one most obvious fact that, God is God, that he lives that he speakes and hears and that he has fellowship with us if we acknowledge him as our Maker Father and the Lord of all life and being!

To my mind it appears bevond criticism that there is God Although we sin against him yet we wish to follow

I dont quite see how in the world a man absolutely same could ever speak like that If at all we have to consider the Heaven, the stars the atmosphere and all mystries above within the utmost extend of our worldly knowledge, we have to believe that there must be God. at least there must be some great power regulating all these mystries. If at all we have to consider the inumerable stars that dot the sky with sparkling beams all night, when we consider their motion and position in relation to the sun being the only stationary planet out of the whole we have to wonder that these planets move in different directions yet keeping all the white their relative distances with the sun Millions as they are, yet there are no violent concussions, no accidents, all is a smooth organisation which no human being could ever foster unless with the aid of some divine force capable to transfer such forces

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From this footing, we may make another consideration of life on earth and how it is distributed by the Creator to suit conditions as accurately as possible. Each being supplied adequately with organs such as breathing excreting and reproduction organs and the last organ the most wonderful It is hardly believed that the smallest animal (Protozoa) has also such organs. All these mystries most of which I have omitted work to certify that there is a Creator and surely he is, for we could not have mysteriously emerged into being without some previous preparations: The readers considers

(To be continued)

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

A Prophet of Africa.

Nearly two years have passed since religious circles interested in missions were moved by reports of a great Christian movement on the Ivory Coast, of a "Black Prophet" who passed through the land like a flame, destroying the ancient superstitions and bringing light to the peoples who had sat in heathen darkness. No church had sent him, no Christian community in Europe knew of his existence, till these reports came of the work he had carried out nearly ten years before, alone and unassisted. When the first English missionary visited the Ivory Coast to inquire into the prohibition by the French Government of the use of the Fanti language in Grand Bassam, he found a hitherto unknown body of Christians, expectant of the teacher whose coming their Prophet and caller to a new life had foretold. In the arrival of the Rev. W. Platt the people hailed the fulfilment of the prophecy. "I was met everywhere," he said, "with almost delirious joy, waving flags, brass bands, and great crowds of men, women, and children." He found not only congregations but churches, for the Prophet had bidden them to build churches for the preaching of him who should come. The churches were provided with pulpits and bibles, ready, as a bride-chamber garnished, and kept for a bridegroom who tarrieth, but whose coming is sure.

Ten Years of Expectation.

Ten years had passed since the Evangelist had suddenly appeared among the villages along the Great Lagoon, calling the people to the Christ whom he proclaimed, as yet unknown, but to be made fully known by teachers whose coming the Evangelist foretold. Praying, preaching, exhorting with a vehemence which imparted to his hearers the fervour of his own faith, he called upon them to "make straight the way of the Lord" by abandoning their heathen superstitions. "At his command, the fetishes, idols, charms, and ju-jus worshipped by these people and their ancestors for thousands of years were thrown down and abandoned. Wherever his voice was heard, wherever his fierce denunciation of superstition, witchcraft, and cannibalism . . . was heard, the heathen were converted. He established a new and better era in West Africa." For these were no transient conversions, no passing "revival" of camp-meeting fervour or flicker of short-lived enthusiasm, suddenly extinguished. The steadfastness of his converts was the seal of his apostleship. For ten years they waited in patience, watching with sure and certain hope for the coming of the promised teacher, walking "worthy of the vocation wherewith they were called," meeting in their churches twice each Sunday, singing the hymns they had been taught, but did not understand, praying, exhorting each other to be steadfast in faith in the God whom they now ignorantly worshipped, who should be declared to them at His own appointed time. Mr. Platt was hailed as the promised teacher; they showed him the churches prepared against his coming, but no church could contain the multitudes who flocked to hear his message. At a great open-air meeting 12,000 eager souls drank in his words; his tour was a gala of joy for the fulfilment of their hopes and the crowning of the faith in which they had wrought. One hundred and fifty churches, built by their own hands—"some of them of granite and cement, costing as much as £2,000"—were taken over, and 21,900 converts were received as catechumens, "all enrolled as contributing members of the Church" by Mr. Platt.

The Black "Forerunner."

Here was the work, patent to the sense, but the worker had disappeared and become merely a memory. It was in 1923 that Mr. Platt heard the story of "The Black Elijah," as his people called him. In 1913, so the story ran, a Kruman named William Wadé Harris had appeared on the Ivory Coast and begun to call the people to Christianity, to which he had been converted while at Lagos, working as a labourer in the service of Messrs. Elder Dempster and Co. His message was simple, but it was enunciated with fiery vehemence. Like another Peter the Hermit, he passed along calling his hearers to a crusade against witchcraft, fetish-worship, and heathenism. The heat of his fervour was caught by his hearers, whom he overwhelmed with his vehemence. He taught no dogmas, and preached nothing "save Jesus Christ, and Him crucified—prepare for His coming and that quickly, for the time is short, but first teachers will come who will make all things plain." Like the prophets and apostles of old, he had visions and heard voices; he believed himself inspired of heaven. For twelve months he passed through the land, facing hardship, ridicule, and imprisonment, thundering against its heathenism, and winning souls. He could have amassed what would have been wealth in his country, but of the gifts offered him he accepted only food for the day and a resting place at night. He vanished as suddenly as he had appeared. "No missionary or African minister of any British mission ever saw him or had any communication with him" till last autumn M. Pierre Benoit, a (French) Wesleyan missionary, found him at Cape Palmas, where he lives when not travelling. For he still evangelises on his own authority, preaching and baptising, not altogether to the satisfaction of the recognised missions, which ignore him and his work. It is the perennial quarrel between the ordained priest and the inspired prophet. The prophet was on one of his tours when M. Benoit arrived at Cape Palmas. The story of the finding of the prophet can be read in the February issue of "The Foreign Field," the organ of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. The thousands in this country who have learned to love and honour Harris for his work will rejoice to know that he has been found, and that the infirmities of his old age will be provided for: that he will never lack a roof to shelter him, a pillow whereon to lay his head, and a plateful of food at his need. He has already become little more than a memory: "take him for all in all, we shall never look upon his like again." He is also a portent. If a negro race is to be converted it must be by a prophet of its own blood, speaking its own tongue.

W. F. H.

AFRICAN ART.

Influence on European Culture.

Except for the few who are familiar with the profound influence of African art on contemporary modernist masters, painters like Matisse, Cezanne, Picasso, sculptors like Lipcitz, and Brancusi, art lessons from such a primitive source as this seems ludicrous, writes Alain Locke in the *Survey Graphic*, New York. But further even than an already mature influence upon the plastic technique of modern art, the African craftsmen, through their work, bring a rich message in fundamental art-values and art-theory; re-enforcement in fact for some of our most needed revaluations of art in relation to life. Most of us to-day will concede the superiority and desirability of an art that is native, healthy, useful as well as ornamental, and integral with life, as contrasted with an art that is artificial, borrowed, non-utilitarian, and the exclusive product and possession of cliques and coteries.

The finer sides of African life and culture have suffered unduly through having been too long the contraband of the slave trade and the taboo of the misapprehending missionaries. African art for the moment has a very special rôle to play in the rehabilitation of Africa in general esteem and opinion. More important still, it has a very vital mission as a recovered and reinterpreted racial heritage, of stimulating and inspiring the expression of the artistic genius of the American negro, particularly in the arts of his ancestors. It seems certain that at a stage of his development that is noteworthy for the initiation of a cultured programme, the negro of to-day will accept and benefit from this powerful lesson from his own past.

PREMIER'S NATIVE BILLS.

CAPE TOWN, March 23.

In the House of Assembly to-day General Hertzog, Prime Minister and Minister of Native Affairs, introduced his four Bills dealing with the native question. The Bills were read a first time.

General Hertzog intimated that the Bills would be put to a select Committee before they came up for second reading.—Reuter.

Note.—The Bills referred to, among other things, concede the immediate election of one European to the Assembly to represent the "coloured" persons in the Northern Provinces and of seven to represent the natives. A Native Council of fifty members (thirty-five elected and fifteen nominated) is to be created, with deliberative and limited legislative functions. Furthermore, the territorial segregation initiated by the Native Lands Act of 1913 is to be further developed

ACUTE PROBLEM OF NATIVE LABOUR SUPPLY.

A Valuable Investigation.

The problem of native labour supply is one of great concern and anxiety in Rhodesia, a fact that was remarked upon by Sir Herbert Stanley on the occasion of the African Society dinner last week at which he was a guest of honour. Attention has been focussed further on the question by the report of the committee appointed by the Rhodesian Agricultural Union to consider and report on the question of native labour, both indigenous and alien, and to make recommendations with a view to the improvement of the labour supply.

In the essential interests of the indigenous natives themselves, as well as in the interests of the whole country, it is recognised, states the report, that there exists a great and growing need for the adoption of suitable measures with a view to the development of their industrial capacity and morale. The chief obstacles which at present stand in the way of this development are as follows:—

(1) The inadequacy of the existing machinery for governmental administration in the reserves, which has failed to provide an effective substitute for the old tribal and parental discipline and control.
(2) The lack of any sufficient inducement to work inside the reserves or to seek work outside them.
(3) Excessive beer-drinking.
(4) The moral difficulties caused by the influx of large numbers of alien natives men who are for long periods detached from their own homes and communities.

The committee accordingly recommend the appointment in each native reserve of a Resident Native Commissioner with greatly increased powers for dealing with all problems in his reserve, and more particularly with emergencies requiring summary treatment.

The report contains a blunt comment on the subject of native missions, the committee, with one exception, holding that the wide extent of the freedom which is rightly accorded to the missions within the sphere of morals and religion makes it all the more incumbent on the missions to recognise without reservation that in all matters lying outside this sphere the sole and plenary authority in that of the State. The adoption of any course of action on the part of the missions capable of conveying to the native mind the impression that the authority of the State in its administrative capacity is impugned by them, or rejected, is therefore much to be deprecated in the interests both of the natives and of the whole community.

The committee considered a number of recommendations which were forwarded to the R.A.U. by its branch associations. Four of these (mentioned below) were regarded, in the existing circumstances of the country, as uneconomic and therefore foredoomed to failure, namely:—

(1) The proposal to standardise wages in the rural areas.
(2) The proposal to resort to forced labour in any shape or form.
(3) The proposal to prohibit the migration of indigenous natives to neighbouring territories.
(4) The proposal to remit the tax payable by natives in the employment of Europeans.

It is not by the adoption of any such arbitrary measures that a remedy can be found for our existing native labour shortage is the committee's comment.

Race Problem - 1927

Africa.

JUSTICE IN WEST AFRICA.

The slavery question in Sierra Leone has lately presented the administration of that colony in a somewhat unfavourable light before public opinion, not only in this country but also in the United States and the International Areopagus at Geneva. There is another aspect of local administration which seems to call for equal notice, at any rate in this country, and that is the suspension of trial by jury in Sierra Leone in an important class of cases. The subject was dealt with by Dr. Bankole-Bright, a medical man practising at Freetown, who has been for some years one of the elected African members of the Legislative Council there, and who addressed the West African students in London on September 28. His address reveals an anomaly in the administration of justice which would not be tolerated anywhere else, and which is particularly resented by the educated classes of natives in West Africa. In considering it, we ought to bear in mind that the natives of West Africa are among the most loyal and contented subjects of the Empire, and that the administration of justice is among those benefits of British rule which are most highly prized by them.

Dr. Bright stated that for 85 years trial by jury was established in Sierra Leone, and no fault was found with its results. In 1894 the Postmaster-General of the Colony, an African named Spain, was accused of embezzlement. He was acquitted. The Governor then had him re-arrested, on a charge differently framed, though relating to the same money, and in time for this second trial the Legislative Council (in which of course, the Government has a permanent majority) passed what is called the Assessors Ordinance. This associates with the presiding judge three assessors. They are to take the place of a jury, and to find on questions of fact, the judge deciding on law. The Sierra Leone Ordinance, however, reserved to the judge the power to over-ride and reverse the assessors' verdict. Under this ordinance Spain was found guilty, and sentenced to seven years imprisonment!

It is left to the Attorney-General to decide in which cases the Assessors Ordinance shall be applied. Dr. Bright alleges that ever since its enactment, wherever the accused in a criminal case has been an "educated" Native, the Ordinance has been applied, and that in every case where the assessors (two of whom are usually British business men of the colony and the third an African) have found the accused not guilty, the judge has set their verdict aside and declared the man guilty. He cites specific cases. The first is that of Johnson, a dispenser in Government service for twenty-five years, with an unblemished record. Riots broke out against Syrian Traders, accused, probably with truth, of holding up rice supplies during a shortage. Johnson was charged with receiving the goods of Syrians whose stores had been pilaged. Evidence was given that at the time of the alleged offence he was at work at the hospital, the medical staff of the hospital corroborating this. All three assessors in this case were British. They found him not guilty. The judge over-ruled them, and sent Johnson to prison, where he died, broken, protesting innocence to the last.

Another case is that of Bright, an African clerk at the Post Office. He had been in the public service eleven years. He had charge of the stamps, and was accused of defalcation. It was proved at the trial that on one occasion the head of his department unknowingly supplied him with £100 worth of stamps above the amount for which he had requisitioned, and that Bright at once returned the surplus. It was also shown that more than once he had mislaid keys of the stamp safe. On one occasion he found this out at once, and the P.M.G. had the safe sealed. When it was opened the contents were found intact. On the day when the charge arose, going to the post office unusually early, he was met by his senior officer, to whom he at once said that he had again mislaid his keys and was hurrying down to see if all were safe. A number of stamps was missing. He was prosecuted although he offered to pay the value of the stamps. He demanded trial by jury. This was refused, and the Ordinance applied. He declined to plead or call any evidence, and was then found guilty and sentenced—of course, by the judge acting alone.

A third and more sensational case is that of Mr. Cornelius May, a former member of the Legislative Council, Mayor of Freetown, and editor and owner of the "Sierra Leone Weekly News," one of the oldest, most moderate, and most influential organs of the native Press in the whole of Africa. Mr. May, as mayor, received the Prince of Wales on his visit to the Colony. He is a wealthy man, and until the present case nothing was known to his discredit. It was alleged that in his capacity of mayor he conspired with others and made away with £25 worth of iron sheets, rejected by the municipal surveyor as useless for the purpose for which they were ordered. The case was tried by the Chief Justice, Sir Gilbert Purcell, and the Ordinance was again applied. Of the three assessors two were Europeans—men holding responsible positions with Elder Dempster and Co., and a local subsidiary of Lever Brothers. The third is an African, not of the same race as May, and one of his political opponents. May, it should be stated, had frequently been attacked by his fellow Africans because, they said, he and his paper were always on the side of the Whites (the British). He had, however, before the case arose, espoused the cause of the poorer railway workers in a strike against the Government Railway Department.

The three assessors unanimously found May not guilty. The Chief Justice overruled them and sent him and two others charged with him to prison for nine months. May was subsequently released on grounds of health. He is over seventy years old. The judge refused to state a case for appeal. Dr. Bright says he saw the Attorney-General seated on the bench with the judge during the trial. The opinion of Sir Leslie Scott, K.C., was sought as to the possibility of appeal to the Privy Council direct. He advised that this was impossible, the Judicial Committee not being a court of criminal appeal. But on the Assessors' Ordinance Sir Leslie Scott observed: "If the assessors had been a jury, the defendants would have succeeded in winning an acquittal. The grievance in this case is against the law, and the defendants have a sense of injustice for that reason, not unnaturally, as the assessors on the pure question of fact, upon which the case depended, were as well able to form a view as the Chief Justice." Unless Dr. Bright is guilty of mis-statement, the same Chief Justice had *five* of his decisions in civil cases reversed in one day by a West African appeal court consisting of three other judges.

The Assessors Ordinance grievance was laid before Mr. Ormsby-Gore, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, when he visited Sierra Leone. He said that cases occasionally give rise to racial antagonism, and in such cases trial by jury would lead to a travesty of justice. One of the African members of the Legislative Council of the Colony asked which case or cases raised this issue. The Government replied that the Under-Secretary's remark was a personal opinion, and that to give details might raise ill-feeling. Imagine such a reply in the House of Commons! The member said that a statement of fact had been made, and pressed for a more exact answer. The Acting-Governor disallowed this further question.

JUSTICE IN WEST AFRICA.

Continued from the fourth page.

Not the least remarkable feature in the present legal position is that trial by jury is still preserved where the accused are illiterate, primitive Africans. It is only against the educated section of the race that the powers of the Ordinance are directed. Dr. Bright and others at Sierra Leone ask that ordinary trial by jury should be restored. It was withdrawn over a generation ago on what, if it was a breakdown, was a breakdown in a single case, and in thirty-three years education in public affairs has moved forward. They also ask for an independent appeal court in criminal cases, to be composed not of local judges, but of three trained lawyers from Great Britain, who should visit West Africa at the required intervals and hear appeal cases from all four colonies—Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Nigeria. The colonies, Dr. Bright thinks, can and would afford the salaries. So they are only asking for the expenditure of their own mony.

Dr. Bright's speech was reported in the Press, and has been issued in pamphlet form. He is returning to the Colony at once, and can then be brought to book in the Legislative Council and discredited if he has misstated any essential facts. The matter also calls for the attention of Parliament. The essential questions seem to be: (1) Was the ordinary jury system suppressed because of one case which annoyed the local Government? (2) If Sierra Leone juries have returned verdicts tainted by bias, in what specific cases was this done? (3) When assessors have been appointed to act as jurors and find the facts, by what right is their finding of fact over-ruled by the bench? And (5) In any event, is not the appeal to an independent tribunal in criminal cases reasonable and necessary?—*African World*, October 22.

THE SIERRA LEONE
WEEKLY NEWS
Saturday, November 12, 1927

JUSTICE IN WEST AFRICA

ON THE HEIGHTS WITH THE IMMORTALS.

OUR readers would doubtless have no difficulty in recalling the story of a certain importunate woman and an unconscionable Judge, an account given on high authority an illustration of the trend which sometimes human nature may take in the dispensing of justice by the strong towards the weak. They may perhaps find therefrom some inspiration to indulge in the hope that some day, by no means within a nebulous future, there will come that relief for which the grief stricken and importunate African section of the community have been studiously knocking at the doors of the Colonial Office, in regard to their life and liberty. This assurance has been greatly accentuated, and in spite of deep-seated wounds and serious gashes some have received in the fight for these heaven-born gifts, we are by no means daunted, rather our courage has received great stimulus by the patriotic and self-sacrificing assiduity of the Hon. Dr. H. C. BANKOLE-BRIGHT, during his brief visit to England, in the interest of his people to the matter of dispensing justice in this Colony.

Many have been the efforts already made in this direction, collectively and individually; by individual visits to the Colonial Office, by petitions from the people and a section of the people, as also by means of deputations locally; but hitherto, local judicial and executive representations have stood in the way of natural justice being done to the people. It seems to us that such an obtrusion which daily is becoming evident as a direct intervention against the natural flow of the current of justice, has been not without its salutary effects. Those who have stood in the way of that speedy response to the legitimate and reasonable demands of the people have by some providence proved the instrument of educating the people how to grow strength and courage even though it be only to the extent of the revulsion consequent on the pursuit of a helpless cat to the farthest end of a corner. It is getting near to the point when some mysterious Power must intervene, and for that matter the instrument of His choice must be absolutely in His own hands. Let men of low vision and ignoble passion for revenge take notice and beware. In the very forceful presentation of the case against the Assessors Ordinance which Dr. BRIGHT made in his address to the African Students in London, and which has since been printed and circulated, there are no essential facts, pertinent to the issue which can be controverted or rationally disputed. The principles sought to be instilled in the minds of the British Public as to the working of that ordinance have been most accurately, most energetically presented, As we said, it has been on the same lines others had laboured to obtain the relief which indisputably is the general prayer of the people. If there has seemed some difference, in the part Dr. BRIGHT has played, and indeed there has been a good deal of difference as may be gleaned from the interest it has called forth in the columns of *Truth* one of the high toned and conservative journals in Great Britain, an article which we have reproduced for the edification of our readers, it has been due to the personal magnetism, the grit and go, they say more the clean and honest purpose of this people's representative, traits which are too well known in the Community to admit of any gainsaying. We owe it to Dr. BRIGHT that such a journal has been interested in the cause of the people, that it has not only given out the facts to its large circle of noble and influential readers, but it has seconded the manly and impartial attitude of our esteemed contemporary *West Africa* in the challenge thrown out for the vindication of the official attitude, which can only be done by an independent court of enquiry, not of the kind we have had recently.

The considered judgment of the enlightened Editor of *Truth* has been given in the following brief but pregnant summary:—"the matter also calls for the attention of Parliament. The essential questions seemed to be (1). Was the ordinary jury system suppressed because of one case which annoyed the local Government? (2) If Sierra Leone juries have returned verdicts tainted by racial bias, in which specific cases was this done? (3). When assessors have been appointed to act as jurors and find the facts, by what right is their finding of facts overruled by the Bench?"

Now it is clear that this is the position the people, have invariably taken and yet our Government has always sought to impress them that they were wrong in their judgment. It is but right now that the position be revised and if the force of Truth and British Fairplay can influence its parochial bias by all means let it assume the courage if not for the importunity of the people, for the honour and dignity of the Great British Throne and its Noble Occupant, a supreme lover of Justice and Fairplay, to do the right. West African students in London have arraigned themselves on the side of the people. The *West Africa* has stood in the breach and sounded the imminent call for action one way or the other. *Truth* on the side of truth has taken up the people's wail and has thrown its influence and status on the side of fairplay, calling on[illegible] thorough examination of the entire situation. Then, what next? Will our local Government continue to use its abundant power and ride rough shod against the appeal for fairplay and the dictates of its own conscience? If we should for a moment suppose that this will be the case, will it be safe? Safe for those who are standing in the way of Justice, Truth and Equity? Will it be safe whilst the ashes of the dead, the broken hearts of many a forelorn mother, the anguish of some poor, hopeless, unfortunate victims of human vengence and erring dogmatism, present an ardent but effective urge for Divine intervention, will all these be lost in the breeze and fail to move to some action, the Government of this Colony to grant the needed relief? If Dr. BRIGHT is wrong in the essential facts, "let him be piloried," "let him be brought to book"; but not by means of the Assessors Ordinance. From hence-forth, this Ordinance after the pronounced judgments of the British people who have spoken on the subject, fearlessly and independently must be regarded as an instrument of wrong against an unfortunate people and at any time an overriding of the opinion of the assessors by any judge takes place, it must be appreciated that the only justification for this would be the concession of a cruel law, which will never absolve him from the final consequences of wrong done to an innocent person. At any time a judge refuses to state a case when he has chosen to exercise his tremendous option, it must also be on the distinct understanding that he may be within the four corners of a wicked and unrighteous law, but he would by no means be absolved from the tremendous responsibility which sends down into dark cold oblique an innocent but helpless person. But what of the law of Retribution? What of the engagements of moral consequences? Are these nothing for serious consideration? Can the thoughts history has marshalled be successfully washed out of the mind whilst the matter is given a summary dismissal by the well-known expression the judge in the case of CALEB JOHNSON used, when he overruled the unanimous opinion of the Assessors. *I take the responsibility.* Responsibility! Yes there is a responsibility which every man must take for his action and eventually face. Our case has been registered on high; we are on the heights with the Immortals. Let us all know that. But meanwhile it is our present duty to pull in one direction as a people to uphold the hands of those who have become the instrument of our salvation. We are anxious that our new Governor should not enter into the inheritance of the past, so far as this matter is concerned. We sincerely hope he will not be compelled as a matter of policy to support the wrongs which as have now been clearly established, the people have suffered from the hands of the Government.

Every avenue has been exploited by Government in the way of justification of its policy. Every imaginary or hypothetical case has been exploded. The position is getting very awkward. Government is getting to compromise the basic principle on which the foundation of its authority is built. For how long will this continue—How long will such a state of slavery exist? Grave inconsistency!

There is a future and there is a minute paper awaiting to be dealt with ere we put out "at the moaning of the bar." Then let men beware, remembering that a retribution, which is more inevitable from being slow, awaits every violation of the moral law.

Race Problem - 1927

Africa

EXTERNAL EXAMINATION AND ITS VALUE AMONGST MODERN EDUCATIONISTS.

In view of the great efforts Mr. KEIGWIN the Director of Education has been making to put the Educational situation in this Colony on some sounder basis than has hitherto been the case, we are anxious that the place of external examination should be determined in the scheme of reorganization. The condition hitherto adopted by this Government has not touched the situation in any degree. The fact is that hitherto we have not had the man suitable to give the educational policy the kind of basis suitable to the needs and condition of the people. Whatever our Government may say of its efforts to bring light to the souls of our Protectorate youths by means of the school at Bo, it is a manifest fact, revealed in the finished products of that Institution that it has failed to develop those boys in their own groove and setting. They lack originality and have not been able to make two blades of grass grow where there was one. We speak generally. The stress hitherto laid on the importance of examinations has been shown to be unbalanced and we hope this fact will be appreciated and taken account of. We publish some excerpt from the *Daily Telegraph* of addresses delivered at a conference of the National Union of teachers held last month setting forth the considered views of the Union on the subject of examinations.

We desire to place some emphasis on what was said by Mr. D. C. PUGH to the effect that

> "The external examinations could not adequately test efficiency or progress. Information which was really the least important part of education could be tested more or less readily but the essentials which make up character could not. The three Rs could be examined, but if divorced from higher training were apt to lead to a fourth r—rascality. If accuracy in the three r's was made the hallmark of efficiency, truth, beauty and goodness were apt to be neglected and to be deemed immaterial. Mere mechanical tests imposed by external examiners tended to retard the progress of true education and conditioned the teaching. External examination would reduce teachers from artists to artisans. Teachers and scholars would become "cribbed cabined and confined," in their outlook. They would resemble horses with blinkers on gazing fixedly on the goal of external exam."

We are glad for the hopeful signs the new Director of Education has been putting forth. His efforts to reorganize the educational situation of this Colony have shown some pleasant surprises. We trust the Teachers and Managers of schools will give him the support he so richly deserves. With reference to the Mabang Academy we are glad to note that Professor ABAYOMI COLE for whom we understand his co-trustees had been waiting to give effect to the scheme Mr. KEIGWIN has adumbrated is expected. We are certain the new Director will find in Professor COLE the man after his own heart.

INCREASING DEATH RATE IN THE COLONY.

A contemporary of ours called attention last week to the increase in Infant Mortality. It has been not only in the case of infants but also with adults. Not only in the City of Freetown but in the villages. There is no doubt that some efforts are being made to cope with the difficulty but hitherto this has not met the case. A careful examination of the weekly report of deaths in the city appearing in the local papers will reveal that the toll of death falls heavily on the Protectorate people resident in the city. It is a fact that they have not as yet been able to contribute their quota towards the sanitary requirements in the maintenance of their health. There is the question of overcrowding as also the matter of neglecting to avail themselves of early application for medical assistance at the hospital. Apart from the fact that many of them are not able to provide for the proper sustenance of their bodies, the food they need. In their own country there is the law of communal sympathy by which a liberal supply of food may be obtained though one may not be in the position to afford it. In Freetown this is not so. Every one has to provide for himself and it is a fact that this is not always possible. The arrangement of Tribal Rulers in the city has a good deal to compass before it could prove the advantage it is intended. There is no doubt that the need to regulate the ingress in the city of the Protectorate people is getting more and more urgent. Many of them being loafers and idlers do not contribute to the welfare of the City by their being allowed to remain here with no intention to earn an honest livelihood. They contribute to the insanitary conditions of the city. They figure prominently in the police courts as breakers of the law thereby increase the cost of both the Legal and Prison Departments, and dying at the rate they do help to create the urgency of a new cemetery. Whereas if there was some proper arrangements by which they could make themselves useful in the city as they do in their own towns, the Colony would be saved the trouble they now undoubtedly give.

We sincerely hope the Government will realize the need of taking up the matter for the more it is delayed the more difficult for solution it becomes. Then there is the question of the health of the inhabitants of the city and villages. There is no doubt that the death rate has also increased in the villages. In places where for a whole year in the past there may occur only two or three deaths, it is not so at present. The cause of the trouble is due to lack of effective medical assistance. Since Dr. BERINGER upset the good work the dispensers had been doing in the villages there has been a falling off in the health of the people. The arrangement of weekly visits substituted has had sufficient trial and it is beyond any doubt that it has not answered the purpose.

The proposal now on foot by the Government to train subordinate African Assistants in the Medical Department appears to us a reversion to the practice which Dr. BERINGER condemned; for the only fault that he found with the system was that the men had not the necessary training for which it was urged at the time, provision could have been made. At any rate, the people received very valuable assistance when dispensers were stationed in the villages than at present when a doctor pays visits twice a week.

In the matter of Infant Welfare work which commenced so very well we are afraid that the progress of the work will be interfered with for want of sufficient propaganda; there are as yet many who have not availed themselves of the arrangements which this valuable institution offers. Again much could be done by the Tribal Rulers to induce the people of the Protectorate to place themselves under the aegis of the Hospital instead of following their native customs which do not now appear to answer, because they have changed their mode of living and have adopted European habits of food and clothing, which as has happened to the people of the Colony have rendered them susceptible to the troubles they never knew of in their own country. Many young lives are lost in this Colony due to sheer ignorance. It is indeed a mockery to the African people when the land of their birth is becoming so hostile to their health perhaps more hostile than foreigners have found it. In the midst of the large sum spent every year out of the revenue, it is pathetic to think that the people of the land die out like flies because they are unable to stand the changed conditions which European civilization has brought upon them and they do not get effective medical attention

SLAVERY OR "SACRED TRUST."

FINAL.

So far as the arrangements go for the effective carrying out of the several Mandates they are quite as perfect as any human arrangement could be made. The Mandates are obtained according to the degree of intelligence and capacity for development possessed by the several territories. Apart from the provisions are mentioned in our last to secure the proper carrying out of their obligations by the Mandatory Powers, two suggestions have been made which are calculated to meet all existing criticism but they do not as yet seem to be admitted as conditions of practical utility. It has been suggested that it should be within the province of members of the Permanent Mandates Commission to pay visits to Mandated Territories, either by themselves or by means of duly accredited substitutes.

It does not appear that such proposal has met with the natural acceptance one would expect and the question of impracticability has been given such prominence to preclude the acceptance of the proposition. But as pointed out by the author, such unwillingness to encourage and assist such visits carries along the suspicion of a desire to conceal some vital facts. That such hesitation exists is shown by the statement of Mr. AMERY in the House of Commons as follows:—

> "The proposals for visits to mandated territories by the Permanent Mandates Commission or by individual members of that Commission who would inevitably be regarded in the territories as visiting in an official capacity, raises important questions of principle touching the relations of the Mandatory Power with the inhabitants of the territory, and the Mandatory's obligations to the Council of the League of Nations, as well as the League's procedure, not only in this but also in other spheres of its activity. His Majesty's Government are therefore reluctant to express an opinion on a question which would require a thorough investigation and decision by the Council."

This is Officialism of a high order, and we have not the capacity of appreciating the difficulties in the way. We bear in mind that Great Britain is also a Mandatory Power so that from that standpoint, of one interested, it has had the advantage of seeing the difficulties in the way of allowing Visiting Commissions to the several Mandatory Territories with a view of obtaining first hand informations of the real state of things. Thus it is pointed out that this obstacle standing in the way of a Commission visiting Mandated areas, and the fact also that the way is not so favourable for petitions to represent the real grievances of the people

the work of the Permanent Mandates Commission cannot fail to suffer grave prejudice.

There is also the question of Germany asking for a Mandate since she has been received as a member of the League of Nations. It is pretty settled that Germany cannot have the sovereignty of her late Colonies restored to her nor can she expect that any in the possession of some other Nation would be transferred to her, and yet Germany is insistent that there is no reason why she may not exercise a Mandate over other Colonial Territory. There is no doubt that the quick progress Germany has been making to rehabilitate her economic position would justify a favourable consideration of her claim. But what we are anxious should be borne in mind is, to what extent would this be considered, a safe course of action in view of the past history of German Colonising Rule?

Africa is still groaning under the burden of the world's woes. Her rich and overflowing natural resources, her undeveloped and backward strides in the march to progress and enlightenment, her lack of educational advantages to meet her critical situation have all conspired to make her the pawn of the civilized Nations. It is certainly a stage of advancement from being the victim of indiscriminate scramble, to be followed by punitive expeditions and then the planting of a national flag after some semblance of what is too well known as terms of treaty, to be under the patronage of the leading civilized Nations as are represented in the League of Nations. So far as we have been taken into confidence by Mr. HARRIS who has written disinterestingly, and set a seal to sacred duty to give expression to the investigations he has made on the most serious question of Slavery, there is still an urgent need for these Great Powers led by Great Britain to demonstrate that they regard as a "sacred trust," the conservation of the interest of weaker races.

The Law books have marked out the duties of Trustees and the consequence of failure on the part of such Trustees in carrying out such duties. It does not matter whether it concerns a Nation or an individual; the responsibility remains the same. Whilst we ought to be thankful that there are men of the stamp of Mr. HARRIS and such other leaders of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society and of other kindred associations who have unfailingly been keeping the fire burning and have given themselves no rest in their endeavours to keep in touch with the helpless and backward races of the world, to know of their circumstances, to expose injustice, wrongs and exploitations, we think it ought to be an accepted universal policy by the civilised Nations to rule out every plan which carries along the intention to mete out wrong to another, because by so doing some advantage may be gained, and to justify the act by some semblance of righteousness with a view to ward off detection.

The world is full at the present time of unrest and troubles. Disagreement, feud and never ending struggle to gain supremacy are the order of the day. Since the great Cataclysm of 1914 when the civilised world paid so dearly for liberty and freedom it was thought that the end of such strife would have been reached. But there has been a terrible laughter from the skies at the rank folly of mankind.

Never has there been such continuous trend of discord, disunion, strife scattered all over the world as have been after Armistice had been signed. The very Nations who were plunged in the great war are still not satisfied with the losses they have sustained They seemed to make light of the situation. So that whilst these powers are engaged to put their houses in order, it becomes difficult to persuade even a simpleton that the affairs of the weak and helpless races will receive that care and attention which have been so wisely marked out in Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant. Nevertheless, we think there is going to be, perhaps we may not tell the time, but as certain we are that it will be at the fulness of time—a Divine intervention when the proud and selfish nations who make a delight to oppress and exploit weaker races of the *earth will* be brought to answer for their wrong doings and the day of redemption will dawn for which we believe Mr. HARRIS and his associates are spending their life blood. We congratulate Mr. Harris for the success of his great effort and for the stimulus he has undoubtedly given to many here and there to live for the good of others.

Recently the South African News papers have been publishing some nightmare stories by one Obermiller, a traveller who came into Basutoland for no unexplained purpose and who does not explain whether he was provided with any passports for entering the territory or not and for what purpose he visited the territory. His nightmare stories are monstrous and do not reveal the reason for the altogether unexceptional and unheard of treatment he alleges to have received at the hands of the Basuto boot leggers from which he managed "to get away with his life." Mr. Obermiller is not the first traveller whatever has come into Basutoland since Basutoland was Basutoland and there have been many of them. Not a single one of these strange travellers has ever had a complaint or charge against the Basuto to the extent that he managed to get away with his life. The charge which Obermiller has levelled against the Basuto is not only directed against them but also against the Administration of this territory and the lame explanation published does not wash away the blur. Since when have the Basuto become cut-throats that they would threaten the life of an ordinary traveller more especially if that traveller was white? Is our government not alive to the smuggling liquor and arms that a common globe-trotter like Obermiller should be the first to detect it and to bring it to public notice? All the main passes or ports of entry are closely—guarded and it seems strange that such wholesale liquor smuggling and gun running should escape the sharp eyes of the police whose movements much have been very suspicious from the way he is described by "Mountaineer" in "The Friend." It is also strange that this gentleman should have had the misfortune to be chased by natives and dogs without giving any reason why they did so or whether there was any provocation on his or their part. There are always two sides to a quarrel and if what Obermiller states is true then he must have been the cause of the treatment he received. Such travellers like this should be not allowed to travel through this territory at pleasure as they seem to be bent on mischief.

Education And The People.

(by E.J.M)

There seems to be doubt to many of us as to whether our nation will ever attain that required standard of development. They deem it an impossibility that a native can be on the same level with the European. They are perhaps discouraged by such expressions as those that were once stated by one of the leading persons among the white community in South Africa when he said that a native was but a child of 8 years compared with the grey-haired European. It took the Europeans 2000 years to reach their present stage of development and civilization, and how could a native think of doing that in "fifty" years' time or so? Yes, such words as these are discouraging to many, but many reasons can be given which can doubtless refute that statement.

In the first place, we may ask the questions "what can prevent the native from doing so whereas he is made in the same image of God as the European? How did the American negroes attain their present stage of development? Did it take them (the American negroes) 2000 years to reach their present degree of progress as it did the grey-haired European? If so what now can prevent the natfve to be on the same level with the European if he really aspires to? The only chief defect with the native is that only a handful of them are aiming at that level. A good number of them are going to and fro; no operation amongst them They evidently still need self-sacrificing men to lead them to the paths of efficiency. Is this not a fact? Yes a good type of leadership is still inpispensable among our native folk, colloquially speaking, I may say "they wish to be given milk with the hand to drink as babies They seem to forget that "only by the sweat of his brow will a man live They ought not to expect that they will reach that standard of develoment only through the instrumentality of their enlightened brethern. They must work hard and assist in every possible way to effect their progress.

There prevails the greatest evil among our native people—the greatest—which, unless it is rooted out, will ever hinder our progress and that as far as matters are concerned, the government is now willing to give a native as much education as he requires, it is he "the native' who does not accept this precious gift accordingly and use it on proper channels.

the work of the Permanent Mandates Commission cannot fail to suffer grave prejudice.

There is also the question of Germany asking for a Mandate since she has been received as a member of the League of Nations. It is pretty settled that Germany cannot have the sovereignty of her late Colonies restored to her nor can she expect that any in the possession of some other Nation would be transferred to her, and yet Germany is insistent that there is no reason why she may not exercise a Mandate over other Colonial Territory. There is no doubt that the quick progress Germany has been making to rehabilitate her economic position would justify a favourable consideration of her claim. But what we are anxious should be borne in mind is, to what extent would this be considered, a safe course of action in view of the past history of German Colonising Rule?

Africa is still groaning under the burden of the world's woes. Her rich and overflowing natural resources, her undeveloped and backward strides in the march to progress and enlightenment, her lack of educational advantages to meet her critical situation have all conspired to make her the pawn of the civilized Nations. It is certainly a stage of advancement from being the victim of indiscriminate scramble, to be followed by punitive expeditions and then the planting of a national flag after some semblance of what is too well known as terms of treaty, to be under the patronage of the leading civilized Nations as are represented in the League of Nations. So far as we have been taken into confidence by Mr. HARRIS who has written disinterestingly, and set a seal to sacred duty to give expression to the investigations he has made on the most serious question of Slavery, there is still an urgent need for these Great Powers led by Great Britain to demonstrate that they regard as a "sacred trust," the conservation of the interest of weaker races.

The Law books have marked out the duties of Trustees and the consequence of failure on the part of such Trustees in carrying out such duties. It does not matter whether it concerns a Nation or an individual; the responsibility remains the same. Whilst we ought to be thankful that there are men of the stamp of Mr. HARRIS and such other leaders of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society and of other kindred associations who have unfailingly been keeping the fire burning and have given themselves no rest in their endeavours to keep in touch with the helpless and backward races of the world, to know of their circumstances, to expose injustice, wrongs and exploitations, we think it ought to be an accepted universal policy by the civilised Nations to rule out every plan which carries along the intention to mete out wrong to another, because by so doing some advantage may be gained, and to justify the act by some semblance of righteousness with a view to ward off detection.

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As far as matters are concerned, the greatest evil There prevails the great—the great-government is now among our native people—the great-native as much education as he requires, it is he "the native' who does not accept this precious gift accordingly and use it on proper channels. will ever hinder our progress and that evil is "envy."

Race Problem - 1927

Africa.

BOOKS ON PRESENT-DAY AFRICA.

"The New Africa," by Dr. Donald Fraser (Edinburgh House Press, 2, Eaton Street, S.W.1, 2s.), is a survey of the Africa of to-day, and of the forces which are moulding the future. On many problems, the book records differing opinions, for circumstances differ widely throughout the continent, but the general outlook is that of the sanest type of modern missionary, and Dr. Fraser shows that the principles underlying the treatment of all African problems are those of Christian co-operation, equality, and unity. The equality referred to is that of right to opportunity, for Dr. Fraser is among those who question the existence of any inherent superiority in any one race, the "Nordic" included. The unity required is that of principle between Government, trader, and missionary. On matters educational, Dr. Fraser expresses what is probably the experience of the majority of workers in Africa, that paper schemes must give place to the human element as the controlling factor. He strongly advocates the best possible training for teachers, but points out that neither Uganda nor Nyasa could have been educated as they are to-day if the missions had waited for trained teachers. Moreover, literary education is the basis of all other, and is most important to the permanence of religion, besides checking disintegration by helping wanderers to keep in touch with their own people. "The hope of Africa," he adds, "is in the mass education which is being given rather than the intensive education of the few, and the open ways for development, which are free alike to rich and poor, to Chief and serf."

In administration, Dr. Fraser favours indirect rule, on the principle that a (possibly) poor Government with the goodwill of the people is better than good government with their resentment, but, of course, such rule must not be allowed to stagnate. The fact that he is strongly opposed to the Kenya Forced Labour Bill and the South African Colour Bar Bill will, however, convince any readers prejudiced against indirect rule, if they need conviction, that Dr. Fraser has not the slightest sympathy with any doctrine which would discriminate against the African.

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Under these four heads Dr. Jesse Jones shows that all educational effort may be grouped. The importance of health and sanitation is obvious, but it is hardly accurate to regard the death-rate as an index of the general attainment of one community in relation to others, useful though it may be for internal comparison. Dr. Jesse Jones deplores the tendency for consideration for health be limited largely to the study of ill-health, and in explaining methods of popular education in hygiene he points out that no health campaign which is limited to one section of the people can be a success—a fact only now receiving recognition in most tropical areas. The appreciation and use of environment resolves itself into the problems of "making a living" and "who is my neighbour?"—both difficult of solution in these complicated days, but capable of simplification if education be based on a preliminary survey of local needs. The requirements of the home and the household can be less easily ascertained, but efforts must be made, for, as Dr. Jones says, organised society without home life is unthinkable. The fourth point, recreation, covers a wide field, for it includes every form of human interest, and in spite of an unfortunate conception of it as useless amusement, recreation is a most important corrective and tonic to the individual and the community, and, properly handled in the schools, should solve the problems of character-training. Dr. Jesse Jones gives hints on the use of all these principles in colouring the instruction given, and his book should be most helpful to all who can read without being bound by the letter. His principles, because they are abstractions, are capable of application to all conditions, and though there is a danger that they may be used to try to force educational systems for widely differing peoples into one mould, that is clearly not the author's purpose, for the idea underlying his whole work is adaptation to local needs.

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SIERRA LEONE LETTER.

Certificates of Honour.

Referring to a hope expressed some time ago in WEST AFRICA that Certificates of Honour would not be used to reward services demanding higher recognition, the "Sierra Leone Aurora" says :—

"From this point of view Sierra Leone has a legitimate grievance, which at the time it was thought advisable not to state. The grievance is that one at least of the gentlemen to whom the Certificate was awarded deserved more. We refer to Mr. S. J. S. Bankatt. The honour was conferred on him for his services whilst Mayor of Freetown and for other distinguished public services. Such services in our opinion merit the award of something higher than a certificate which can only be awarded to Africans."

The "Aurora" supports its case with comparisons of the class to which the certificate has been awarded on the Gold Coast, and concludes :—"We trust that in future awards of this honour, which we are ready to concede was inaugurated with the best of intentions, the various Governments will exercise a far better discretion."

Overloading of Boats.

Those who have stood on the shore at Freetown and watched boats come over from Bullom must often have been surprised that apparently no regulations as to overloading seem to be enforced. On one or two occasions recently boats carrying anything from 50 to 60 passengers have sunk, and although, thanks to the promptness of fishermen and of Messrs. Elder Dempster and the Customs, there was no great loss of life, fate will not always be so kind. Very little additional port supervision would be needed to ensure that local boats were not dangerously loaded, and the price would be but a small one to pay for the preservation of even half-a-dozen lives a year.

Educational Grants-in-aid.

The revised arrangements for grants to assisted schools, published in the Sierra Leone "Gazette" of April, bring into force the new system of paying by quarterly instalments two-thirds of the average grant earned in the previous three years. The actual grant will still be based on the number of pupils making the requisite number of attendances, and will vary according to the inspectors' reports. As there are six grades, ranging from "poor" and "fair" to "very good" and "excellent," the inspectors will need to exercise careful judgment. In standards I to VII, the grants vary with grade from 5s. 6d. to 30s., and in infant departments from 5s. to 20s. In secondary schools the limits are 10s. and 60s., while for industrial schools only the maxima are shown, namely, 30s. for first year and 80s. for fourth and fifth year pupils. In training institutions, the grant will be £7 10s. for each second year student who has given a bond to complete a second year's training and to teach for five years in a Government or an assisted school.

The Rev. J. C. May.

The lifework of the Rev. J. C. May, the first Principal of the Wesleyan Boys' High School, Freetown, is well known, and it has been said more than once that he was to his school what Dr. Arnold was to Rugby. On April 4, in the presence of about a thousand people, Sir R. Slater unveiled a bust to his memory in the school compound. The story of Principal May's life was told by the Rev. W. G. Nicol. He was the son of a liberated African who landed in Freetown a century ago, and was later educated in England. James Claudius May originally went to England in 1865 to perfect his commercial education, but he felt a call to undertake preparation for the ministry. In 1871 he returned to Freetown, and three years later the Wesleyan Boys' High School was opened, with May as Principal, a post which he held for the next quarter of a century, to the great benefit of the school and its scholars. The greatness of Mr. May is also witnessed to by Mr. H. S. Keigwin, the Director of Education, who said at a "birthday" meeting of the school that he would do his best to ensure that Principal May was included in the book of prominent Africans then in course of preparation by Messrs. Longman.

The Study of African Culture.

A writer in the "Sierra Leone Weekly News," who deplores the average Creole's ignorance of African languages, draws attention to the false shame shown by the untravelled Sierra Leonean at the idea of expressing his thought in one of the languages of his country. Still, the Sierra Leonean is to all intents and purposes bilingual, and his second language, "Creole," is one that has the disadvantage of making it unnecessary for him to know any of the dozen or so other tongues commonly spoken, so that there is much excuse for his ignorance. It is, however, not pleasant to Africans to realise that if a Chair of African Culture were set up by a Coast college, its most deserving occupant would as likely as not be a non-African. Perhaps the Society for Historical Research founded last year may do something to improve the position, or those who were interested enough to join the Yoruba study circle started by students at Fourah Bay, or, again, local societies might be formed and seek affiliation with the International Institute for the Study of African Languages.

New Education Rules.

The system of issuing two-thirds of the average grant in quarterly instalments to the assisted schools is being brought into operation in Mr. Keigwin's new education regulations. The amount of the grant ranges from 20s. to 5s. per head for elementary infants' schools, according to the grade in which they are put when inspected, to 60s. to 10s. for secondary schools. Industrial school scholars below the third standard will be treated as elementary, but beyond that grants will run from 30s. to 80s. per pupil, according to degree of training. These grants, of course, represent the maximum obtainable, and may be reduced if the report of the school does not justify the full amount. Grants of £7 10s. for each student in a teacher training institution, will also be forthcoming in respect of students who give the necessary bond to teach for five years after qualifying. The classification of the schools into six grades for grant-earning purposes may lead to unequal grading, owing to the difference between each grade being hardly marked enough.

Criticism of the P.W.D.

The trial and conviction of a Public Works time-keeper in Freetown, as well as in Lagos, is another reminder of the great temptation that exists to add imaginary persons to the pay-sheets for short periods, and so constantly to bleed the public of small sums. Although in the present instance there has been a conviction, the trial showed how useless are some of the signatures that "red tape" demands should appear in support of the pay-sheet. The cashier's initials, however, should not be as valueless as that official suggested, for they should be an admission of his responsibility for the general arithmetical correctness of the amounts shown. A feature that has attracted much attention in Freetown is the alleged dismissal, on the plea that he was a railway striker, of the clerk who reported the frauds, which has led to a report, natural in existing conditions, that his seniors were afraid of his further activities. Apart from any question of defrauding the public, one has heard of pay-sheets being used as a kind of "journal" for the provision of cash from one vote for local purchases on another, but the "Sierra Leone Guardian" in particular, goes further than this, and alleges methodical and continuous pay-sheet frauds in the past by Europeans and Africans. Whether such statements could be supported in an inquiry such as that asked for by the "Guardian" is very doubtful.

The Financial Position.

With the Governor making his annual address in November, it is unavoidable that his figures of revenue and expenditure should only be approximate, so that sessional paper No. 3 of 1927 (Crown Agents, 1s.), issued in March, is of interest for its final dispatches. The first part sets forth the considerations, already explained in the address, which made Sir Ransford Slater apply for permission to transfer part of the development programme to loan works. Fortunately the position has turned out less serious than was anticipated, the revenue and expenditure for the past year being £854,043 and £952,553 respectively. The deficit anticipated was nearly £33,000, but since "savings" were principally on extraordinary works, this merely meant that work had not been done, and that funds would have to be re-voted in 1927. Surplus balances at the end of 1926 amounted to £321,734, of which £112,486 was reserved for completion of the development programme, £16,000 was needed for re-votes, as above, and £60,000 was tied up in stores, etc. Allowing for expenditure which would now be refunded from loans, the unappropriated balance was £183,323, and the financial position was thus sound enough for necessary new services such as coast lighting and road improvement to be considered. Sir Ransford's last dispatch closed on a note of optimism, for although it would be premature to count on the mineral possibilties just discovered, agriculture was making progress. The export of kernels, 65,000 tons, was a "record," and although the United Kingdom had imported less, owing, it is said, to over-stocking, Germany's imports had risen from 8,000 to 25,000 tons, facts which encourage a belief that this year, when Great Britain enters the market fully again, the exports will continue to increase. The first month of the new year shows little change, but the official optimism is shared by some of the mercantile community.

Scientific Education at Freetown.

Messrs. Evans and Musson, of the Prince of Wales School, Freetown, deserve the gratitude of all interested in education for offering to give up their spare time to conduct classes in chemistry and physics for teachers, and so to make more widely available the exceptional provision for scientific study possessed by the School. No fees are to be charged, and serious students of either sex, other than teachers, may also join if they wish, while if the effort wins popular approval and support it is hoped gradually to organise a scheme for continuation classes in science during the week.

The Nigerian Post Office has now installed a wireless set for the reception of Rugby news messages. Hitherto these have been received on a private set.

DOCTOR MOLEMA.

That unobtrusive but worthy medical practitioner Dr. Silas Modiri Molema, M.B., Ch. B. Glasgow, has lately been a target for a discreditable attack by prejudiced Europeans who dislike all marks of Native progress. In his ability as a doctor, author, command of excellent English, and as a gentleman in social life, he is well to be envied by most white professional men in South Africa. He has been loyal to his people and so efficacious have been his healing ministrations that he has attracted many European patients to him. The nurses at the Mafeking Hospital have raised objections to working under his orders solely on grounds of colour prejudice, and many whites with similar racial discrimination have supported these nurses in an appeal to the Government to debar a black man from prosecuting his legitimate profession just because he wears a black skin. This is unfortunately typical of the majority of white South Africa, as is further proved by the unbroken series of anti Native bills that form the subject of discussion in the House of Assembly. We do not know where this Anti Native policy is going to end, but we wish Dr. Molema all power in his work and hope that the more reasonable and unbiassed section of the white population will continue to work for more righteous principles on which alone the future of the country can be secured for good promise.

Graduation Day.

An excellent function took place at Fort Hare last Wednesday when the University of South Africa officially conducted its first Graduation congregation at that centre, the Deputy Vice Chancellor being Prof. A. S. Kidd, M.A., of Rhodes University. The degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred on Alfred John Ferreira, Samuel Oppelt and Thomas Carey. There was a pretty gathering of townspeople, students from the neighbouring institutions of Lovedale, Healdtown and St. Matthews' and other friends. The official address is being printed, and will be on sale shortly.

Race Problem - 1927

Africa

SEE SOLUTION OF AFRICAN LABOR ROWS

Britons Say Natives Own the Land

In the British labor party is again called upon to assume the reins of government it will find itself provided with a fairly definite policy regarding the development of British crown colonies, protectorates and mandated territories in Africa. In a booklet called "Labor and the Empire: Africa," recently published by the Trades Union congress and labor party, information is given about the condition of African labor and the attitude toward black and white workers held by the responsible labor leaders of Great Britain, says the New York Times.

LESS THAN HALF OF POPULATION WHITE

The population of the territory covered in the booklet is about 42,000,000, of whom only some 20,000,000 are white men, including many merchants, planters, capitalists and technical experts. This population is spread over about 2,000,000 square miles and does not include the Union of South Africa, which is a self-governing dominion. The booklet asserts that the natives are taxed much more heavily than the whites and that they have been deprived of practically all their best land, which has been sold or leased to white men at very low rates.

It is explained that there are two quite distinct policies supported by Englishmen in regard to Africa's development. The so-called African policy aims at preserving the land for the natives, while not excluding European capital and enterprise, in so far as they do not hamper the progress of the people. The "European policy," on the other hand, favors the economic development of the country by European syndicates, with the help of hired, or forced, native labor. The first policy is practiced, to some extent, in British West Africa and Basutoland, while the second prevails in Kenya, Nyasaland, Rhodesia and parts of South Africa.

LAND IS PROPERTY OF NATIVES

According to the definite proposals of the British labor party, the land is to be treated as the property of the natives; the taxes should be spent upon health, educational work and agricultural training for the natives; all forms of compulsory labor should be abolished; the color bar should be wiped out, and more attention should be paid the natives' general education, at present quite neglected. Then the labor party would train the natives for eventual self-government by allowing them to participate in municipal administration and later in the legislative councils.

J. H. Thomas, the railroad union leader, who was secretary for the colonies in Ramsay MacDonald's labor cabinet, in a preface to the booklet, says that the application of the policies sketched therein will be one of the most important tasks of any future labor government.

GERMANY IN AFRICA.

CROWDING BACK INTO THE LOST COLONIES.

(By W. J. MAKIN, in the "South African Nation".)

Some surprise, not to say consternation, has been caused by the discovery that the Germans are back again in Africa. Over a hundred a month, we are told, are coming into South-West Africa, and over two hundred a month are entering the former German colony of Tanganyika.

Why there should be surprise and consternation at this fact it is difficult to imagine. In Germany to-day the population is increasing rapidly, unemployment is rife, and it is only natural that the country's surplus workers should seek opportunities overseas. The British tinkers who are horrified at this immigration of Germans into their former colonies seem to imagine that no German should dare to be discovered outside his own restricted boundaries of Europe.

A Natural Tendency.

It is only natural that the German emigrant should seek that part of the world where Germany formerly had her colonies. Not that Germany possessed anything really great in colonies before the war. As a German colonial authority has said of these territories, the fertile ones are in general unhealthy, while the healthy ones are unfertile. When other European settlers are shy of such territories the German immigrant who desires to work there and develop the district should be welcomed wholeheartedly.

There seems to be a fear that this immigration of Germans into Africa again is a furtherance of the policy of "peaceful penetration." There is naturally a desire among many Germans that the colonies of which they were dispossessed at the Treaty of Versailles should be returned to them, that it is unfair that a big and powerful European state should have no territories to develop and assure herself of a supply of raw materials. There are also many English and French political students who believe that this ruthless seizure of Germany's overseas possessions may easily provoke another war, a war of expansion in the future.

But in Africa the problem has to be regarded from a different standpoint. Africa is developing a political unity of its own, and frontiers and ports are becoming of great importance. The former German colonies here of South-West Africa, Tanganyika, and the Cameroons are all mandated territories, and after eight years of control by the Union of South Africa, Britain, France, and Belgium, there would be strong protests against the return of these territories to Germany.

Alleged Maladministration.

Many German political students, and particularly Dr. Heinrich Schnee, the former Governor of German East Africa, accuse the mandatory powers of maladministration and ruthless spoliation of the territories taken over. There is a certain amount of truth in these criticisms, though the German critics are inclined to forget that the period of the war set back nearly all African territories, and that only now is that set-back being overcome.

After a personal tour of the territories of Tanganyika and South-West Africa, I found it interesting to make comparisons and estimate the value of the mandatory system which was introduced by General Smuts in the peace discussions at Versailles. It must be admitted that it is not working too brilliantly.

The British mandate of Tanganyika has brought with it an overwhelming number of officials. Dar-es-Salaam is crowded with their offices, and in importance and numbers they outweigh the commercial community. Germans are certainly crowding into the country at the rate of over 200 a month, asserts a Kenya newspaper, but they are chiefly settlers travelling to the interior to farm.

With the British mandate has come a tremendous Indian problem. I was told that, immediately after the war, the Receiver of Enemy Property in Tanganyika allowed many farms and wealthy tracts of land to be bought by Indian traders. The country is now faced with the same problems that are overwhelming Kenya, and so far there seems to be no solution. All Britishers in the territory assert that the return of Tanganyika to the Germans is unthinkable, but this assertion does not always conceal a tone of anxiety.

In South-West Africa the Union Government can congratulate itself on the best showing of all the mandatory powers. There may have been trouble with the natives, who, as also under German rule, have proved themselves fiercely independent and warlike. The necessity for dealing with these outbreaks has aroused criticism in the League of Nations. Yet in the attitude towards the German settler and the definite desire to develop the country the Union Government has an excellent record, and one which has aroused the admiration of the Germans themselves.

Even that stern critic of the mandatory powers, Dr. Heinrich Schnee, pays a tribute to the Union in his latest book. "It is a simple act of justice to say that it was only in the Union of South Africa that a humane policy, and one in accordance with international law, was followed in the treatment of German subjects after the war," he writes.

A Magnanimous Policy.

"The Government of that Dominion refrained from beggaring the Germans of the South-West by expropriating their property without compensation, and even the concessions to which titles could be established were respected. It redounds to the honour of British and Dutch South Africans that when General Smuts announced to the Cape Town House of Assembly the decision so to act his words were received with repeated cheers from all sections of the House."

The tour through South-West Africa of the Prime Minister, General Hertzog, has also had a tremendous effect. One may say that most Germans in the territory now recognise and enthusiastically accept the Union mandate. They are on the way to becoming good South Africans, and if in the future South-West becomes part of the Union, the Germans in the territory are likely to wholeheartedly support the move.

Their own German atmosphere has been allowed to remain. Swakopmund and Luderitzbucht are still as German as they were before the war, but the permeation of the South African spirit is also in evidence. Divorced from the militarism of their own country the Germans find in the Union Government's control all the comfort and political freedom they desire. Geographically and economically South-West is an essential part of the Union. And the German inhabitants themselves accept the position.

BLACK AFRICAN CHIEF AIDE TO MAHOMET

According to J. A. Rogers in The Messenger Bilal Ibn Rabah was one of the original disciples of Mahomet who withstood torture and was one of his warrior priests and continued after the prophet's death, having great influence until he died.

BROOKLYN EAGLE

MAY 10 1927

THE THIRD TERM—IN LIBERIA.

Only persons of negro blood can vote in Liberia. Tradition regards persons of negro blood as somewhat given to superstition, especially in Africa. Tradition is traversed, assuredly, when the third-term bogy, before which the Caucasian United States is supposed to tremble, is defied in Liberia. Charles D. B. King has just been elected President for the third time, beating T. R. Faulkner, a former American negro, by 60,000. The Kru tribes, the Kpwesi, the Greboes, the Gissi, and even the Mohammedan Mandingoes, will accept the result without controversy. They are not barred from the franchise technically, but do not vote because of the landholding qualification.

Harvey Firestone has carried boom times to the Liberians. With the desire of breaking forever the British domination of the rubber market, he is spending millions in clearing forests and in constructing a great modern port at Monrovia. He owes his concessions to the King administration, and the turning down of King would have meant swapping horses while crossing a stream. About 15,000 natives are already on the Firestone payroll. We congratulate Liberia on the evidence that she is freer from superstition than the United States.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

George Ekem Ferguson, C.M.G.

When the Ashanti Expeditionary Force of 1895-96 had returned to the coast with the captive Prempeh, the Gold Coast Government, no doubt, congratulated itself on having removed the last obstacle to its peaceful control of the hinterland. European encroachments on the territory to the north of Ashanti had been stopped by agreements with France and Germany delimiting their respective spheres of influence, and there did not appear to be any native power capable of disputing the British advance northwards. Mr. George Ekem Ferguson, an African official, had been employed in treaties in negotiating and concluding treaties with Chiefs in districts on both sides of the River Volta, and had been awarded a gold watch by the Royal Geographical Society in recognition of his work in surveying the interior on which the first correct maps were based. This vision of peace was broken by the irruption into British territory of a noted Mahomedan leader of brigands, known as Samory, who had been a source of trouble to both French and British for nearly twenty years. While Sir Francis Scott's force was marching back to the coast a small expedition was on its way to Bontuku to get into touch with Samory, but while professing friendship for the British he refused to meet the officer in charge. In the following November a force of 100 Hausas commanded by Lieut. Henderson, R.N., to which Mr. Ferguson was attached, was sent to occupy Bona and Boli, in order to keep open the caravan route to the north. The latter town was found to be occupied by Samory's men, who evacuated it on the approach of the British force. After waiting there some weeks the mission advanced to Wa in January, 1897, and erected a fort. Leaving fifty men as a garrison, Lieut. Henderson took Mr. Ferguson and the rest of his force to Dawkta, whence he sent a message to Samory's son, who was in command of the brigands, that future raids would be regarded as hostile acts. In his reply, the Sofa commander stated that he had no quarrel with the white men, whom he advised to retire across the Volta, as he intended to capture Dawkta immediately. Within a few hours a force of 8,000 men attacked the town and, after four days obstinate resistance, entered it. Two men of the British force had been killed, and Mr. Ferguson and five men had been wounded when Mr. Henderson made a sally, succeeded in passing through the besiegers' lines, and reached Wa the next day. That town was at once surrounded by the Sofas, and, seeing resistance to be hopeless Mr. Henderson went to the Sofa headquarters, where he was politely received, but, on refusing to make his force surrender, was made prisoner. The officer left at Wa, following the instructions for such a case, evacuated Wa the same night, and retreated to Yariba. On the way Mr. Ferguson, having been abandoned by his carriers, was shot and beheaded by the Sofas. Now that Wa is one of the headquarters of British rule, Mr. Ferguson's widow, and some members of his family, have gone thither to erect a memorial to him. In granting £147 towards the expense of this pious pilgrimage, the Gold Coast Government is paying a well-deserved tribute to the memory of one of its most brilliant African officials.

Samory.

The West African Mahdi, Almami Samodu, commonly called Samory, was a negro (probably a Mandingo) of Segu, who had raised himself from a very humble position to that of conqueror and ruler of a territory extending from the hinterland of Sierra Leone to that of the Gold Coast. The annexation of Futa Jallon by the French first brought them into conflict with Samory's hordes, mostly Mandingos, and known as Sofas (a corruption of Sufis), who professed themselves followers and propagators of Islam, but preferred making slaves to making converts of the pagans, as, when converted, they could not be lawfully enslaved. In 1885 Samory was attacked by the French, and his raids were checked for a time. In August of that year a mission from him arrived at Freetown which stated that Samory was desirous of British protection. Sir Samuel Rowe, then Governor, appears to have considered this as merely an expression of politeness, and did not report it to the Colonial Office till June, 1886. Samory, however, had then accepted the protection of the French, whose attacks had so crippled him that he was glad to obtain peace by agreeing to confine his operations to the right bank of the Niger. He used the respite to recover his strength and to make slave raids to the south, till the defeat of his ally, the Sultan of Segu, by the French led him to make a fresh treaty with them in February, 1887, which he repudiated three months afterwards. He and his Sofas harried the pagan tribes undisturbed until, in 1891, the French resumed action against him. As it was his custom, when hard pressed by the French, to retire into and devastate British territory, a force was sent up from Freetown to stop him. While this force was encamped at Waima it was fired upon by a French force, which was also pursuing Samory, at daybreak on December 23, 1893. The fire was returned, and a heavy and well-sustained fire was maintained, each party believing itself to be opposed by Sofas, who were known to be in the neighbourhood. Several men of the British force were killed or wounded, for which the French Government paid compensation in 1903. In January, 1894, the Sofas, having been heavily defeated at Bagbuwima (Sierra Leone Protectorate), Samory began to move eastward through the hinterlands of Liberia and the Ivory Coast, and reached Bontuku (Sefwi) in the latter part of 1895. After his contact with the British he moved northward in the hope of breaking the ring which the French were drawing round him, and it was not till October, 1898, that he was brought to bay and defeated by a French force commanded by Lieut. Woelfel, when he was taken prisoner and exiled to the Gaboon.

The Raiders.

Whatever efforts the earliest Mahomedan invaders may have made to spread the true faith, it is certain that by the middle of last century their jehads had become mere slave raids. From Lake Tchad to the Atlantic the Fulas and their allies were harrying the pagans with a blind ferocity which caused the depopulation of vast districts. The suffering caused to West Africa by Christian slave trading has been almost compensated by its deliverance from the Mahomedan slave raiders. The deliverance of Nigeria began with the Niger Company's subjection of Nupe and Ilorin in 1897, and was completed by the conquest of the northern emirates by Sir Frederick Lugard, who said that there was "probably no part of the Dark Continent in which the worst forms of slave raiding still exist to so terrible an extent." While Sir Frederick was dealing with the raiders in the east, the last in the west was being rounded up by the British and French. Fodi Kabba, who had been expelled from the Gambia and had taken refuge at Mandina, in French territory, was besieged in his fortress and killed in 1901. His allies in British territory were made prisoners and tried by the Supreme Court at Bathurst, three being hanged and six deported. By the end of 1902 slave raids had ceased, and population began to flow back to the districts whence it had been driven by the raiders.

Sir Abe Bailey and the Natives.

[TO THE EDITOR "IMVO."]

Sir,—In your issue of the 3rd May, your leading article containing comments and criticisms on what you call a post-prandial speech made at Queenstown by Sir Abe Bailey called forth for the staunch support of all your intelligent readers. As you say, Sir, the speaker claimed to be an old Boer on his Native policy and was all out to support General Hertzog because he thought it would be suicidal to allow any more Natives on the voting registers. Well! well! One cannot really take some people seriously on any question be it however important just because of their lack of reliability and consistency. Sir Abe Bailey gave his support, unreservedly, to those of his countrymen who brought about the Boer War, who gave as one of their strong reasons for it that "the Boer Native Policy was tyrannical and utterly unworthy of any civilised nation" To day, to suit his purposes politically or otherwise, he turns round and has the seeming audacity bordering on brazen faced impudence) to say to those very countrymen whom he supported years ago, "No, I am an old Boer on the Native Question," and almost with the same breath adds: "I am not for a policy of injustice or repression, but the iron hand must be there." It is utterly useless on the part of Sir Abe Bailey to go behind the bosh. What he should have said straightforwardly and with the courage of a man of principle was, "Yes, I am an old Boer after all on the Native Question. I am for a policy of injustice and repression and the iron hand must be there," just exactly as those countrymen of his declared the Boer native policy to be. The native has proved himself a better workman on the mines, where Sir Abe Bailey has amassed most of his wealth, than the China man he imported from China years back. He subsequently had to fall back upon the Native. Surely Sir Abe Bailey has forgotten that there is an All loving Providence looking at all this turmoil which is being intentionally brewed by speeches of this nature. To say "I was prompted by fear of the Native and by a keen desire to play for safety by protecting the economical and political interests of the white races" is a shameful declaration and unloyal admission of the weakness of British traditions made up of justice, right and honour. The men who built the tower of Babel were infused with the same fear, and you know Mr. Editor, what was the end of it all. The Editor of a "Christian Journal," in reply to a correspondent's question, once said: "You may carry your religion into politics, but you must not carry your politics into religion." In conclusion I think Sir Abe Bailey will be well advised to "go and do likewise." His quotations from Holy Scriptures will not help him in the least to fortify his positon made up of the sod-bricks of race-prejudice, race-hatred and race pride as it apparently is.

Thanking you Mr. Editor,

Yours,

A NATIVE

Native Administration Bill.

A worthy correspondent communicates to us as follows: "Sir,—I am calling your attention to the Native Administration Bill now before the House. As far as I am concerned I must state that I am opposed to it both on principle and as it is a measure based on colour and a reversal of all that has been done both in civilisation and in Christian religion, such a policy I must resist to the last. The Government are trying to achieve by a side attack what they ought to attain by direct means.

(a) They make sedition to Natives what will not be sedition to Europeans

(b) They propose different Title Deeds to Natives exchanging the originals from lands granted to them by the former governments for new lands.

(c) They are repealing Act 39 of 1887.

(d) They establish native courts to remove them from the protection of the Supreme Court.

(d) They want to remove people

In all this I find that the real object is to weaken the rights held by the Natives in the Cape; also to neutralise their citizenship rights. I have therefore intimated to my Member my opposition to the measure and have recommended its postponement until it is considered by representatives of Natives elected by the Natives themselves. I have no quarrel with civil cases being dealt with by Chiefs and Headmen, which particularly concern Natives in their locations, but it is a mistake to force every native to be under Native Law. It is against the traditions of our Law. The abolition of Exemption spells slavery of the worst type.'

Race Problem - 1927

Africa.

A PRINCE AND A GREAT MAN."

London Sympathisers' Memorial Service to Dr. Aggrey.

It was appropriate that the Church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square, which, through its broad Christianity, is known throughout the Empire, should have been the scene, on Friday evening, August 19, of the memorial service to Dr. Aggrey, arranged by the West African Students' Union in Great Britain.

Side by side with the leading members of the African community in London were many English men and women, including representatives of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Colonial Secretary, the missionary societies and students' associations, as well as Major-General Grey and other business men connected with the Gold Coast and other parts of West Africa.

"Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?" was the text of the funeral oration delivered by Rev. M. J. Elliott, D.D., a former Wesleyan missionary in West Africa. Quoting largely and appreciatively from men like Sir Gordon Guggisberg and the Rev. A. G. Fraser, Principal of Achimota, who had known Dr. Aggrey so intimately and well during the latter portion of his life, Dr. Elliott said that these words were the most appropriate he could think of to the world's bereavement in Aggrey's passing. "We hold him in high honour," he continued, "but are sure he would emphatically desire us to glorify God in him.' Unassuming and genuinely humble, utterly free from egotism, he would deprecate any exaggeration of himself, though exaggeration would be difficult, and he would be the readiest to say, 'By the grace of God, I am what I am.' God was very real to him. Aggrey himself said, with no trace of irreverence or cant or pride, 'God and I are on good terms. He understands me and makes me work harder every day because he has so much faith in me.' He said moreover, 'I am glad I am black. God knew His business when he made me so.' He was both a prince and a great man. He bore all the marks of a real prince, a striver, a wrestler with God, and ruler over self, and then a prevailer with others. But prejudice is hard to kill, and the royal disposition manifest in his quiet but unostentatious dignity some blindly misjudged as conceit, a feeling foreign to his nature, for he was one of the humblest of men. Self-assertion, aggressiveness and vanity are found in little men, but Aggrey was not little, and these found no place in his make-up. He was ambitious only for the best of which he was capable, for his own sake and for his people's. Because he did not show resentment for slights and insults to which he was subjected—by little men—it does not follow he did not feel these things. He felt them keenly. But he ruled his own spirit, and could afford to let them pass. He possessed in a remarkable degree that winsomeness and charm of disposition which so many Christians lamentably fail to manifest. He is described as a man who was 'eternally cheerful.'"

Referring to his devotion to the truest interest of his people, home and country, and his loyalty to constituted government, Dr. Elliott went on: "To the service of this government, whose mistakes and misunderstandings no one had done more to correct than he, he devoted himself ungrudgingly, for his people's sake. He would have done much to further progress on right lines, at an accelerated pace, and to him the main factor in attaining this object was creating and fostering a better mutual understanding between the races. His death at this juncture is an inscrutable Providence. Some day we shall doubtless understand the meaning of this calamity, but meantime, it bewilders us. We think of the orphaned Achimota. Perhaps his memory may compel men to think and act as to hasten the realisation of its ideal. Dr. Aggrey will not then have lived and died in vain. We deeply sympathise, too, with his sorrowing wife and children and with his aged mother.

"He was a genuine Christian, whose faith was childlike but not childish—robust, faith working by love, not only an emotional but an intelligent and volitional act; the assent of his great mind, the consent of his great will, and the trust of his tender heart. This noble life is full of lessons for his African compatriots, because of his example of what an African can be and do when his heart is right with God and he truly loves God and his fellowmen. He has taught us English Christians to show a kinder, less patronising, more sympathetic interest in the many young Africans who come among us."

The service closed with the notes of the "Last Post" and the reveille outside the church, and with the singing of an African dirge by Mr. Lapido Solanke, Secretary of the West African Students' Union, probably the first occasion one has been sung in a London church.

Among those present were:—Hon. E. O. Moore, M.L.C. (Nigeria), Hon. Dr. Bankole Bright, M.L.C. (Sierra Leone), Dr. M. R. L. Macauley (Nigeria), Mr. V. E. Johnson, Mr. Latunde Johnson, LL.B. (Nigeria), Mr. L. E. V. M'Carthy, B.L., Mr. Thomas W. Mills, junior (Gold Coast), and Messrs. J. W. de Graft Johnson, E. M'Carthy, S. A. Thomas, A. Amfam, A. Esuronbi-Aro, O. Omotoye, C. E. Condua, J. Akanni Doherty, A. F. Ariori, Lapido Solanke, J. Ojo-Cole, F. E. Euba, J. E. Taylor, E. A. Akerele, T. Sarbah, E. N. Eyo, E. A. O. Larbi, Phillips, T. Ayodele Johnson, Adetokunbo Ade Ade Amemola, Minnow, Gwira, Miss L. Bright, J. S. Aidoo, A. H. Koi, O. Ajibade, W. S. Jackson, F. C. F. Grant, and Mr. Clements Kadalie, secretary of the Industrial Workers' Union of South Africa.

Others present were Rev. F. T. V. Narborough (for the Archbishop of Canterbury), Major Hanns Vischer (for Mr. Amery, the Colonial Secretary and the International Institute of African Languages), Professor Alice Werner (London School of Oriental Studies), Mr. W. Wallace Lowell (Royal Colonial Institute), Mrs. Stanley Sowton and Rev. W. T. Balmer (Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society), Rev. David Jenks (Missionary Council of the Church of England), Miss G. A. Gollock and Miss Underhill ("International Review of Missions"), Miss Gibson (International Missionary Council), Mr. H. W. Peet (Conference of British missionary societies), Mr. K. W. S. Jardine (East and West Committee), Miss Currie (Student Christian Movement), Mr. John P. Fletcher and Miss Winifred Cramp (Friends' Council for International Service), Mr. Harold F. Bing (British Federation of Youth), Rev. W. Terry Coppin, late of Cape Coast, Mr. W. F. Hutchison, Mr. J. Barbour James, Mr. and Mrs. Koens, Mrs. Marie Lawrence, Captain T. Boevey Barratt and Mrs. Langley.

The "Gold Coast Gazette" contains the following reference to Dr. Aggrey:

"During the three years of his service under the Gold Coast Government, Dr. Aggrey did work of enduring value for the people of his native country. Not only did he take the utmost pains to explain to his countrymen Government's educational policy, especially as exemplified at Achimota, but he never failed to promote, with striking ability and eloquence, both in the Gold Coast and elsewhere, that harmonious co-operation between the African and European races which is so essential to progress. The death at the very beginning of a new administration of one whom the late Governor rightly described as a patriot and an enthusiast, is a severe blow to Government and people, and his Excellency appeals to all those who shared Dr. Aggrey's hopes for the future of his race not to forget his high ideals and wise counsels."

Copies of the text (without music) of the African dirge which was sung at the service, can be obtained at 6d. each from Mr. Ladipo Solanke, hon. sec., West African Students' Union, 8, Burlington Road, London, W.2.

The Slavery Case.

The second instalment of publicity is very different. It takes the form of a letter in the "Times" from Sir John Simon, in which he discusses the recent slavery decision. He remarks that the case did not involve the refinements of forced labour, but "raised the simple issue whether in the British Protectorate of Sierra Leone the body of one man can belong so absolutely to another that the owner can forcibly recapture the creature when he runs away." After quoting the judgment of the two judges who held that the master could recapture his slave if no more than reasonable force were used, and the view of the dissenting judge that slavery is repugnant to natural justice and not to be upheld by any British Court, Sir John adds that "it would be indeed lamentable if the Chiefs of West Africa were led to believe that they have behind them the support of the highest British authorities for maintaining a system of slave-owning." Hear, hear!

SLAVERY IN SIERRA LEONE.

**The decision of the Supreme Court of Sierra Leone that an escaped slave may be lawfully recaptured by his master is surprising. For in the history of the anti-slavery movement Sierra Leone has an honoured place. It was colonised by a company of philanthropists, including Wilberforce and Granville Sharp, as a refuge for freed slaves, and the name of its capital, Freetown, perpetuates their worthy aims. Zachary Macaulay, the father of the great historian, was Governor of Sierra Leone in the Company's early years and there gained that practical experience of the horror of the African slave trade which made him so powerful an advocate for its abolition. That Macaulay's settlement at this time of day should recognise slavery in any shape or form is indeed a paradox. Yet the case is not quite so bad as it seems. The judgment does not apply to the little Colony round Freetown with an area rather larger than Norfolk and Suffolk and about 80,000 people, but to the Protectorate lying inland, which is as large as Scotland, and has 1,500,000 inhabitants. In the Colony slavery has never existed. In the Protectorate however, domestic slavery of type once universal throughout Africa still survives. The British Administration has tried to abolish it, but as the Protectorate is governed through the tribal chiefs, who are themselves the principal slave-owners, progress has been slow. Last year, however, the Seirra Leone Council, with the consent of the three leading chiefs in the Protectorate, passed an Ordinance which will in time cause slavery to disappear. At the death of a slave-owner all his slaves will be freed; the children born to slaves will henceforth be free; moreover, no slaves can be imported into the Protectorate. Within a generation, therefore, domestic slavery must cease. Nevertheless, the judgment of the Supreme Court must cause misgiving. For the Ordinance provides that "no claim for or in respect of any slave shall be entertained by any of the courts of the Protectorate," and yet the Supreme Court has sanctioned such a claim. Possibly the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council will be able to revise the judgment if an appeal is taken, as it certainly should be. We like to think that Lord Mansfield's famous dictum, that a slave becomes free on touching British soil, has applied to the whole Empire since slavery was abolished in the British Colonies in 1834. And it is true that even the milder forms of domestic slavery are now very rarely encountered under the British flag. But though care must be taken in dealing with "the institution" in wild places like the Sierra Leone Protectorate, it is extremely undesirable that British courts should appear to sanction slavery.—*Daily Telegraph*, August 30.

SLAVES IN SIERRA LEONE.

METHODS OF SETTING THEM FREE.

There has been a regrettable misunderstanding about the number of slaves in Sierra Leone. Dr. Bankole-Bright, M.L.C., one of the African elected members of the Sierra Leone Legislative Council, made a communication which was given in the *Manchester Guardian* last Saturday. In that note Dr. Bright was reported as stating that the number of people still held as domestic slaves in the Sierra Leone Protectorate was 2,500 to 3,000, the purchase of whose freedom would cause something like £10,000.

Mr. John Harris, the well-known organising secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, writing in the *Times* this week, gave the number of slaves in the Protectorate as 215,255. The difference between these estimates, of course, admits of no compromise, and is startling. It was brought to the attention of Dr. Bankole Bright, who to-day explained how the mistake had arisen.

He had understood the question as to the number of slaves to relate only to the area in which the now historic incident took place, and not to the protectorate as a whole. He is, however, unable to understand upon what basis Mr. Harris's figures were arrived at. The population of the Protectorate, always estimated in the loosest and vaguest way, is supposed to be 1,500,000, and Mr. Harris says that about one-seventh of these are domestic slaves. Dr. Bright's estimate is that the total number in the Protectorate still held in any capacity of which the word slavery can be used is 150,000, of whom at least 50,000 have freed themselves by marrying their masters' daughters. This would leave 100,000, and he believes that at most £200,000 would be needed in order to make these people free.

METHODS OF RELEASE.—Dr. Bright says, however, that the freeing of them cannot be done all at once under one enactment, because the masters, only a proportion of whom are chiefs, the others being ordinary farmers, have got to their present position under the protection of laws passed by Sierra Leone itself. He holds that the first step should be the dispatch by the Sierra Leone Government of a small commission, possibly three members, European and African, who should find out the exact facts and number, and then the Government shou'd issue a proclamation calling upon all who consider themselves slaves to come forward and declare their status, their masters being also required to come forward and claim those whom they consider to be bound to them.

Dr. Bright's view is that the relationship is something like that between the "poor whites," or "bijwoners" to many of the South African Boers, the "bijwoner" being usually either a poor relation or a servant who eats at the master's table but has little in the way of money and rarely if ever breaks away from the farm, and that the effect of the proclamation he proposed would be to show that relatively a small number would wish to change their present position. He considers that £200,000 would be the maximum sum involved for compensation, and he thinks, first, that not the British tax-payer but the Sierra Leone Colony itself should provide this money in four yearly sums of £50,000 each, which amount, he is confident, the Sierra Leone revenue would make up by increased production as the result of freeing a certain number of the people. He thinks that the £200,000 should be allocated to the respective owners on the recommendation of the central body of Sierra Leone chiefs, the Government protecting the revenue, however, by having its own auditors to supervise the laying out of the money.

Dr. Bright was asked regarding Mr. Harris's statement on alleged slavery in the hinterland of Liberia, and said that if anything of this nature existed the Liberian Government should deal with it itself. He did not think that an inquiry by a joint commission of Sierra Leone and Liberian officials was practicable.—*Manchester Guardian*. September 9.

MOTOR TRANSPORT IN WEST AFRICA.

An article, "Road Transport in West Africa," appears in the current issue of "Transport Management." It has been contributed by Mr. S. M. Whetton, and conveys much information in detail on the growth and management of transport in that part of the world. It also forms attractive reading to the British manufacturer of motor cars, since it gives him a clear idea of the potential value to him of that market. The following data is extracted therefrom:—

"A few years ago road transport costs were very much heavier than they are to-day, as much as 3s. a ton mile being often charged by big transport owners. To-day, the rate averages about 1s. per ton mile. Even so, the European merchant finds that competitors are often under-selling him, owing to his higher transport charges. This applies to the large European merchants who run their own fleet of lorries, whilst smaller firms employ native-owned transport, owing to its relative cheapness.

Operating costs must be most carefully watched in order to quote competitive rates. The low prices charged by native lorry-owners enable many merchants to sell their goods, in different parts of the country, at a much lower figure than can those who employ British transport.

There are scores of natives owning from one up to twenty lorries each. These carry large quantities of goods and produce, and do practically all the passenger work. The natives secure the passenger traffic by using the light American lorry, which is fast enough for all purposes. They have little use for the heavier British lorries used by European firms.

The average native owner, when reckoning his rates, recognises no costs beyond oil and petrol. He has no idea of overhead expense, or of reserve accounts and depreciation. So long as his lorry can run he is satisfied, and the vehicle is only overhauled when something goes radically wrong.

It is astonishing to see the way these vehicles are overloaded, and the shocking condition into which they are allowed to get. During the cocoa season, which starts about October and finishes usually in March, motor transport is working at high pressure the whole time, and haulage firms make the most of their harvest.

"KING" POTT OF DELAGOA.

Fifty years ago a wiry young Hollander named Gerard Pott, aged 17 years, landed at Lourenco Marques, and rapidly became one of the most powerful financial and mercantile magnates of the great Portuguese East African port city. Up to the end of the Boer war "King" Pott, as he was affectionately known to all who lived at or visited Delagoa Bay, was as near omnipotent in those regions as he could be to a human being. "King" Pott was the agent of the Union-Castle Company, the African Boating Association, the Transvaal Railways, and almost numberless other important concerns, being a man of many parts. His residence was fitted in royal style and equipped with all Eastern comforts; his hospitality was prodigious and proverbial all along the east coast of Africa.

But the prosperity collapsed with the end of the Boer War. When other residents succeeded in realising their war-time profits before peace was signed, "King" Pott waited just a little too long, with the result that he is spending the evening of an eventful and rich life in comparatively modest circumstances. Yet "King" Pott can look back with contentment on his half-century spent at Delagoa Bay, which, when he came to it, was a fever-haunted, swamp estuary with a few ramshackle houses. To-day a beautiful city with broad avenues and palm gardens has risen on that swamp, equipped as a modern harbour, and a Palace Hotel, both second to none in the southern hemisphere, and deservedly a popular winter-health resort of South Africa. In the creation of that fine city and port "King" Pott has taken a prominent part, and on his jubilee as a resident kindly thoughts will go to the old pioneer from many English friends who remembe· his kindly attentions over many years.

Abatshatılleyo.

GANDA—SONJICA.

Nge 21st. September, 1927 u Joseph Ganda, u Mzange e okaya l'se Mount Coke, District King William's Town, uzibopile ngomtshato no Angelina Sonjica um. Tshezi okaya ikwa Mfula, District Tsomo. Ba shatiswe ngu Rev. J. Makalima e Wesi'e, East Bank Location, East London. Ekugalani kwake u Mfundisi ubalule indawo eti, "Zarga zonke ntombi zinga tata umzekelo kule ntombi ka Sonjica. Ingene Intombi etyalkeni ngesi gubungelo yenj nje kuba ez nye ingazibona zisiya ezitadi ngezigubungelo kuba sezi ke zawatya amabatata, kanti isigubungelo esi yinto yase tyalkeni asi ntcy se sitadi." Lomtshato walo mfara wase Mazangweni uke ng mnye ozukileyo apa kule Location yase Cambridge, East London.

TOM MANKAYI.
Mboreli.
Mna,

South African National Council for Child Welfare.

Dear Sir,

In view of the expressed desire of H.R.H. Princess Alice that "Our Children's Day" shall become an annual event throughout the Union, it has been decided that "Our Children's Day" shall be celebrated on the first Saturday in November.

Attached is a summary of the suggestions received from various centres for the celebration of "Our Children's Day." For the sake of convenience they are divided under two headings.

(1) Educational.
(2) Financial.

The Roses, it will be remembered, which it is the wish of Her Royal Highness shall be used as the emblem of the day, are obtainable from your provincial committee whose address is enclosed.

In the meanwhile, you are invited to form a strong local committee representative of all bodies and interests in the community, who will be ready to decide upon the manner best suited to your area for the celebration of "Our Children's Day," and to make the necessary arrangements.

Circulars have been sent to all schools asking them to co-operate with the local committees in their area.

One centre has suggested the desirability of a consultation between members of the local committee for "Our Children's Day and the principals of the schools in the area.

Yours faithfully,

Organising Secretary.

Race Problem - 1927

Africa.

West African Books of the Day

(Specially reviewed for the "West African Monthly Supplement.")

In "Religion and Art in Ashanti" Captain Rattray increases the debt which all students and lovers of West Africa owe him for his previous volume—"Ashanti." He again shows his fine qualifications for the work he taken in hand—the explanation of Akan-Ashanti religion and art to the European world and to the Ashantis and Akans themselves. Speaking the language he is able to dispense with interpreters, who are more often misleaders than guides; he has been able to make friends of the keepers of the traditions, and, by winning their confidence has induced them to impart to him a mass of information such as no European has ever collected. To the interpretation of this he has brought a real sympathy and understanding of the mentality and philosophy of the people, and an appreciation of the good that lies behind much that appears to be evil in primitive life and customs.

The overwhelming importance of religion in primitive life is well illustrated by this study of the Ashantis. Religion influences every phase of life: "every stage of individual life is marked by religious observances, every faction is under the guidance of the ever watchful spirits who surround the living, and "Religion . . . runs like a silver thread, even through their arts and crafts, and thus tends to become the real inspiration of the craftsman."

Owing to the misrepresentations and misunderstandings of those who have written about them the Ashantis have obtained a reputation for blood-lust; the kings and chiefs have been represented as delighting in the shedding of blood and indulging in orgies of slaughter, while their subjects cowered in terror of the executioners' knives which might strike them at any moment. Captain Rattray gives a full account of "Funerals of Kings" which corrects these exaggerations; human sacrifices there were, but not the indiscriminate and capricious massacres suggested by frightened travellers' tales, such as the report that 2,000 "virgins" had been slaughtered by Prempe in order that their blood might be mixed with swish to repair his palace, or the daily victim in whose warm blood he was recently reported to have washed his hands each morning. It will probably surprise many who have believed that an Ashanti Chief could slaughter his subjects at will to learn "that in olden times in Coomassie the power to inflict the death penalty lay with the King alone, and that the war lords in the capital, however high their rank, could not kill even a slave without the royal assent."

It is impossible in this article to give an adequate idea of this valuable and interesting book. It is not only a treasury of facts, but also a precious contribution to "our understanding of the early development of that thing which should interest us most nearly—the human mind." I would instance Chapter XXIX., on "Cross-cousin Marriages," with Mr. L. H. Dudley Buxton's comment on their "Biological Significance," as a valuable contribution to the understanding of an equally important subject—the breeding of the human stock.

The Gold Coast Government is to be congratulated on having grasped the opportunity, before the striking of "the latest hour for recording what unmixed remnants of primitive beliefs and modes of thought still survive amid the ever-spreading civilisation of European type" to establish an Anthropological Department to gather up the fragments and to preserve their meanings. It has been especially fortunate in finding an officer so well equipped for the task as Captain Rattray.

Mr. Cardinall's book is in a different class. While Captain Rattray's work is an objective scientific study, Mr. Cardinall gives a charming and intimate subjective account of his personal experiences and mental reactions. On the title-page he, in Elizabethan style, describes his book as "The Record of a Resident Magistrate's many Years in Tropical Africa, his Arduous and Dangerous Treks both in the Course of his Duty and in Pursuit of Big Game, with Descriptions of the People, their Manner of Living and the Wonderful Ways of Beasts and Insects." The reading of the book is enjoyable because the writer has evidently enjoyed both his adventures and the telling of them. Especially interesting are the details of the incidents in a District Commissioner's daily life and work, small in themselves but giving insight into the "primitive mind" in flashes of self-revelation from the parties in the cases, such as that of the women told on page 127. In the north Mr. Cardinall was dealing with peoples who had quite recently come under British authority and whose minds were still unaffected by the contact, his record is the more valuable for that reason. As time passes the new order under British rule will abolish many, and modify others, of the primitive ideas, such, for instance, as collective responsibility for crime. The individual responsibility of British law will displace the idea of collective, or group, responsibility in other departments of life besides crime. In a last brief chapter Mr. Cardinall makes the reference to trade without which no book on the Gold Coast would be considered complete, and sums it up in words which have a moral for administrators.

"We are a happy and contented land, and we have no direct taxation at all. We are a land of peasant proprietors and we amass our wealth through the kindness of our soil . . . . It has, I think, been accepted as a maxim that peasant proprietorship is not agriculturally economical. That may be. I do not discuss it. I merely know that, as typified on the Gold Coast, peasant proprietorship does show to all who pass that peasant proprietorship gives the greatest happiness to the greatest number, which, after all, economically sound or unsound, is what every Government desires."

When peasant proprietorship has enabled the peoples of the Gold Coast to accumulate sufficient capital for them to take the next step forward they will take it, and any attempt to unduly hasten the day will only lead to moral and economic disaster.

W.F.H.

THE NATIVE JURISDICTION ORDINANCE.

IT has been announced, we learn, that the new Native Jurisdiction Bill, which has been read for the first time, will receive a second reading at a Legislative Council Meeting to be held in April next and passed into law. It will be remembered that this is one of those highly controversial measures which was asked in the Petition of the Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society at its recent London delegation to be suspended until His Majesty's pleasure was known as to the amendments of the new Constitution prayed for. The other measure was the Forestry Bill which, we understand, passed into Law at the last meeting of the Legislative Council.

We cannot understand what has happened, but in the ordinary course one should have thought that in view of the prayer contained in that Petition the local Government would have stayed its hand particularly in view of the protest of the Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society published in a recent issue of this paper. That protest recorded the fact of the prayer contained in the said Petition above referred to and asked that those two Bills be not proceeded with until His Majesty's pleasure as to the proposed amendments were known with a request that the protest be brought to the notice of the Colonial Minister.

In the face of that the determination to pass into law the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance is somewhat staggering and cannot inspire confidence. His Excellency forestalls criticism upon this measure which embodies the establishment of Provincial Councils by remarking in his last annual address that, as a matter of fact, the formation of a Provincial Council of Chiefs is not a new thing in the Colony although he had said that he was responsible for the present one, and that as far as 1852 there was a Provincial Council at Cape Coast which passed an Ordinance regarding the payment of Poll Tax. We believe that if His Excellency the Governor had probed more deeply into the history of the matter, he would have discovered that the so-called Provincial Council which met at Cape Coast was in reality a sort of national assembly in which all eligible persons under our local African constitution *could* and *did* take part. We can assure His Excellency that if even in those remote days there had been any suggestion to exclude the sub-Chiefs, Councillors and other legitimate representatives of the people in whom is lodged the sovereignty, there would have been an uproar, and no Council would have been formed at all or held.

We and others have pointed out over and over again that the root objection to the present Provincial Councils lies in its being restricted to the Amanhin and who have the right to vote for members to the Legislative Council from their ranks *only*. In other words, a free council which could be attended by all persons eligible under the new Constitution with freedom of choice as to the persons to serve in the Legislative Council would remove all the difficulty. Instead of that what have we got? We have got a system restricted to the Amanhin, and who thus form the provincial electorate thereby disenfranchising the rest of the people. What is worse, they can only elect out of their number, and in view of the restriction as to the term of service of an elected member we fail to see how this is going to work in practice when the Amanhin qualified by education to sit in the Legislative Council can hardly exceed the five digits of a man's hand.

Again, let us see in practice the machinery that has been elaborated for us by the Governor, They are of course a body of Amanhin constituted into a council for the obvious purpose of protecting their own rights against their people. Indeed the Governor "considers Provincial Councils of Chiefs as breakwaters to stem, not only the tide of political dissensions, but also to assist Government in many other ways." Now this system has come into operation only within the last nine months or so, and we already have a bitter experience of what use the Amanhin, who have yielded to the operation of this system, are capable of making of it. In the new Native Administration Ordinance

which the Governor tells us "is in reality an Ordinance framed by the Chiefs themselves and is the first Unofficial Bill that has been placed before the Council of this Colony," it is laid down that any successor to a stool or other person agitating for the destoolment of an Omanhin is liable to be had up before the Omanhin and upon conviction can be sent to prison for a term or heavily fined.

Now this goes at once to the root of our national institution which gives the right of destoolment and enstoolment to the people. Ours is a pure democracy in which the Omanhin is but the servant of the people and can, therefore, be dismissed for good cause shown. Now, in every case of destoolment someone must first make a complaint. If this complainant is to be gagged in the first instance and condemned to loss of liberty, and other penalties, what is it but the taking away of the right of the people inherent in our system of destooling the Chief. Thus upon deeper analysis it will be found that for their own protection the Amanhin responsible for this measure have introduced an innovation and a principle directly in conflict with our institutions. If this is not an insidious method of denationalising us we cannot conceive of a worse one. The effect of all this is to bring chaos and confusion into our affairs and to make the people more and more hostile to a system which directly takes away their inherent rights.

We see that according to the Governor the provision for the nomination of three municipal members upon failure of the Municipal Ordinance being extended to Accra, Sekondi, and Cape Coast has now been altered to election to be held by the Town Councils of those places. We hold that three municipal members are wholly inadequate for the needs of the Gold Coast and that there should be at least six, if not more. We have no quarrel with the view that Municipal Councils are the acid test of qualification for self-Government. But if Government is going to make that a ground for denying to the Gold Coast the small measure of franchise enjoyed by the sister Colonies then of course we must complain and keep complaining until we have a square deal. England has a way of delaying in small concessions to dependent peoples which takes away the graciousness of the gift, and we trust in dealing with British West Africa the lessons of Imperial history will not be thrown away upon His Majesty's present advisers.

affairs which will render us less and less the but of political experiment by our rulers. At present we have firmly established the National Congress of British West Africa, and we are appealing to all patriotic sons of the soil to arouse themselves and make a determinate stand for liberty and justice.

RECENT TENDENCIES IN AFRICAN NATIVE EDUCATION.

We have been honoured with an advanced copy of a paper on the above subject, read before the Dominions and Colonial Section of the Royal Society of Arts on the 29th of March last by Mr. J. H. Oldham, Secretary of the International Missionary Council, and member of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa, when Sir Michael E. Sadler, K.C.S.I., C.B., Master of University College, Oxford, presided. The paper contains nothing new but re-affirms certain well known and recognized facts as to the aims and methods of education by which the African in his country would be enabled to fulfil his destiny as also contribute his quota of service to the wider needs of the world.

In the evolution of thought consequent on a closer study of the problems which intertwine the development of the great possibilities of the vast African Continent, it has become very evident that the African's future from an economic as also from other standpoints, is to a great extent dependent on himself. To accomplish this, Education has to be the great agency of reform and development; and it is also urged to be an indispensable duty of statesmen to further this development in all its various aspects.

To attain this object Mr. Oldham reminds us that a standing Advisory Committee was appointed by Mr. Amery the Secretary for the Dominions to make a study of Native Education in Tropical Africa, with a view of giving that prominence to the *human* factor and so make the African an effective agency of producing the highest and best results in his contact with his fellow creatures.

One prominent feature of the new conviction lies in the prominence which is given to Co-operation. With the Governments taking the outstanding positions they now do, there has come the recognition of working hand in hand with Christian Missions and so far as education goes the emphasis is now sought to be laid not on how much you have made of the boy or girl a *convert* of a particular denomination, but how far you have succeeded to make a *man* or a *woman* who would be useful to himself or herself and to his or her environment.

Of course, there can be no consideration of this important subject without bringing in the labours of the Phelps-Stokes Commission under the leadership of Dr. Jesse Jones, whose reports on the important mission of the Commission to East and West and South Africa are of outstanding significance. We agree with the proposition that the first consideration in the education of a people should be how to preserve their health. There are many important aspects of this branch of knowledge which until recently were quite unknown to the African student.

Sanitation and health preservation as it relates to the improvement of diet, the betterment of living conditions and the prevention of disease have come to receive added emphasis recognized by the introduction of such simple text books which will afford instructions adaptable to the needs of simple bush schools scattered all over the jungles of Africa under the auspicies of Christian Missions. Just now, Achimota looms largely in the conception of the Advisory Committee and those who are interested in the Educational development of Tropical Africa.

We quite agree that it is an arrangement fraught with immense possibilities; but all the same it is in the embryonic, experimental stage requiring much carefullness lest by a single false step the whole project may swerve from the basic principles which are calculated to make the African what he was intended to be, useful to himself to his fellow creatures and his country, and not primarily to be the instrument of production for the markets of the world. It is gratifying to note the increase emphasis which has been laid on the necessity of teaching religion in the schools. Our Government on the establishment of the Bo school deliberately ruled the teaching of Religion out of the curriculum. But after a closer study the consensus of opinion has been registered in such conclusion as have been described by Mr. Oldham in the following words:—

> **"The first step is to improve what is sound in indigenous tradition. . . . . But when the utmost has been done to conserve what is good in indigenous traditions, the old supports will be found insufficient to bear the strain of the new conditions. . . . . Much may be accomplished in the second place by an education closely and systematically related to the real interests and needs of the community and progressively adapted to the changes in its life such has been outlined in the earlier part of this paper. But there still remains the problem of finding a substitute for beliefs and sanctions which have ceased to be a restraining force, at influencing the deeper springs of character and of inculating allegiance to a spiritual idea. . . . . The fundamental difficulty lies in the fact that Western civilisation is the present day without any** generally or even widely accepted philosophy regarding the ultimate meaning and purpose of life Nevertheless, Governments in Africa, confronted with a problem the gravity of which is only too apparent, are in remarkable agreement as to the need for the aid of religion in meeting the difficulties it presents. The Advisory Committee lay down in their memorandum that "the greatest importance must be attached to religious teaching and moral instructions."

Thus in South Africa as well as in Belgium it is stated every commission which has dealt with native affairs has urged that native education should be on a religious basis.

So far as our Colony is concerned there are so many scattered projects on the tapis which call for a strong power of concentration with a view of centralising efforts and so make these many isolated scheme conserve the one essential purpose of making the people know what they are and the essential purpose for which they were born on this side of the globe. We have had a new Director of Education who has been in touch with the American principle of practical education. By recent public utterances we are hoping that education in the Protectorate and the Colony-villages will be so adapted that religion freeing itself from the shackles of intellectual timidity and intellectual narrowness, and gladly availing itself of the help that modern knowledge can give, while abating nothing of its enthusiasm and devotion in the service of God and humanity and science . . . . may be able more and more closely to unite their forces in the task of creating a new, contented and progressive Africa capable of making its own distinctive contribution to the life of humanity as a whole.

NATIVE ADMINISTRATION BILL REFERRED TO SELECT COMMITTEE.

CAPE TOWN, April 30.

A debate is at present proceeding in the House of Assembly on General Hertzog's Native Administration Bill. Throughout there is a remarkable absence of party feeling. A noteworthy feature of the debate up to the present is the striking unanimity on the urgent necessity for legislation to deal with Bolshevik and other agitators (white and black) among the natives.

The clause in the Bill dealing with the matter strongly resembles those in the Government's Sedition Bill of last session, which was withdrawn owing to strong Labour opposition, the opinion of the House crystallizing in support of General Smuts' contention that such legislation should be contained in a Sedition Bill applicable to whites and blacks alike.—Reuter.

EMPIRE COTTON-GROWING.

Steady Progress in West Africa.

Empire cotton production, notwithstanding the difficulties experienced, mainly climatic, is making steady progress, and it is very likely that the pace will be very much accelerated year by year now that the movement is on a sound footing.

At the 22nd annual meeting of the British Cotton-Growing Association, held in Manchester on April 26, it was stated that the total estimated quantity of cotton produced within the Empire in 1926 was 439,300 bales, against 366,700 bales in 1925. There is, however, immense scope for expansion when it is considered that the commercial cotton crop of the United States represented 15,655,471 bales for the year ended July 31, 1926.

In taking account of the attempt on the part of Europe to rid itself to a large extent of the monopoly, or practically so, of America as the world's cotton supplier, the strenuous endeavour of other countries with colonial possessions must not be overlooked. Although their production dose not vie with ours, France, in particular, is devoting a large area to this cultivation in her colonies, especially in French West Africa, so that present activities can now be regarded as having passed the experimental stage.

It is satisfactory to see that, so far as British Africa is concerned, consistent and uniform progress had been made in Northern Nigeria, and that, since Allen's variety had been established there, production had gone up from 6,800 bales to 37,000 bales, notwithstanding the fall in the buying price.

The weather, generally speaking, affected the crops in both East and South Africa, but there was an increase from 25,000 to 27,000 bales in the case of Tanganyika.

Race Problem - 1927
Africa

TRAGEDY OF DARK CONTINENT BACK OF ETHNOLOGIST'S FIND

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Pederson's investigations have started research regarding the Grosvenor. The ship sailed from India in 1782 with a rich cargo of Eastern wares, and among her passengers were Government officials, traders and army officers, some of them accompanied by their wives and children. Records show that the Grosvenor crossed the Indian Ocean without incident. But the ship ran into a severe storm off the Cape, which necessitated changing her course. She finally neared the East Coast of Africa and crashed on the rocks. The passengers and crew were saved, only to meet a more dismal fate on shore, for they found themselves in a country inhabited by savages, and were without food or water.

Only a Few Survivors.

Their predicament was carefully considered in council. It was decided that the men should be divided into two groups. One group was to go South, along the coast, seeking help from the first white settlement encountered, and the other was to march inland with the women and children to a place where food and water might be obtained. There they were to defend themselves against the savages.

Of the party that went down the coast only four men survived the hardships, the numerous fights with the savages, the drinking of foul water. They fed mostly upon the flesh of whales that had been stranded on the coast. One hundred and seventeen days after the party had started from the scene of the wreck, four emaciated survivors appeared at a Dutch settlement where today stands Port Elisabeth.

Troops were dispatched into the area where the second group of survivors was supposed to be. But the second group had in time become separated into two groups. After three months' search the detachment of troops found the survivors of the smaller group. But none of the women and children were in this group. It consisted of three English sailors, two Indian women and seven lascars.

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The others had been swallowed up by the jungle, as effectively as if they had gone down with the ship. No authentic word has ever come out of the Dark Continent regarding their fate.

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SEE GROWING DEMAND FOR REAL SYSTEM

Hampton Group Has New Program

By ALLEN B. DOGGETT, JR.

Hampton Institute, Va.—In an endeavor to plan a program of education for Liberia based upon community needs 25 missionaries and educators of both races met recently at Hampton institute under the leadership of James L. Sibley, educational adviser to mission boards and colonization societies interested in Liberia.

The interest of the conference centered in methods of education tried successfully in America, especially in the South, by the Jeanes supervisors, as typified by the work of Virginia Randolph in Henrico county, Virginia. It is realized, according to Mr. Sibley, that the work of the missionaries must shift from evangelical work to educational work and that the various groups in the field must fit themselves to bring to Liberia the type of education that will help in community life.

The first week of the conference was devoted to discussions of educational work carried on in Liberia by the public health nurse, the rural school teacher, the Jeanes supervisor and the farm and home demonstration agents. The second week, spent largely in visiting schools and other community work, presented practical applications of the problems discussed the first week.

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A text book for Liberian children now being prepared was presented to the conference for criticism. The children of Liberia have never had a text bookof their own. On account of the numerous dialects, none of which has been reduced to writing, the propagation of a text book has been a problem. The books imported from the United States, according to the conference, are enirely foreign o the needs and even the imaginations of the Liberian children. Special emphasis throughout the conference was placed on retaining much of native culture and the building up of an appreciation of native resources, rather than implant upon Liberia an American culture without regard for the values inherent for hundreds of years in native civilization.

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"Liberia has reached a turn in the road economically," said Henry L. West, president of the American Colonization society, "due to the advent of the Firestone company. The reason we welcome Firestone is that out of the revenue Liberia will get she will be turned from a bankrupt country to one that can pay its debts We are going to get a country that will make education a certainty. With economic development comes religious development and educational development. This is Liberia's test—if Liberia can stand this prosperity and absorb this new blood she will enter into a new era."

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A "WHITE" POLICY STIRS AFRICANS

NEW YORK TIMES APR 24 1927

Parliament of the Union Is Called Upon to Solve the "Native Problem"—The Four Native Bills Advocated by the Premier

AT the coming session of the South African Parliament the famous four native bills, introduced by Prime Minister Hertzog, promise to be the most important legislation in the direction of a "white" policy so far enacted by the Union. The bills, which are aimed at the ultimate segregation of the 5,500,000 negroes within certain reservations to be set aside, comprise a comprehensive program for solving the so-called native problem. Under the new legislation, license fees and certain color restrictions would make it difficult or impossible for the natives to receive employment in "white" territory in the future.

Only twenty-five years ago, when one of the Colonial Administrators, G. H. Nicholls, now a member of the Legislative Assembly, went to govern a territory adjacent to the Congo, he found that he was the first white man seen by many of the natives. Despite their seemingly savage condition, Mr. Nicholls discovered they had a developed code of law and a logical system of government. After five years of administration he recorded their enlightenment in the following terms:

"Gradually I saw the change come over them as they came more in contact with economic life. The tone of the villages began to change. The old hospitality of the roads vanished. Chiefs who before had never thought of the value of the food they grew * * * began to demand payments for the slightest help. The returning workers brought back to their simple kraals the economic standards * * * of civilization."

It is alleged that for more than a quarter of a century a policy compelling the natives, by taxation and other devices, to work for Europeans has been maintained; that natives have been absorbed in the agricultural and industrial life of the nation, chiefly in the former. It is now felt that the policy has been a mistake.

The proposed native legislation, which would undo this policy, is set forth in measures known as the Representation of Natives in Parliament bill, the Union Native Council bill, the Colored Persons' Rights bill and the Native Land Act Amendment bill. This legislation follows closely upon the Color Bar act passed last session, the white labor policy and the Natives' Land act of 1913. The last-mentioned act provided for segregation, which is to be carried out under the proposed new legislation.

Fears for the Act.

The Color Bar act, it is asserted, will prevent natives from rising in the industrial scale beyond the most menial position by prohibiting their employment at any process that "receives, transmits or generates natural or artificial power." Finally, there is the white labor policy, which, its opponents assert, is designed to replace all natives in Government employment by Europeans.

Of the four bills the most important is the Land Amendment act. The underlying ideas in it are these: That natives should be allowed to reside outside the scheduled reserves only as servants under the Masters and Servants act, and that squatters (most of the natives on the farms work under this system) are to leave all farms. This is to be effected by means of license fees.

The Representation of Natives in Parliament bill and the Union Native Council bill must be considered together, as they are designed to complement each other. Their underlying principle is that the natives have not yet reached the stage of development when they can be trusted with powers of local government; nor can they be entrusted to elect representatives to Parliament. The franchise enjoyed by the natives in the Cape for the last fifty years is canceled; as a substitute for their former rights, a native Parliament will be set up in which the aspirations of the educated natives may be satisfied. Moreover, they will be given a communal vote by proxy in the Federal Parliament.

Rights of Natives.

Finally, the Colored Persons' Rights bill. This provides for the registration of all natives who desire to become future voters. Education tests will have to be passed, however, before natives are qualified to vote.

The arguments favoring the above legislation are somewhat as follows: Contact between the natives and white population has proved bad for both; it has had a demoralizing effect on the European and has prevented the native from developing along his own particular lines. The natives have set low standards of production, yet because of their cheap labor they constitute the agricultural laboring class of the nation. There is consequently no place for the poor white population in the economic life of the Union, and conditions grow constantly worse. As there are about five and a half million natives, as compared with one and a half million white persons, the potential danger of native domination and an inevitably inefficient civilization exists.

THE BIBLE AND EVOLUTION.

[*Continued.*]

[By S. P. N. M.]

"We are not progeny of the brute," continues Mr. Bryan, "we have not been forced upward by heredity alone We have not tumbled upward by chance, but rise by a power which finds its expression in Christ, Who healed the sick, the halt, and the blind; Who scorned no human creature, Who made the weak, the unfit, and those "possessed of devils" clean and upright and whole; Who went to no blue book of aristocracy for His disciples, but picked the humblest, some of them fishermen from the shores of the sea of Galilee; and made them the greatest preachers and leaders of all time. They have done more for the spiritual elevation of man than all the philosophers of Greece and Rome"

The theory of evolution is dangerous to Society. I prefer Christianity which places before man infinite possibilities and invites him to improve them to the uttermost. Yea! I would propose the Christian religion as the influence that can overcome inherited defects and bad environment and save society from the influence of a cold, cruel, and merciless hypothesis that not only ignores the highest and best in men, but which carried to its logical conclusion, condemns Christianity as a degenerating influence, calculated to injure the race by substituting for love and sympathy the killing of of the weak by the strong,

The Bible assures us of the triumph of every righteous cause, presents the claims of a universal brotherhood in which men will unite their efforts in the spirit of friendship, and establishes the prayer line of communication between the Heavenly Father and his children

Darwinism enthrones selfishness; the Bible crowns love as the greatest force in the world."

In the theory of evolution Darwin teaches that man was not created, but the blacks of Africa are the progeny of a gorilla, "outang or baboon"; and, that the whites of Europe descended from the blacks. Therefore the two races cannot be equal intellectually and spiritually, the former being half monkey and half man, while the latter are the accomplished product or spes bona. This doctrine being firmly enrooted in America and elsewhere than in France where it originated is the verification of the saying that "a prophet has no honour in his own country." But in America the appe lation "outang" or "baboon" is never used by the whites in addressing Negroes for fear, perhaps, of betraying their notorious creed.

Films and the African.

One of the subjects that is to be discussed at the Conference of Colonial Governors in London this summer will be the question of the character of the films that are sent out to the colonies. This is a rather difficult moral question. There is a good deal of evidence that some of the films which are shown have a very dubious effect upon the natives. Pictures that may be innocuous to white people, who are well acquainted with the so-called civilisation of the West, may be harmful in their effect upon the native mind.

The reference is chiefly, of course, to the lower-class American film, which is as common in Africa as it is here. Those who are concerned in the propaganda of British films naturally think that the solution is to substitute the British product.

An interesting case has been proceeding in Kenya, the result of which is not yet known here. A person in Nairobi has been prosecuted by the police for selling certain pictures which were printed on the back of cigarette cases. The defence put forward has been that these pictures are identical with kinema pictures which have been shown in Nairobi openly, where the police exercise a censorship over the films.

We Know You Have Your Orders, Mr. Tete-Ansa

That is a serious indictment Mr. Tete-Ansa, the native African gentleman of the Gold Coast brings against New York Negroes, and it might be said against American Negroes in general after concluding preliminary negotiations for a $2,000,000 loan from New York bankers to establish a $1,000,000 crop bank in Africa for the ultimate purpose of breaking British monopoly on the African cocoa market. According to the New York World, Mr. Tete-Ansa said:

I am taking a white staff back with me, a white manager and accountants. We need Americans because a good part of the bank's business will be with America. No, I won't use any New York Negroes. You see, while I haven't been in New York very long, I've got the impression Negroes over here haven't much business training and experience. There are a few insurance brokers or real estate brokers, but no one who seems to have any grasp of sound business principles."

A serious indictment, coming from an African, we say, yet that is about all we can say of it. We are not going to attempt to refute it, for fear that we might be asked to summon the proof.

Mr. Tete-Ansa, however, stopped in the richest city in the world and the place where he was most likely to pick up the needed $2,000,000 but certainly in one of the saddest to get an impression of what sort of grasp his American cousins have on "sound business principles." In this respect he would have done far better in Chicago, or probably in one or two of the mid-western cities, and he may not have fared so bad on a trip South, stopping over at Durham, or Richmond for instance, then proceeding to Atlanta. Of course, we do not pretend that he would have found "business sophistication" in vogue among his kind even in these places comparable with those prevailing in the district from which he landed his two million but doubtless he would have received greater encouragement on what we are doing in America than it was possible for him to get by confining his visit to New York.

Then, too, we suspect that Mr. Tete-Ansa can not have both his say about whom he wants to take back with him to manage his bank and have the money too, anyhow. Doubtless, he did what he had to do under the circumstances, and so while he drops that parting reflection upon us American Negroes we are not insulted, because we know that Mr. Tete-Ansa, or any other African who comes over here and bags a loan of $2,000,000 is going to do the bidding and speak the language of the lenders. Alright, Mr. Tete-Ansa; hope you get the money, but we know you also must take your Wall Street orders.

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Africa

THE HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY, SIERRA LEONE.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT THE WILBERFORCE HALL, ON OCTOBER 7, 1926.

GENTLEMEN,—Attempting as President of this grand and noble society to address you this afternoon, I am undertaking a very heavy task, the weight of which cannot be easily and fully measured by the feeble strength I possess. You will well remember, gentlemen, my attitude of unwillingness to accept the respectable and honourable chair—all because I was and am too conscious of my intellectual unfitness for such an exalted position. But it was, perhaps, out of respect and kindness, unanimously thrust upon me and which I reluctantly accepted. I had never seen or known before in this Colony any other society, exclusive of the three learned vocations of life—ministerial, medical and legal—whose individual members were so intellectually rich and so carefully selected as those of the "HISTORICAL RESEARCH SOCIETY." I certainly would have freely bathed myself in the cold but enervating fountain of hope, strength and encouragement for success as President, if the Biblical qualifications, "the less", instead of *the second*, distinguishing the Apostle James, was in reference to his intellectual and social standard among the Apostles who elected him the First Bishop or Presbyter at Jerusalem. I pray you, therefore, gentlemen to exercise patiently the grace of charity and forbearance, if, in the performance of my duties, there are found, as should be expected flaws and shortages consequent on weakness rather than slackness and indifference.

Now, gentlemen, we have voluntarily bound ourselves, because of our intelligent discontentment and dissatisfaction in regard to our inexcusable ignorance of ourselves and surroundings, with the strong three-fold cord of patriotism, responsibility and service, to bring before our own people the hidden treasures of a correct knowledge of Africa and the Africans. I take it that you have resolved to hear things in Africa called by their right names and not by their illegitimate surnames, and that the stories connected with the names Yu-Ca-Tan and Senegal should be no more repeated. This is certainly not an easy burden—a burden heavier than the total weight of all the mountains in Africa put together. It is indeed terrifying under such a picture. But to you, gentlemen, with the spirit of determination, of racial pride, of firm resolution, and above all, with such intellectual wealth, the burden becomes light and pleasurable. I respectfully counsel you this afternoon, gentlemen, to quit yourselves like men; be strong. Adopt a plan and draw up a programme which will make this society foreign in character and principles to all other societies and associations which have existed and are existing in this Colony of Sierra Leone in regard to its activity, continuity and consequent prosperity. To our own selves and to one another, let us always be sincere. Our aim should be, not for individual fame and distinction, but for the intelligent satisfaction and the temporal salvation and redemption of Africa and her much misunderstood children. Once our hands on the plough to unearth the gold and diamond of truth long deeply buried by the iniquitous slave traffic and to secure the evidences of past glories and humble achievements, we must never look behind. Immediate reward for self-denial and faithful service should never be expected. If our work is well done and our efforts attended with appreciable success, generation, long after we shall have said farewell to this plane, shall sing songs of praise to our memories. This continent of HAM which by the special Province of GOD we rightly claim and own as GOD-given possession, has been christened by the name of Africa, because IFRIKIA or AFRIKIA, the strong warlike leader of Arabia Felix, introduced into the continent five Colonies from which no fewer than six hundred clans of Berber were descended. History informs us that the Nigerian families (scornfully described Negroes) are the descendants of Phut, one of the immediate sons of Ham, the Patriachal Father of all the nations and tribes in Africa. "We are of different races," writes Basil Matthews, "though of the same blood, because GOD meant us to be different so that we should each contribute to the world's life—just as He meant the colours to be different that we might have beauty in the landscape, and sounds different that we might have beauty in the songs of birds." The question, "Has the Negro a past?" has often been ignorantly asked. The mere existence of anything is an evidence of a past, short or distant; glorious or otherwise. The mushroom in the Vegetable Kingdom which to us suddenly bursts forth in the early morning with its appreciable beauty and freshness which the impartial hand of nature bestows on it, can, in the afternoon, and in a withering condition boast of a past all its own. The fruitless tree is no less useful or necessary because it produces no food for animal consumption when the intelligent brain understands that abundant oxygen is being evolved by force of nature for the benefit of human existence. What is the Negro's contribution to the world's greatness? This unpleasant question, asked by friends and foes, by the learned and unlearned, has been either satisfactorily or doubtfully answered by many and in various ways.

This afternoon, I venture, by kind permission of members of "the cloth" here present, to answer this all-important question by Biblical illustration and comparison. In the 3rd chapter of the book Numbers, we are told that Levi had three sons—Gershon, Kohath and Merari. These we may fittingly and appropriately use to represent the three sons of Noah—Shem, Ham and Japheth—with a slight re-arrangement which makes Merari corresponds with Ham. To each of the sons of Levi was a special charge given—"Of the sons of Gershon shall be the tabernacle, and the tent, the covering thereof; and the hanging for the door of the tabernacle of the congregation and the hangings of the court, and the curtain for the door of the court, which is by the tabernacle, and by the altar round about." And (correctly Kookkie Gemmeh Mountains or the Stone Boat Mountains) are GOD'S strong boxes for holding mineral treasures. Iron ore is very abundant and the natives are well aware both of its value and how to make use of it." Now, gentlemen, what is the latest discovery and pronouncement of Mr. Talbot of the Government of Nigeria? I quote from the "Supplement to the *African World*" of 1926. "The art of making bronze may have come to the Western Sudan from the Ægeans, or it is just possible that the reverse may have been the case. The Western African, and particularly the Nigerian Negro had developed into a comparatively high and intelligent type. Easily reducible iron ore is abundant in Nigeria and has been worked there from very early times. *It is quite possible that the world learnt this art from the Negro.* In later times the principal foreign influence was that of Egypt which furnished West Africa with all its earliest domestic animals and cultivated plants, and there was considerable trade and intercourse between the two lands.

"In the region West of the Niger, where there were few physical obstacles to communication, almost unbroken intercourse was maintained with the East and the most developed state systems have evolved or rather have been established; for there is little doubt that the Yoruba constitution and its Benin copy were derived from eastern exemplars which go back in origin to the Holy Roman Empire at Constantinople, or even to the ancient Egyptian prototype with its crowd of court officials and functionaries." This, gentlemen, is the recorded opinion, nay, the belief, after laborious efforts of searching the truth, of one, not of your race, but of one who is credited "for his plain and simple report of what he saw and heard free from prepossession and that bias which distorts many accounts of primitive customs by missionaries, good, but often ignorant men who look upon paganism and its fruits from the angle of the narrowest and intolerant forms of Christianity."

The Pioneer missionaries from Sierra Leone who laboured in Nigeria were, unhappily, *men of* no vision. They were taught to label everything native, *superstition.* With the exception of a very few, the Rev. S. Johnson of Ayo, author of the "History of the Yorubas," for instance, they all failed most regrettably and painfully because they never strove to obtain and preserve for our use the unadulterated tradition of the relationship which the Nigerian families bear to any of the three main stocks of the human race after the deluge, and it follows that they come most deservingly under the unfavourable description just given above.

That the art of smelting iron was taught to the world by the Negro, is the greatest truth ever discovered and publicly revealed. In our ignorance due chiefly to local confinement and no less to the enslavement still of our minds which are not yet wholly free from the shackles of depravity, self-abasement and abnegation, we are always too willing to be taught and ready to repeat, almost word for word, the man-made creed of the African inferiority and consequent incapability in every way. But this, gentlemen, is inevitable and unfortunate.

> "It has been finally proved by the newer psychology that *fears* working in the subconsciousness paralize and stunt the powers of the mind."

Having been too long enslaved in Africa, the Jews, in spite of special divine interpositions, and arrangements on their behalf, were unable to reach the height of the standard of moral and spiritual advancement set up for them. "Oh, horrid Slave Trade!" writes W. B. A. Johnson of Regent Town, on the 15th July, 1822, 'Lord, how long shall the wicked triumph?' 'They slay the widow and the stranger, and murder the fatherless.' I could wish myself away from these scenes of horror; they are much deplorable to be witnessed! Were it not a Christian principle which keeps me on the spot, I think I would rather be shut up in a dungeon than behold and hear the sighs and groans of these unfortunate victims. All efforts to save their lives seem to be in vain, and to prepare their minds for eternity proves also impossible. When some of those who have been here longer and have been awakened by grace, address them in their own language, it appears to make no impression on them; they are so benumbed through many and continual afflictions that they have lost even rational feeling." Gentlemen, there are slaves, and slaves; and of all slavery, that of the African is most degraded. The

manhood of a nation, as that of an individual, suffers destruction by slavery which saps the vitality and stunts the growth, mentally, intellectually and spiritually.

Referring to "the most developed state system" of Mr. Talbot, permit me here, gentlemen, to quote for confirmation, the writings of some explorers of the Niger River. "Captain Clapperton," writes Robert Richardson, "found Yarriba (Yoruba) to be a flourishing and prosperous kingdom, justly and leniently governed." Of the Eboe and his country, Mr. Burdo, the explorer, writes;—"The territory which the expedition now entered is called Esuama-Ebo, a district of large extent. The religion of the natives is almost pure idolatry; but some slight Judaism may be discovered in it—a circumstance which seems to indicate that some stray wanderers of the Hebrew race must long ago have found their way to these regions and in the gradual course of time became assimilated to the native both in appearance and customs, leaving the races around them, however, with a few of their own ideas. Thus the people of Eboe believe in a god 'Orissa or Tshuku,' who is supreme and omnipotent; as well as in evil spirit corresponding to Satan whom they named Kamalo or Igwik-Alla. When it is explained, that Igwik means 'one who has fallen from a place of honour,' and that Alla denotes 'earth' the parallel between Igwik Allah and the fallen angels of the Scriptures may be readily recognised. As the Jews had their sacred city Jerusalem, so the people of Eboe have their holy city Aro to which they make many pilgrimages as the followers of the prophet, do to Mecca."

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SLAVERY OR "SACRED TRUST."

III.

THE attitude of the South African Government under the regime of General HERTZOG has practically been "that for all time persons with any colour in their blood shall be relegated by legislation to the position of serfs and helots, that colour shall be made the "bar sinister" against employment in the professions, in civil service and in industry, and that no matter what the attainments, no matter how men and women of colour may excel in science, industry or statecraft, they shall be debarred by the law of the land from entering all the higher services, which are now formally proclaimed to be the prerogative of the immigrant whites no matter how inefficient their qualifications." With such an attitude, overriding every canon of justice and equity it is proposed to work out the destiny of this important arm of the great British Empire, allowing human infatuations to blind their better judgment. Our distinguished author has rightly drawn attention to an important fact regarding the Constitution of the British Empire so far as population goes. Out of an estimated population of 450,000,000, no less than 385,000,000, are coloured people which has justified the unique description of the British Empire as a Coloured Empire. In Africa, there are 1,721,000 whites, as against 48,970,000 coloured. It is therefore clear that, to use the author's own words, such a "monumental folly" of erecting barriers within the Empire against coloured people solely because of their colour," must indeed in the long run prove a great "peril."

Now it is a fact that this policy inaugurated by the Labour Nationalist Government in South Africa so bluntly, finds patronage more or less in some other British Crown Colonies where every available subterfuge is employed to carry it out on the plea of the lack of efficiency and honesty of the African. We say out right that it is a thousand pities that in some cases the African has justified the aspersions made against him; but the inconsistency and illogical aspect of the attitude has been that whereas in the case of a white man, whatever he may have done, however flagrant his crime may have been, he is made solely responsible for his action and treated as a distinct unit quite apart from the actions of all other white men, in the case of the African whatever one may do, is generally regarded as the type of conduct common with every other African and such hue and cry by those who want some such evidence to carry out the policy of the South African Government.

Our Governor, Sir RANSFORD SLATER has always availed himself of the opportunity of denouncing any suggestion of such a prejudice opperating in this Colony over which he presides. We say frankly that we believe in the sincerity of His Excellency. But what we are not able to accept is that every white man in this Colony who has had to administer justice and give fairplay to the African is sufficiently imbued with such high principle. The recent happenings in the General Post Office are such instances which make us so very sceptical.

We have not as yet been able to deal with the undoubtedly admirable report of the Right Honourable Major ORMSBY-GORE on his recent visit to West Africa; but we are tempted to refer to the argument he has used to justify his views of, and the attitude generally taken by the West African Governments against, the English speaking African for whom the distinguished and honourable gentleman has striven to find a name but has eggregiously failed. This English speaking unit in the Colony of Sierra Leone Mr. ORMSBY-GORE has described as "These Decendants of free slaves" who are styled "Creoles" and whom he was forced on his own admission to described by a "rather clumsy word—Anglicised Africans." Now we stop to ask why such a difficulty to find a name for the educated Sierra Leone? Why has he stumbled so seriously in his attempt to find a name for the educated Sierra Leonean? We hope it is not due to the inference which is bound to be drawn from the admission which he has made of the conservative attitude of the Englishman when he says:—

> "The Englishman has naturally an instinctive dislike of assimilation. We like to keep our life distinct from that of other races whether European or not. The more another people acquire our culture, our outlook and our social habits, very often becomes the gulf between us. We frequently get on better with people differing from us, and we appreciate the differences more than the points we have in common."

We are therefore not surprised at the views Mr. ORMSBY-GORE has expressed of the Educated Sierra Leonean particularly as he came to the Colony when some of the labour units of the Colony were trying to imitate the Englishman, in the matter of going into a strike, and others were busy in the matter of claiming their rights, which the Englishman knows too well, more than any other nation in the world how to do, putting to effect the knowledge they had acquired not only from the reading of English Newspapers but some of them had actually spent many years in the Englishman's Country and had worked out this progress of assimilation so correctly that it has been difficult in some cases, to distinguish between the original from the copy—It is on such matters we would part company with Mr. ORMSBY GORE, when we come to deal with his report. He has failed to do justice to the educated African, in fact he has blundered in some of the conclusions and deductions he has made. But we leave that for a while. What we are about is, to draw attention to the argument he has used to justify the non-recognition of the educated African whom he says number only 30,000, to represent the uneducated, numbering one and a half million. Now how does his contention tally with the claims of the South African Whites? It is such inconsistencies in the British Empire that has in recent years provoked so much unrest and fever-some anxiety in almost every part of the far flung Empire. It is this process of discrimination which is an inherent weakness of the conservative mind of the Englishman that has proved the stumbling block to progress and peaceful administration in many places where it is the lot of the educated African to dwell with the Englishman. And yet the nature of the situation is such that the dislike of the Englishman of "assimilation" is an unfortunate weakness on account of the position that exalted Nation holds to the rest of the world. Human nature being what it is how can the Englishman as Trustees of weaker people keep them from imitating him and doing things as he would do them? A little reflection would certainly reveal the preposterousness of such an attitude and the natural conclusion would be that the Englishmen should overcome this prejudice because GOD has given a great trust to his Nation and that trust must be faithfully and kindly fulfilled if the nation must come to its own. At any rate, South Africa has marked a course by its recent legislation of the Colour Bar Bill stigmatising that arm of the British Empire as a Dominion in which the subjects are half slaves, half free. But it is important to bear in mind the truth of such statement as our Author has made with reference to such a situation, namely, that the result on those who carry out such inhuman policy would in a long run tend to their own degradation, it may mean unfairness and injustice to the weak and oppressed, but certainly it will also mean the death and utter dissolution of such nations.

NATIONAL CONGRESS APPEAL.

To every Member of the National Congress of British West Africa.:—

MY DEAR FELLOW COUNTRYMAN, OR COUNTRYWOMAN.

By the suffrages of the members of the Executive Committee of the Sierra Leone Section of the National Congress of British West Africa, I have been elected President of the Section for the ensuing year. I did not desire it, and would have preferred to have been left out of this honour which was pressed upon me. I am not residing in the City which is the centre of the activities of the Congress and of all the political and social life of the Colony. I pointed this out as one of the difficulties that would be in my way to attend to the duties of the office, as my predecessors but those who elected me refused to give consideration to any of my objections, and, in deference to their wishes, I have accepted the office.

Since the Second Session of the Congress in Freetown during the first quarter of the year 1923, when we had the honour and the pleasure of the visit of delegates from the Gold Coast and Gambia, by whose presence we were greatly inspired, there have been little activity and a good deal of lethargy in matters pertaining to the Congress, and matters in the Country—such as the upheaval of the Railway Strike at the beginning of last year, and the dissolution of the City Council of Freetown at the end of the year—events

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which appear to have put back the hands of progress--seem to have greatly dampened the spirit and ardour of many in the community as to make them lose hopes.

I am appealing to you not to despair, but to consider that the Congress stands for an effort and endeavour to raise the education and the standard of life amongst the kindred races of British West Africa, to prevent contingencies such as happened amongst us last year, to help in the work of reconstruction where there appears a lapse, and to inspire every one to act well his part so that we may be recognized as an intregal part of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The aspirations of the Congress is therefore one that should be cherished by every true-hearted African whether he be a member of the Congress or not.

We in this Colony are a community in the process of formation into a people. We are in a period of transition evidenced by the unrest and dissatisfaction apparent every where in the Colony. I am, therefore, humbly inviting you to give your help, your service, and the benefit of your experience for the uplift of our country and people and for West Africa.

It has been said that life is a battle, but the real battle is one of ideas. We have to take our place on one side or the other—forward or backward—for there is no standing still in a world where all is motion. It is the attempt to stand still and fold our arms waiting to see what will happen, that gives sanction, approval and force, to arbitrary and unequal codes of law, about which grievous complaints must follow.

Some have asked, "To what purpose is our effort, and what shall we gain by it?" For ourselves we may gain no personal advantage, but future generation will gain by our effort. We ourselves have contributed little to our present advantages; we were never called upon to make any sacrifice to become what we are, or to contribute to the benefit we are now enjoying. We have had things handed to us easily as gifts. For which reason, we could not retain certain possessions or privileges, because we did not labour to earn them, and consequently, we are finding to our disappointment that the law of compensation is relentlessly bringing to us an exact equilibrium of our desert, as our enjoyments have not accrued to us as the result of natural evolution. Our gain for our effort in our own days shall be in the race rather than in the goal, and our pleasure shall be, like that of hunters, in the pursuit rather than in the achievement. Our gain shall be our growth and development.

It has often been laid at our doors that we are a people incapable of sustained efforts, that at the outset we would take up a thing with warm-hearted enthusiasm which would soon evaporate and come to a premature end, as soon as the novelty of the thing die away. The reason for this may be due to the fact that we were led to see the necessity for a movement before we embarked on it, but after embarking, we lacked cultivated and personal interest to see it through.

High ideals and continued efforts, but not appearances, are necessary to the law of progress. The world is harsh only as we fail to assert ourselves, and its criticisms are bitter to those who cannot compel room for their ideas. It is the fear of these criticisms that causes the ardour of many persons to cool down, many ideas to fail to materialize, and many persons to keep back from a movement with which they have been associated. We often fail because of our desultory efforts, for the result of every movement is generally in exact proportion to the efforts expended on it. We form the habit of failure when we start a thing and never wait to complete it. We invite failure when we make a resolution and do not keep it. We meet with failure when we set causes in motion, and then support them by dissipated efforts, and we have no faith in ourselves.

We have financial liabilities in the Congress to face, but this does not appal me and should not appal any one to keep back from the Congress movement. I have no doubt that the individual or individuals who have hitherto shouldered alone the burden of these liabilities, have in them sufficient patriotism to share with us the responsibilities of liberty and progress, if we could only be awakened to the interest and welfare of the Congress.

We cannot give unless we get, but, if we wish to be of service, we must cultivate the power to be strong. A generous mind is filled with strength and vitality, whilst a selfish one contains germs of weakness and dissolution and will soon pass away. We must get if we must give; and the more we give the more we shall get and be of service. If we expect nothing, we shall get nothing; but if we demand much we shall receive the greater portion of our demand. This is the law of service.

I am begging for your service in whatever way you can render it, that we may do our part in the re-construction and amelioration of the state of things about us. Thanks to some patriotic members of the community, who, though not directly members of the Congress, have already been giving valuable gifts and making excellent contributions towards one or other of the purposes of the Congress. They have been rendering appreciable services in advance, to help the Congress. I refer to some of the Editorials in our local journals and such thoughtful contributions as Mr. J. C. Shorunkeh-Sawyerr and Mr. Z. D. Leomy have placed at the disposal of the public, and I am appealing that we should all unite in our gifts and contributions towards the work of uplift which the Congress is articulating.

Requesting that you may be good enough to give attention to circulars or notices whenever you may be invited to a meeting, and that you may assist to lighten the work of the Secretaries in the sacrifices they are making to serve the Congress.

I am, your obedient Servant,
A. E. TUBOKU-METZGER,
President.

Providence Cottage,
Kissy, Sierra Leone
30th March, 1927.

THE SIERRA LEONE
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SLAVERY OR "SACRED TRUST."

II.

"FORCED LABOUR" as defined by the late Lord CROMER, "is compulsory labour in certain cases under all possible safeguards against the occurrence of abuses, employed for recognised and indispensable purposes of public utility." It has been adopted by all the Colonising Powers including Great Britain. This right claimed by the Colonising Powers, to impose compulsory labour for administrative purposes, the author points out, is based on the indigenous custom of calling out labour at times of disaster, or for primitive works of public utility such as native paths, bridges across streams. But apart from the distinction the author has laid stress on, which should be made between the *modus operandi* of the Native administration and that of the Colonising Powers, with reference to the rather conservative limitations as to scope and extent to which this method is carried out, there is also this to be borne in mind, that the Chiefs maintain such a paternal relation with their people in the matter of relieving their wants and necessities in times of tress and strain which is not recognised by the Colonising Powers. "Contract Labour" is after all a veiled form of legal slavery; for whatever may be said to the contrary as to the theoretical definition of the term, its actual enforcement by some of the Colonising Powers has left it beyond the shadow of a doubt as a most abominable process of tyranny. As a matter of contrast, the author has called attention to the operation of this system in the Mines of South Africa, and the Sugar, Rum and Cocoa Plantations in Portuguese Africa. Portugal since her connection with Africa has by means of the operation of its colonial policy tried the patience of the civilised world including her godmother Great Britain, that it is a wonder how the civilised world could still allow such gross tyranny and high handed perpetration of wrong and injustice to continue; and yet it is strange that so much hue and cry could have been made within recent times over the alleged continuance of slavery by such places as Abyssinia and Nepal. In spite of vigorous attempts by Portugal to bolster up this criminal and dastardly exercise of its powers over the natives within its territories, and Great Britain, responsible for the integrity of the Portuguese Colonies has been looking on, it has without any shadow of a doubt been proved quite unworthy of continuing to retain its trust by means of the iniquitous and cruel oppression it has carried on in the form of contract labour in its African possessions. To such an extent has this been carried out that there have been protests delivered by various individuals of different persuasions, including Missionaries, Merchants, Government Officials, Travellers drawn from every nation including even Portuguese, all telling of the fraudulent, practice and corruption, cruelty, oppression and wrong doing this commercial enslavement by Portugal of a whole people numbering some millions has been causing in the full view of the civilised world. Says our author.

> "There is every reason to fear that not merely are the conditions of the Portuguese Colonies as bad to-day as they were in 1909, but that, although changed in form they are becoming steadily worse. The private letters of missionaries depict the most revolting state of affairs, whilst it is known that the official archives of other Governments are filled with evidence of mis-government. There is probably very little to chose between any of the Portuguese Colonies so far as administration goes. The island of St. Thome and Principe, in the Gulf of Guinea, cover an area of only 300 square miles and produce a good grade of cocoa. Angola with its coast line of 1 000 miles, a population of 4,000,000 and an area of 485,000 square miles, is more than twice the size of France but produces little besides sugar, coffee and cotton. Mozambique is nearly 300,000 square miles in extent or nearly six times the size of England but peopled by only 3,000,000 natives."

A contrast is drawn between the policy adopted by this tyrannous nation and that adopted by Great Britain in South Africa where it is put forward that the natives find it more congenial and are anxious to be thus engaged. It is pointed out with some degree of pardonable pride we allow, what prosperity has attended the Natives under this system. In spite of the fact that the Portuguese, are engaged in agricultural pursuits which afford the natives all the advantages of an open air life, yet the people under British influence labouring as they do under the disadvantages of the mining industry which requires them to spend most of their time thousands of feet below the surface have thriven far better than their compeers under Portuguese dominance; their death rate is so much reduced and the rate of accidents has also compared most favourably. We grant all these; but when we come to the other aspect of wrong doing in the form of Colour Bar discrimination we think Great Britain has also much, very much to answer for. The present condition of things in many of her Colonies would reveal how far it has travelled from those days when the late GOOD QUEEN VICTORIA penned down these memorable words:—

"There shall not be in the eyes of the "Law any distinction of qualification "whatever founded on mere distinction of "colour, origin, language, or creed, but "the protection of the Law in letter and in "substance shall be extended impartially "to all alike."

This was contained in a Proclamation annexing Natal in 1843. Again in another Proclamation to the Chief and people of India in 1858, the GOOD QUEEN said:—

"And it is further our Will that so far "as may be our Subjects of whatever Race "or Creed be freely and impartially "admitted to office in our service, the "duties of which they may be qualified by "their education, ability and integrity duly "to discharge.

"In their Prosperity shall be our "Strength. In their Contentment our "Security, in their Gratitude our best "Reward. And may the God of all Power "grant to those in authority under us "strength to carry out these wishes for "the good of our people."

And yet in spite of such distinct pronouncement, South Africa stands to-day as the object of unabated wonder in the matter of its Colour Bar propaganda over-riding all the canons of Justice and Equity by means of its recently promulgated law of discrimination, ostracism and segregation of the poor Africans and Asiatics. Says our author:—

"It is not merely a struggle of a million or two whites against six millions natives of South Africa nor even against the 120,000,000 Africans, it is a struggle involving ultimately something over 500,000,000 Asiatic and African peoples and at the same time the very foundation of Britain's overseas Empire due to this demand for White Domination as expressed by a mere handful of resolute but reactionary whitemen in South Africa."

This is the position which more or less has been disturbing the peace and progress of the various Crown Colonies and which has involved much disquiet, worries, oppression and naturally set-back to the progress and development which otherwise would have been registered with very little trouble and by far much reduced expenses. This is the problem of the hour rather imminent for solution. It calls for a revision of the relation that ought to exist between those who are placed in no other position than Trustees over helpless and dependent people who because of their Colour and difference in race have been made to suffer and endure so much injustice and wrong doings.

TANGANYIKA'S NON-BRITISH SETTLERS.

The majority of the speakers at the recent special meeting of the East African section of the London Chamber of Commerce to call attention to the increase of non-British immigration into Tanganyika Territory are to be congratulated on the temper and discretion displayed towards a subject of considerable difficulty and some delicacy. It is undoubtedly desirable that the immigration of British settlers should be encouraged, but, as was pointed out by more than one speaker, it needed a different class of settler than was attracted to South Africa, Rhodesia, or Australia. Only a certain proportion of Tanganyika can be regarded as available for occupation by settlers from this country, and as the territory is held under mandate, the Government cannot discriminate against the nationals of any country: the advantages provided primarily for one must be shared by all. That when an elected Assembly is granted to Tanganyika the majority may and probably will be non-British in origin is undoubted, but surely it would be a decidedly retrograde step to refuse direct representation to those whose interests are bound up in the country and who are making their homes there because of such a contingency. Such an argument implies that those who of their own free will have come into the country and intend to settle there as permanent inhabitants would necessarily be antagonistic to the welfare of that country, their own interests, and to the allegiance which they undertook to the existing form of Government. History does not confirm such an argument. On the contrary, the late war showed that nationals of the Central Powers when permanently resident here proved their loyalty even to the extent of taking up arms in support of the Allies. They were loyal to the land which sheltered them, the very few exceptions proving but the good will and behaviour of the large majority. So it will be in Tanganyika. Immigrants will be inhabitants of that country, loyal to its Government and not necessarily adherents of the policy of the land of their birth. The great Middle West of the United States, composed largely of Germans and their descendants, provided not the least ardent of that force which represented America and played a leading part in the settlement of the great struggle. The future of Tanganyika lies not in quibbling about the predominance of any particular nationality, but in co-operation to bring about a federation which will wield into a homogeneous whole the British interests in East Africa.



Reproduced from "The Star," Johannesburg.

"OLD BOER" ABE.

"I am 'an old Boer' on the native question."—Sir Abe Bailey at Queenstown

NATIVE ADMINISTRATION BILL.

At the end of the year 1925 the Government placd the above Bill for discussion by the official Native Conference at Pretoria. The members of that conference conscientiously criticised the measure and made very important amendments in the fond hope that those amendments would be incorporated in a revised bill laid before Parliament. Not only has the Government disregarded those suggestions but it has added insult to injury by actually affixing thereto a new "Sedition Bill" as an integral portion of the original bill—all without any pretence at consulting Native opinion. This procedure amounts to a mockery of the Government Native Conference as well as a travesty of ordinary administration. We cannot conceive of anything more calculated to arouse suspicion, to discredit the Government, and to stir up unrest among the aborigines as the proposal now introduced by the Cabinet. The "Sedition Bill" is clearly an anti-Native measure of the first magnitude in a consistent policy of reducing the Native people to peonage. If the Government does not reconsider the position and eliminate this bill, then it will be the duty of all intelligent black men to stand together and fight the bill tooth and nail.

Race Problem - 1927
Africa

RHODESIA AT THE TOBACCO EXHIBITION.

STRIKING DISPLAY A FINE ADVERTISEMENT FOR THE COLONY.

(Special to "The African World.")

The importance of tobacco production in the agricultural development of Rhodesia is strongly emphasised at the Tobacco Exhibition, which closes at Olympia to-day, and a great feature of which has been the Colony's stand.

This stand, which has been under the personal supervision of Sir Francis Newton, has, we understand, resulted in numerous valuable inquiries, and it is safe to say that all the big buyers in the tobacco trade have paid visits to it during the week.

Mr. C. E. Squires, a tobacco expert, has been in charge, and he informed an AFRICAN WORLD representative that last season's crop is now practically sold out, and that many orders have already been booked for next season's crop.

Some remarkable samples of Rhodesian leaf have been on view on the stand, but it is not only in the raw material that the exceedingly high quality is denoted, for there have also been included manufactured tobaccos in the form of cigars, cigarettes, pipe and rool tobaccos that are second to none to the best that America and Asia can produce. One thing that has been demonstrated to the British importers is that no tobacco blends so well with the Virginian leaf than that from Rhodesia.

A special feature also has been made of the growth of tobacco cultivation in recent years, and some significant figures are quoted. In 1920 the colony produced 294,627 lb., of which 33,359 lb. were exported to this country. In 1922 the total production was 3,746,982 lb., of which Great Britain consumed 144,769 lb., while for eleven months in 1926 the colony's output was 5,500,000 lb., Great Britain taking 1,421,535 lb. The estimate for this year's crop is, we understand, no less than 10,000,000 lb., while it is hoped that it may even reach the 15,000,000 lb. mark, or three times that produced last year.

Stand B, which has been taken over by the Dominion Tobacco Company, has proved to be one of the best sections in an excellent exhibition. On it have been shown the famous Empire Gold mixtures and British Gold cigarettes, which during the past three years have on their own merits alone sold in huge quantities, as they have been found in every way suitable to the taste of British consumers. The company is connected with a leading London and Rhodesian group, and in their large works at Plaistow, London, E., which is being enlarged to meet with the demands of the increasing market, they are engaged largely in the manufacture of Empire tobaccos which for quality and price are unequalled. In this factory Rhodesia with Nyasaland furnish the main sources of supply. The stand has proved of greatest interest to all interested in Empire tobacco production, and it should do much to make the brands which have already won considerable fame even more popular with the consuming public.

At the Tobacco Trade Congress held in connection with the Exhibition Major H. G. Mundy, Chief Agriculturist of the Department of Agriculture of Southern Rhodesia, gave some illuminating facts of the industry and the machinery involved for maintaining the high quality as well as increased production.

Major Mundy pointed out that, although unmanufactured Rhodesian tobacco had made its appearance on the British market only within the last two or three years, yet tobacco was by no means a new crop to that colony. Tobacco of a kind was grown by the natives of Southern Rhodesia long prior to the European occupation of the territory, and the at-one-time-famous Invoka tobacco grown by the natives of the Midlands of Rhodesia was then, by reason of its superlative quality, particularly prized for purposes of barter or for the payment of tribute by inferior to paramount tribes.

From Small Beginnings.

The first attempts by European settlers to grow tobacco on a commercial scale were made more than twenty-five years ago, and as far back as 1907 "Turkish" cigarettes were being manufactured in South Africa and Rhodesia from Rhodesian grown leaf.

From these small beginnings the industry had struggled gamely through several periods of acute depression, until to-day it might be claimed to have emerged from a somewhat chequered childhood into a robust adolescence.

This milestone in the history of the Rhodesian tobacco industry had now, he believed, been definitely and for all time passed, and with their product well known and appreciated on the Home market, Rhodesian growers felt safe in adopting a policy of rapid expansion.

Much of the success which the industry had attained, Major Mundy declared, could only rightly be attributed to the courageous and untiring efforts of those pioneer, and, he was happy to say, now firmly established, growers, who, in spite of numerous reverses and disappointments, never lost faith in it, and whose names were familiar to all who had visited South Rhodesia, either to inquire into her tobacco-growing prospects or to make purchases of leaf.

How Government Assists.

During the last two years the number of tobacco farmers had increased so rapidly that a very much larger staff of Government tobacco advisers had been necessary. To-day there were no less than twelve of these officers, ten of whom divided the country into tobacco circles, and each of whom devoted his whole time to frequently recurring advisory visits to all growers in his particular area. These services cost the farmer nothing, and it was unnecessary to emphasise of what great assistance they were proving to the less experienced grower.

There were also on the staff of the Government Department of Agriculture entomologists and mycologists who devoted a large portion of their time to research in connection with the control and elimination of plant diseases and insect pests to which the tobacco crop was subject. It could thus be seen that in Rhodesia no pains were being spared to foster the industry and to build it upon a lasting foundation.

THE SIERRA LEONE
WEEKLY NEWS
Saturday, April 23, 1927.

SLAVERY OR "SACRED TRUST."

VI.

In connection with the League of Nations there is a permanent Mandates Commission whose duty it should be to inform and advise the Council of the League on "all matters relating to the observance of the Mandates." It came into existence in the year 1920 and consisted of nine members the majority of whom were, and must always be, nationals of non-Mandatory Powers. There is also one member, an expert from the International Labour Office. Much has been done to secure as members of this Permanent Commission, persons of recognized competence in Colonial Affairs and who are free to exercise their judgments on all matters, in accordance with the terms of the Mandates without being interfered with by their respective Governments. They are also required to be persons of unflagging industry, free to give whole-time service without any monetary consideration or engaged in any duty by which they may be fettered by a priority of claims from their individual Governments. After all, these were but paper qualifications. They certainly showed the public spirit, the honest and sincere purpose of those responsible for this new *gesture* of the Civilised Powers of the world to maintain Peace, Truth and Justice on the earth.

The period of time this system has been in existence has shown indeed the exercise of commendable energy and a determination to do well. So far, it has run with surprising smoothness and some appreciable degree of success. Every year each Mandatory Power is required to present in person some written account of how it has carried out its task, subjected to a cross-examination. But this appears to us little more than a farce, seeing, that there is no one on the other side representing the people to carry out this cross-examination, if that really was intended.

Even without such a provision to give assurance to the efforts of the Commission that it was carrying out effectually its onerous duties of protecting the weak and helpless races, there have been "deplorable instances" of failures and imperfections which have caused no little embarrassments and in some cases serious troubles.

The case of the liquor traffic is an instance of failing to agree amongst the Mandatory Powers, and we make bold to say that this is one instance where personal interest is being made to interfere with the "sacred trust" the great Nations of the world have taken upon themselves. In this connection we are sorry to observe that Great Britain has caused some disappointment. It has not taken the forward step it has been its wont on all such matters and we are sorry to say consideration of more revenue has had to do with this most unsatisfactory position. There are three positions which may be taken in relation to this important question.

(1) The covenant *prohibits* abuses.
(2) The "B" Mandates provide for the *strict control* of the sale of spiritous liquor.
(3) The "C" Mandates *forbid* the sale of intoxicating liquor to natives.

In carrying out these provisions there have been inconceivable difficulties to arrive at a common and definite understanding as to even the meaning of the terms used to describe this man-destroying and progress-retarding industry; and in the application by each of the responsible Nations of the terms of the Mandate there are differences revealing starting inconsistencies. For instance:—It is pointed out that only New Zealand has taken the ideal and admirable position—and in this has set a noble example to Great Britain—which its position and high estate call for speedy emulation. New Zealand, we say has taken the position of having nothing whatever to do with the liquor traffic and has prohibited the sale of **all intoxicating liquors** to **all** the inhabitants of Mandated areas whether white or coloured, whether Christians or Mohammedans. Meanwhile the great Nations, France and Great Britain are allowing themselves to revel in some pretty confusion and are exhibiting this grave weakness with startling stoicism.

These great Nations have permitted the sale of intoxicating liquor in their mandatory territories leaving the salvation of these poor people in the hands of restrictive duties. In plain speaking, it is a veiled form of slavery. The people have to pay high duties and high prices for the stuff which will soon waste away all their strength, send their children to untimely deaths, ruin their womanhood and make them remain utterly helpless to redeem themselves. What is the value of the restriction France and Great Britain have imposed? We shall quote our Author:—

"A Chief in the British Zone of Togoland may have to pay say, 20s. for his bottle of rum, whilst his son-in-law just half-a-mile away in French territory may only have to pay 15s. for the same quality and quantity--and the creeks, streams and forest of Togoland and Cameroons are the joliest places in the world for smugglers."

On this subject of the liquor traffic we shall have to part company with the Honourable Major ORMSBY-GORE when we come to deal with his report and we are glad we shall be in the good company of such authorities as Bishop MELVILLE JONES of Lagos and a host of Missionaries apart from the great Institutions represented by our distinguished author and many such.

We say at the out-set that any argument which justifies the sale of intoxicating liquor because the natives have their palm wine and millet beer is a miserable admission of weakness; for except in such matters, these learned advocates have always admitted the sanity of the maxim—**Two wrongs cannot make one right**—apart from that, the common quality which the drinking of palm wine shares with the 'devil waters' imported in the name of science as intoxicating liquor is that this nature's juice of the palm when exposed to the sun, ferments and causes intoxication. We wait to be informed that there is some other danger in the palm wine as certainly there are in some of the stuffs which have passed the custom houses of these great Nations as "trade spirits." Bishop MELVILLE

The Premier's Native Bills

Mr. G. K. Hemming writes in the "Daily Dispatch" thus:—

It has been said before by the writer—who has no hesitation in repeating it—that the bulk of the people in the Territories are law-abiding; that crimes of violence against those in authority or, in fact, any white man or white woman, are practically unknown, and that there has not been any active sedition for nearly 50 years. The people are, for the most part, happy, contented, and in some measure prosperous; the relationships between white and black, whilst observing the strictest social distinction, are of the best.

Into this Elysian field are dropped, like a bolt from the blue, certain "Bills," which under high-sounding titles seek to amend the Constitution in such manner as to deprive the Natives of rights they have enjoyed with moderation and good sense for nearly three-quarters of a century. It is not proposed to enter into a detailed analysis of the provisions of these Bills—that work has already been performed with great ability by others. Let it suffice to say that what these Bills offer to the Native people is nothing but husks, and as such they regard them.

We have been asked repeatedly to keep the Native question out of the arena of party politics. Unfortunately, it is not possible, and the man who pretends to do is a hypocrite. How can one, indeed, regard these Bills as outside the party arena and intended for the betterment of the relations between white and black, when one recalls the words of Mr. Tielman Roos on tour during June of 1926. He spoke not once, but repeatedly, words to the following effect.

"There is only one section of the electorate which votes 100 per cent. S.A.P., and that is the Cape Native section; but you will see what we will do to them next session."

What a contempt fills one when regarding this prominent politician literally smacking his lips at the prospect of punishing the Native people under the guise of government for the offence of loyalty to the party and the members of that party who have, without loss of dignity, recognised that the Natives are entitled, through the ballot-box, to a voice in the making of the laws they have to obey and in the imposition of taxation which, willy-nilly, they have to pay.

To many—and it is hoped to a great many—the injustice of the proposal is so apparent that they cannot countenance it; and such will seek so to mould public opinion that legislation which is conceived in a union of prejudice and fear will be still-born, or, better still never see the light of day. In Umtata, the capital of the Native Territories, there is a garden, and in that garden stands a monument for all to see. It is the Transkeian Cenotaph. Year by year the people gather to do homage to the glorious dead, who died that we who still live might be free. Alas, the names are many, and, strangely enough, the names are not those of Europeans only. There, in letters of stone, is recorded the sacrifice of Native lives in East and West Africa and in Europe on the side of Right and Justice.

PUNITIVE LEGISLATION.

Yes, over 3,000 natives left their homes for service in various theatres of war, and they did not all return! Year by year we honour their memory even as we honour the memory of our own kith and kin. Are we, then, prepared to allow the gratification of a petty revenge upon these people, and without a word of protest leave them to the mercy of those who during the dark days of war, when the agony of men and women was almost unbearable and the suspense beyond endurance, not only did not assist us, but by every dastardly means at their disposal, sought to aid our enemies?

Call the proposed legislation by any high-sounding title it may please you; describe it by any terms you will; to the native mind it remains what, in fact, it is—punishment. Well may they ask. "For what?"

Here, then, the whole scene is before you, and whilst you are not expected to excuse treason or sedition, ask yourselves if the dice are not loaded. Question whether you are not permitting too heavy a strain upon the loyalty of a people when you permit the perpetration of a gross injustice and the infliction of an unearned punishment.

Well may the people murmur to themselves and say, "Of what profit is it to be loyal and law-abiding for 50 years, if this is our reward?"

Truly they are between the upper and the nether millstones. On the one hand, increased taxation without representation, and the other the Minister of Railways and the trade unions depriving them of the means of living. Could they not with reason liken the policy of the Government to that of the ill-tempered nurse "who beats the child until he cries and then continues to beat the child because he cries"?

It is fortunate that the position at Tsolo and Qumbu proves to be very considerably exaggerated, and that whilst the activities of "Dr." Wellington are doing disservice to the native people, nevertheless the happenings may be dismissed as a foolishly planned protest against additional taxation which, however, has not as yet entailed either personal injury or loss of property.

Let it be fervently hoped that the good sense of the native people on the one hand will turn the hotheads from a path which can only lead to their destruction, and that, on the other hand, European public opinion will crystallise and become so articulate that whilst rebellion cannot and must not receive any encouragement, nevertheless a native policy which is so exasperating these people as to warp their reason will be unequivocally condemned by every right-thinking man and woman.

SOUTH AFRICA AND HER NATIVES.

The complete autonomy of white peoples is the principle on which the State system of the modern world is based. Yet this political demarcation of territories is artificial and, in a measure, unreal. Just as England cannot separate herself from Europe so South Africa, economically and ethnically, is an integral part of Africa. The problems of the territory infect the societies of neighbouring territories; the policies directed to solving them have reactions outside the boundaries of the State that originates them; and so the sins of one Government are often visited upon the peoples of another. These reflections are suggested by "The Anatomy of African Misery," which the Hogarth Press has just published for Lord Olivier. Lord Olivier was prompted by the Colour Bar Act of last year to make an analysis of the whole problem of the relations of black and white in Africa. In a compact but eloquent and convincing argument he traces the present attitude of the white majority in South Africa to their coloured and native fellow-citizens to the whole order of life and order of ideas inculcated in the dominant race by the institution of slavery, and revived and intensified in South Africa by the development of large-scale capitalistic industry upon a basis of low-wage native labour. The outcome is a settled habit that assumes that the native exists for the benefit of the white man, and has no rights where his interests conflict with those of his superior. This habit, and the policy that springs from it, was carried north by the Chartered Company, and spread by migration into Kenya. Checked in Rhodesia by the liberal attitude of the new Government and in Kenya by pressure from home, it nevertheless threatens the content and peace of the Bantu peoples throughout East Africa, and, if we have neither responsibility nor power in South Africa, affects us in the protectorates and Crown colonies.

The book is opportune, because the Native Affairs Bills, which are the most recent and most serious expression of this attitude, have just been introduced in the South African Parliament. Anyone who still believes in General Hertzog's ability to give effect to his good intentions is recommended to read the analysis in this book of the Native Lands Bill. With every independent inquirer and every friend of the native, indeed with General Hertzog himself, Lord Olivier emphasises the urgent need of adding to the inadequate existing reserves: the bill adds not an acre to reserves: on the contrary, its chief effect must be to drive the native off land on which he has been settled for generations into semi-servile employment with the white farmer. The provision of reserves is, however, by itself no longer a possible solution of the native problem in South Africa, the natives are too numerous and white industry too dependent upon them. The alternatives that civilised practice in other countries suggests are the extension to the native wage-earner of the legislative protection and support that the white wage-earner enjoys, and help in establishing the native in independent agriculture on small holdings. The policy of General Hertzog's bills is rather to force the native into white employment, while excluding him from any industrial advance by the Colour Bar Act, and to add insult to injury by depriving him of the franchise in the one province in which he has any political rights. There is a melancholy satisfaction in finding that consideration for native interests has varied directly with the degree of Imperial control.

Lord Olivier points out the self-defeating folly of this policy of repression, citing the reports of the Economic Commission, which are only the latest official demonstration of it. The white population can find full and remunerative employment only if the demand for its labour expands; since its cost is probably higher than that of any other labour in the world, there is no hope of such expansion in export markets; the only hope, then, is in an expanding demand at home, which can come only from the economic development and advancement of the native.

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lated programme of the British Labour party in regard to relations with native races." That is a question of party politics; of deeper principles that justify the very principle significance and wider appeal is his analysis of the attitude of Western civilisation to this problem. The supporters of these Native Bills defend

"A Chief in the British Zone of Togoland may have to pay say, 20s. for his bottle of rum, whilst his son-in-law just half-a-mile away in French territory may only have to pay 15s. for the same quality and quantity—and the creeks, streams and forest of Togoland and Cameroons are the joliest places in the world for smugglers."

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It has been said before by the writer—who has no intention in repeating it—that the Premier's Native policy is the best of the worst. Certainly there are in some of the Native Bills before Parliament provisions which are not to be found in the Statute Book, but which, in fact, have been in operation for many years. The Bills are, for the most part, happily, contented, and in some measure prosperous; the relationships between white and black, whilst observing the strictest social distinction, are of the best.

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Here, then, the whole scene is before you, and whilst you are not expected to excuse treason or sedition, ask yourselves if the dice are not loaded. Question whether you are not permitting too heavy a strain upon the loyalty of a people when you permit the perpetration of a gross injustice and the infliction of an unearned punishment.

The outcome is a settled habit that assumes that the native exists for the benefit of the white man, and has no rights where his interests conflict with those of his superior. This habit, and the policy that springs from it, was carried north by the Chartered Company, and spread by migration into Kenya. Checked in Rhodesia by the liberal attitude of the new Government and in Kenya by pressure from home, it nevertheless threatens the content and peace of the Bantu peoples throughout East Africa, and, if we have neither responsibility nor power in South Africa, affects us in the protectorates and Crown colonies.

The book is opportune, because the Native Affairs Bills, which are the most recent and most serious expression of this attitude, have just been introduced in the South African Parliament. Anyone who still believes in General Hertzog's ability to give effect to his good intentions is recommended to read the analysis in this book of the Native Lands Bill. With every independent inquirer and every friend of the native, indeed, the analysis in this book of the Native Lands Bill. With every independent inquirer and every friend of Native Affairs Bills, which are the most recent and most serious expression of this attitude, have just been introduced in the South African Parliament. Anyone who still believes in General Hertzog's ability to give effect to his good intentions is recommended to read the analysis in this book of the Native Lands Bill. With every independent inquirer and every friend of the native, indeed, with General Hertzog himself, Lord Olivier emphasises the urgent need of adding to the inadequate existing reserves: the bill adds not an acre to reserves; on the contrary, its chief effect must be to drive the native off 'and on which he has been settled for generations into semi-servile employment with the white farmer. The provision of reserves is, however, by itself no longer a possible solution of the native problem in South Africa, for nor are native wages so low that white men could not live on them. Five shillings a shift, over and above keep, is commonly earned by natives at Kimberley, seven-and-six is not rare on the Rand; on the other hand, white artisans in the smaller towns often earn no more than seven shillings, and the Economic Commission gives instances of white labourers working well on five shillings a day. Lord Olivier may, however, make an impression where other critics have failed. As a member of the first Labour Government and the chief authority in the party on the subject of which he treats, he is entitled to remind the Labour wing of the present South African Government that the "slave theory" has "corrupted the South African Labour party into the acceptance of a programme which is absolutely and explicitly condemned by the formulated programme of the British Labour party in regard to relations with native races." That is a question of party politics; of deeper significance and wider appeal is his analysis of the attitude of Western civilisation to this problem. The supporters of these Native Bills defend them on the ground that they are necessary to protect European civilisation in Africa; Lord Olivier should convince them, if they will but give him a hearing, that this defence is based on sheer ignorance of what European civilisation means, that its exponents are setting themselves to reverse the trend of civilised policy throughout the world, and that their attitude is a denial of the very principles that justify the application to European society of the term civilisation itself.

Lord Olivier's concern is rather, however, to point out the injustice of a policy of repression and its inevitable results. The fruit of it in the past is the "poor white"; the only possible outcome of it in the future must be to confirm the white man in the conviction that he is a superior being, and, by artificially cheapening the labour of his native competitor, to enhance the white man's difficulty in getting employment. Perhaps the picture is painted in colours too dark. Misery is not the impression that a visitor brings back from a Witwatersrand compound;

The policy of General Hertzog's bills is rather to force the native into white employment, while excluding him from any industrial advance by the injury by depriving him of the franchise in the one province in which he has any political rights. There is a melancholy satisfaction in finding that those who during the dark days of war, when the agony of men and women was almost unbearable and the suspense beyond endurance, not only did not assist us, but by every dastardly means at their disposal, sought to aid our enemies?

Call the proposed legislation by any high-sounding title it may please you; describe it by any terms you will; to the native mind it remains what, in fact, it is—punishment. Well may they ask "For what?"

Here, then, the whole scene is before you, and whilst you are not expected to excuse treason or sedition, ask yourselves if the dice are not loaded. Question whether you are not permitting too heavy a strain upon the loyalty of a people when you permit the perpetration of a gross injustice and the infliction of an unearned punishment.

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Race Problem – 1927
Africa

The Native Bills.

The Prime Minister has introduced his Native Bills in Parliaments, deferring their second reading so as to get them considered by a select committee. His reasons for this procedure are numerous and obvious. 4-5-27

All the criticism he has invited upon them has proved damaging. The bills are both ill framed and revolutionary. After our experience with the manner in which the Colour Bar Act was steam-rollered through Parliament last year, we shudder to imagine what is going to happen to the privileges now enjoyed by the Cape Natives once these bills are put before Parliament.

There are enough friends, however, of the Natives within the House of Assembly to prevent the worst issue in case of a steam-rolling policy. The submission of these bills to a select committee will give us space for breathing. The Natives at this juncture should get together and consolidate their plans in order to present a united front in combination with all the other non-Europeans, inasmuch as the Government has evidently driven all non-Europeans into one camp. We are happy to note that the African Congress and the I.C.U. are holding their annual conferences early this month, and feel confident they will lead the way for the conference of all non-Europeans due to meet at Kimberley, 20th June next to organise the opposition to these bills as well as against the Sedition Bill.

Catholic African Social Course,

LOURDES, 1927.

The Fifth Annual Catholic African Social Course was held at Lourdes Mission, Cabane, from December 30th, 1926 to January 4th, 1927 under the auspices of the Roman Catholic authorities Opening it, the Rev. Father Emmanuel gave some words of welcome to all the members. It was largely attended, the attendance numbering some 250 which itself is evidence of the interest the Bantu people take in these courses.

Through the instrumentality of these courses the C.A.C. is endeavouring to instil into the minds of the Bantu people the idea of self-help, the way to which the Rev. Father B. Huss of St. Francis' College, Marianhill is paving by his articles in the "Umteteli" and "Indaba Zabantu".

During the course, we received religious, mental and manual training. By day, series of lectures on religion, sociology, psychology, physiology, agricultural economics and domestic economy were given, all of which were very highly appreciated by all who participated In the evening we all assembled in the hall for recreation and enjoyed free discussions on various aspects of Native life, music, and the wholesome and thought-invoking plays that were acted on the stage. The fact that the efforts of these men have not been in vain was witnessed when reports of certain Bantu organisations were read, showing creditable sums of money saved by only very small bodies of Bantu Co-operative Credit Societies The reports also showed great improvement in the methods used in the cultivation of the soil. This was a stimulus and a lesson which many carried home with them. Some of our people cherish the lamentable idea, that to go on learning is below their dignity, if once they have gone through a certain course of training, and in consequence they fall into a very low standard of mentality quite unconsciously. By listening to lectures, however, and also by exchanging views with others with whom they come in contact in such gatherings, this error presents itself to their notice, and steps are taken to eradicate it.

Among those who visited Lourdes at this time may be mentioned the Right Reverend Bishop A. Fleischer and Mr. G. Bell, M.A., Inspector of Schools, who gave an instructive address to teachers relative to their work.

Throughout the course, a spirit of cheerful obedience and enthusiasm pervaded, while the willingness of the Fathers, Sisters and Brothers to impart knowledge was remarkable

As the last item on the programme of the course a concert was raised by the teachers themselves A very delightful time was passed so that it was no wonder that when the Rev. Father Emmanuel declared the course closed, the shout—"Sorry"—came from the audience.

Bantu Men's Social Centre.

—:o:—

Special Announcements For April.

Friday night, April 1st, -Rev -C. F. Andrews, who was to speak, has wired that owing to the critical Indian situation he has felt obliged to remain in Cape Town, and regrets that his lecture must be cancelled.

A debate has been planned therefore, for the evening.

Resolved: - That the Witwatersrand Mines have, on the whole, benefited the Native people. 4-22-27

Friday night, April 8th' -Capt. Percy Trotter will be with us to adress us on the subject which he had planned for Feb. 25th.!! Present Day Affairs In China And The Orient!!

Thursday night, April 14th, -Under the auspices of the Gamma Sigma members and friends will have the opportunity to hear Mr. A. Paget Wilkes, B. A. just out from England. Mr. Wilkes has a splendid message for all of us. He is speaking to large European audiences in Johannesburg and every member should hear him.

Friday night, April. 15th. Good Friday. There will be no meeting of the Gamma Sigma. There will be shown in the hall, "From The Manger To The Cross," and other pictures.

Friday night, April 22nd, GUEST NIGHT. Tickets, either membership or Guest Night Ticket, must be shown on entering. You will find one ticket enclosed. Others may be obtained from the office. Please do not give away this ticket to anybody. Give your ticket to someone whom you really wish to enjoy the evening with you at the Social Centre.

Programme includes Boxing Bouts, Volley Ball finals, Special Music, Special Comedy pictures etc , etc.

Friday night, April 29th, Col. Sir Edward Thornton, Director of Medical Services, Dept. of Defence plans to meet with the members of the Gamma Sigma-

Don't Forget The B.M.S.C. Bible Class on Tuesdays—6.45.

JUNIOR GAMMA SIGMA meets every Thursday afternoon in the Junior (Boys) room, at 4 o'clock. There is a Table Tennis Tournament on, and Volley Ball. Further activities are being organized for Juniors

LAWRENCE TENNIS TROPHY Mr Lawrence has assured us that the trophy will arrive at the Centre this month, where it will be placed on exhibition. The competition will start early in May, Rules and regulations governing it will be in the hands of members before that time. Watch for Tennis Club meeting.

There is something for everybody at the B.M.S.C. If you feel you are not getting the full benefit from your membership, see the Secretary. There is plenty to do, and many things to get into !

Copies of the Annual Report are now available at the office.

Also copies of the B.M.S.C. Poster may be obtained for the asking.

SUPPORT AND ATTEND THE B.M.S.C. SCHOOL CLASSES !

A Visitor to Abyssinia.

Since the singular incident last year of Italy's agreement with this country for the exploitation of Abyssinia without that country's consent little has been heard of Abyssinia even in the Italian colonialist press. It was lately announced, however, that the Duke of the Abruzzi, the cousin of King Victor Emmanuel, would pay a visit to Abyssinia this summer, and the Abyssinian Regent, Ras Tafari, is now preparing to receive 'officially' the royal traveller. The Duke is, of course, a famous explorer, and the first object of his visit, we are told, is to indulge his passion for mountain-climbing; but he is also a noted supporter of colonial schemes, and it is hard to believe that his visit is not connected with Italian policy in the Red Sea area. It is interesting to see that Fascism, having found energetic methods unproductive, should now resort to gentler ones, but one can scarcely picture Ras Tafari proving more amenable to blandishments than to threats. No blandishment could convince anyone that the Italian scheme for a railway between the Red Sea and Somaliland through Abyssinia is a practical one, or conceal the fact that an attempt to carry it out would be anything else than a disguised occupation. The same objection does not apply to the British scheme for controlling the waters of Lake Tsana.

But unfortunately, as the two schemes were linked together in our agreement with Italy, the failure of the one implied the failure for the time being of the other.

NATIVE EDUCATION.

Widespread Support for New Scheme.

The interesting scheme of native education based on the reports of the Land and Education Commissions, which the Colonial Secretary is presently is meeting with party support of all sections of political opinion. The idea is clearly directive in the scheme, which, inter alia, for first-class Native schools in which industrial work, the English language, and discipline will be taught, four hours daily being devoted to industrial work.

Third-class schools will be in charge of native teachers, where the natives will be taught in the native language.

Other provisions include the establishment of night schools, in which female natives will be given instruction in domestic training, and industrial work for males. Grants-in-aid of salaries on a generous scale will be made to Europeans who qualify as competent teachers industrially, as well as grants in aid of equipment.

Position of Missionaries.

During the discussion in the Assembly the position of missionaries was frankly considered. Mrs. Tawse Jollie declaring that the missionaries were not responsible for all the breaking down: indeed they were responsible for only a small proportion. It was the unrest of civilisation that had broken down the native system. The missionaries had done more in the way of ethical support of the native in the replacement for what had been taken away.

Mr. Hadfield said that they could not possibly bring their civilisation and their new religion and their new law into this country without dragging down native custom and native tradition.

He admitted that when the Government took over more and more of the burden of secular education the missionary could devote himself much more fully to his essential work and be more effective in it. But he had found that mere evangelising not supported by a system of instruction of some kind or other was not sufficient to accomplish that at which they aimed. They had to aim at present at consolidation rather than extension as far as education was concerned: there must be a more careful and a fuller system of control than there had been hitherto.

Keen on Education.

Sir Ernest Montague declared that there was no doubt that the natives were very keen on education, and there should accordingly be the closest co-operation between the Government and all interested in the matter. Personally he believed that the natives should be educated, and he was at one with the Colonial Secretary when he urged the necessity of inculcating cleanliness, orderliness, control, and subjection to the authority

Mr. A. R. Thomson said the impression abroad about South Africa was that the European population were all out to make fortunes at the expense of the natives. A member of the British Parliamentary Delegation had confided to him that he thought the natives were not being treated properly. The impression he had received was that the Parliamentarians had expected to be met at the station by the sons of chiefs attired in frock coats and "tiles."

POLL TAX CASE.

NO EXEMPTION FROM TAXATION.

IMPORTANT TEST CASE AT QUEENSTOWN.

As partially reported in our issue of yesterday, (says the "Rep"), an important test case was heard wherein Sishuba of Whitlesea claimed exemption from payment of the native poll tax on the ground that he was a registered voter, and he sued for the return of £1 paid under protest.

Mr A. Addleson of Messrs. Visser and Peters was for plaintiff and Mr E H McConnell (Messrs McConnell and Rose appeared for the defence

THE LEGAL ARGUMENTS.

Mr. Addleson said: In this case the plaintiff, J. A. Sishuba, sues the Minister of Finance as representing the Union Government, for the refund of £1 paid by him as tax under Act 41 of 1925 under protest and without prejudice

This case is a test and the result thereof will affect thousands of natives in the Cape Province. Finality, will therefore in all probability not be reached in this court, but at the same time a heavy responsibility rests on the court as the initial Court of Appeal by the plaintiff against what he contends is an injustice.

Plaintiff alleges that he is a native and the child of Christian parents, and therefore falls under European law, that he was born in the Cape Province, and that he is a property owner. He contributes to the revenues of the State in the same way as Europeans by paying quitrent as well as Divisional Council rates.

In dealing with the rights of natives in the Cape Province one must remind the court of the distinction between natives who are registered voters and those who are not The registered voter is recognised as having certain rights which put him outside the pale of ordinary non-registered voters, and which carries with them rights and obligations.

Ever since the granting of Responsible Government in the Cape Province the Cape native who is able to show the qualifications of a registered voter is entitled to the privileges of being registered Apparently it was felt by the British Government which has always pursued a liberal policy in regard to the native that after the cessation of native wars and the gradual development of natives in civilisation and education, that they were entitled to

STAND POLITICALLY ON THE SAME LEVEL AS EUROPEANS,

subject to certain necessary restrictions which social barriers made inevitable, such as sitting on the Legislative Assembly side by side with the European

In 1887 the Cape Government found it expedient in the words of Act 39 "to exempt every native voter, duly registered as such for the election of members for the Parliament of this Colony, from the operation of certain laws" which might act as a disqualification as compared to Europeans, merely by reason of his colour

That Act 39 of 1887 has existed for the past 40 years and has come to be looked upon by the Cape native registered voter as his charter of liberty and rights, in the same way as the Barons looked upon their Magna Charta from King John. He considers his rights as entrenched and forming part of the policy of the Government of the country

The rights appertaining to Cape natives by virtue of Act 39 of 1887 were tacitly adopted by the Act of Union by virtue of Section 135 of Act of Union which explicitly safeguarded the franchise rights of the Cape natives by Section 35 (1) and in paragraph 7 of the Royal Instructions. Here again we see the hand of the British Government jealous of the rights of the natives being infringed.

The rights preserved in Section 35 of the Act of Union, have a direct relationship to Act 39 of 1887, and there is no doubt that with the adoption of the Cape native's right to be registered as a voter, there also following the adoption of such Acts relating to native franchise, which were not abrogated by repeal, and it must therefore be taken for granted that all legislation passed by the Union Parliament takes cognisance of Cape native rights where the privileges or obligations of natives generally are contemplated.

In support of this view I remind the court of the bitter fight the Cape members of the Houses of Parliament have waged in all colour bar legislation

There can be no possible doubt therefore that Act 39 of 1887 must be taken into account when considering any post Union legislation.

The plaintiff in this case contends that protected as he is by Act 39 of 1887 no legislation which puts a greater burden on him than it does on Europeans, or which imposes on him a tax which classes him politically with the mass of unregistered natives, is legally operative. Such a law he contends is Act 41 of 1925, better known as The Native Taxation and Development Act

With the intention and spirit of the Act no one can quarrel: but however admirable it may be as an economic move for the benefit of the native generally, the Cape native registered voter feels strongly that it

CUTS AT THE ROOTS OF THE POSITION HE HAS IN THE EYES OF THE LAW,

if he is to be made subject to its operation.

The defendant admits all the particulars of the plaintiff's summons with the exception of paragraphs 3 and 5. He denies that Act 41 of 1925 is a disqualifying law or that it does not apply to persons also in the position of plaintiff. He denies also that the plaintiff is not liable to pay the tax But at the same time he admits that plaintiff is entitled to the benefit of Section 1 of Act 39 of 1887, when applicable. He bases his contention for plaintiff's liability on Section 18 of Act 41 of 1925 which he says revokes any exemption the Cape native might have been able to claim.

The crux of the matter for the decision of the court is therefore how far Section 18 of Act 41 of 1925 can be considered to modify the provisions of Section 1 of Act 39 of 1887.

On the face of it, Section 18 of Act 41 of 1925 appears to cover every possible defence a native might bring as exempting him from the operation of the Act, but even the Legislature is denied the power to take away existing rights without the clearest expression of its intentions, and in such a way as may lead to the assumption that existing rights were intended to be abrogated

In no part of the Act of 1925 are the provisions of Act 39 of 1887 repealed directly. Even the definition of the word "native" in the Act of 1925 does not specially include such natives as might claim exemption by virtue of Act 39 of 1887.

It was the easiest thing in the world to say in section 18 or in the schedule that the provisions of Section 1 of Act 39 of 1887, insofar as inconsistent with the Act of 1925, are to be considered repealed as is generally done, and there is therefore no assumption for concluding that direct repeal of the exemption for the purposes of the 1925 Act was intended.

Now as to implied repeal. The courts have always been loth to presume repeal by implication and have preferred, where the intention of two Acts is such that both may stand to construe them as being consistent with one another (du Plessis v. Union Government, A.D. 1916, page 79) It is submitted that such is the case here Act 41 of 1925 may be administered against natives but only after taking into consideration in the first place the rights of Cape native registered voters. It is not by any means sufficiently clear that the provisions of Section 18 are aimed against Section 1 of Act 39 of 1887. In any case the terms of Section 18 are not sufficiently definite to justify a court of law in construing it as inconsistent with Section 1 of Act 39 of 1887.

I go further, and submit that provisions of Section 18 of Act 41 of 1925 are so vague as to be embarrassing, since Section 1 of 39 of 1887 does not embody the only exemptions which might be effected. The Natal natives, according to reports in the Press, also claim exemption from native taxation by reason of certain legislation, and one feels strongly that where

PARLIAMENT HAS BEEN SO NEGLIGENT IN FRAMING ITS LEGISLATION

the Court ought not to assist in placing an onerous interpretation on it.

There are some interesting and informative passages in the case of Chotabhai v. Union Government (A.D 1911), which bear strongly on this case for decision. There the question in dispute was the right of the Registrar of Asiatics in the Transvaal to refuse to register a young Indian as a resident in the Transvaal. The court had before it an unrepealed Act of 1907 and a fresh Act of 1908 both applicable to Indians in the Transvaal. On page 24 of the judgment Chief Justice de Villiers says:—

"The language of every part of a statute should be so construed as to be consistent, so far as possible with . . . . . every other unrepealed statute enacted by the same legislature."

It is contended that the Union Legislature is, so far as the Cape is concerned, the legal successor of the Cape Parliament, and as has already been said, adopts, until repeal, all pre-Union legislation.

Race Problem - 1927

Africa

Republic of Liberia.

NATIONAL CHURCH FOR LIBERIA?

President King Demands Withdrawal of Foreign Religious Control.

The withdrawal of foreign support and control of religious organisations in Liberia is presaged by President King in his annual message to the Legislature.

The carrying out of this proposal will affect religious bodies in America and Europe, which annually contribute a quarter of a million dollars yearly in Liberia. The A. M. E. Church spends about 50,000 dollars annually, the M. E. Church 65,000 dollars, and the P. E. Church 75,000 dollars. All of these Churches have Bishops in Liberia who will be affected.

President King's Message reads, in part:—

"Before concluding this Message I cannot but point with patriotic pride and pleasure to the new thought now moving through the nation towards Liberia's religious independence by complete severance from all foreign ecclesiastical control.

The incompatibility of political freedom with religious servitude the Liberians are now beginning to realise.

The British nation, realising this incompatibility, threw off the ecclesiastical yoke of Rome for spiritaal freedom and declared the Established Church of England. For the same reason the Protestant Episcopal Churches of America refused to submit to the continued ecclesiastical government and control of their respective parent bodies under their own appointed American ecclesiastical heads in keeping with the Republican spirit and genius of their country and their government.

The Churches in Liberia, in their awakening to national and racial consciousness, must and will proceed upon these very lines. The control of foreign religious bodies must be withdrawn, as well as their financial support, from the Churches in Liberia. If the former, why not latter?

Member Of The Kroo Tribe, A Liberian, Now Studying At Fisk Discusses Conditions In His Native Land.

To the Editor:—

Please grant me space in your paper to express my views on the Liberian situation dealt with by Mr. J. Marcus Houston, of Morristown College some time ago.

The country, during almost eighty years of existence as a Republic, has not produced a man, who is wise enough to recognize the undeveloped strength, energy and intelligence within her boundary which could be utilized to work in developing her raw materials for the benefit of Liberia. The governing classes are either ignoring the vital problems necessary for the nation, becoming less independent, or are not strong enough to make a personal sacrifice for the progress of the Republic. The spirit of pleasure and comfort dominate over national feelings among them. The tragedy of it is, that every body wants to be a parasite, using the government treasury as a host.

The government is not dealing with its native population which comprises nearly 90 per cent. of the inhabitants within Liberian territories. The cultivation of the undeveloped resources among the natives through education has been deliberately neglected. Instead of fostering those qualities which make for national strength, which at present lie dormant in the characteristics of the native population, administration after administration has spent time and money fighting against them, and is doing everything within its power to suppress the aspirations of this mass of people.

This selfish policy is carried out so as to enable the "powers that be" to extol enormous taxes from the tribes for the upkeep of the Mendi people used as a Frontier Force to promote the interest of the few.

I would like to ask my friend and compatriot, Mr. Houston, who wrote that the progress of the country was impeded because of native uprisings, to answer the following questions for the enlightenment of those American Negroes, who are interested in the Republic and would be happy to see her succeed. Why did the Grebo tribes, unanimously vote "I", for Hon. D. E. Howard for president against J. J. Dossen in his own district? What were the causes for the Government-Demkpi War? Why did the government have to wait until King Johnson's death to attack the Kroo Tribe? And why did the same tribe make the late Colonel Charles Young, U. S. Army, give his word of honor before they would send their leaders to the capital for arbritration in 1914? What condition did President Howard find in the G. Bassa District on his annual tour of the Republic in 1914?

What were the causes for the uprising which my friend refers to?

In attempting to answer these questions, he might find an explanation for these wrongs which have been inflicted by the government on the indigenous population.

—Philip T. Davis, Fisk "U"

Liberia Executive Highly Honored

(By The Associated Negro Press)

London, Eng.—More than 13,000 guest including Americans, reigning monarchs, Eastern potentates and colonial visitors attended the royal garden party in honor of the Prince of Wales, at Buckingham Palace, a few days ago.

Presidendt C. D. B. King of Liberia and King Fuad of Egypt were among the honored guests, both of whom were received by the King and Queen with much ceremony and pomp.

Liberia.

Liberia's Surrender

The fears of the friends of the Liberian Republic are seemingly being speedily realized. But a few days have passed since the Firestone interests leased a million acres in various corners of the African Republic for a hundred years. The ink is hardly dry upon the lease before President King bans the missionaries of foreign churches. Cutting across corners, President King banishes all American colored citizens from Liberia. Abraham Lincoln said that if one came upon a foundation dug, joists, and weatherboarding, studding, lathes, and stone and lime lying around, he would come to the conclusion that someone contemplated the building of a house. The inference seems equally obvious in Liberia. Firestone wants no interference from progressive and independent colored Americans in the Republic. Ambitious, educated leaders would now bring discord into the camp of his African laborers, division in the Liberian government and frustration to his plans to exploit the untold rubber bonanza of the country. Why else then, this ban against missionaries? Certainly the primitive and indolent natives of the Hinterland need religious salvation, education and industry. The colored missionaries who have gone from America constitute neither now nor have they constituted in the past any problem or any infringement upon the independence and dignity of the Liberian government. All words to the contrary by President King are camouflage. They cannot hide the fact that President Coolidge must protect Liberia even against itself. The Liberians need education; they need the co-operation of their American cousins. It is not only a racial outrage, but a national insult for Liberia's president to bar colored Americans from the groping black Republic.

NEW NOVEL BY MRS. LEWIS.*

"Mantis," the new novel by Ethelreda Lewis (Mrs. Lewis, of Johannesburg), has been published by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton. It is probably her best novel. She is distinctly interesting. Of the quality of her thought and mind and heart there has never been any doubt. Her writing is essentially personal.

Mrs. Lewis depicts a young man who graduates to the ministry from a sensitive childhood, uncomprehended by his parents. Against an African background he "used to lie awake and think with horror of the sermons he would have to preach—to elderly people who behind masks opaque as suet . . . are thinking of sirloin and Yorkshire pudding." He hated it. He misunderstood them and they misunderstood him, so he gave it up and became a meek, rather ineffectual professor, who was not feared, or even considered seriously, by those to whom he lectured. But from the beginning, when he was a little boy, a Mantis religiosa had been symbol to him. When he was a child he collected insects and other such with miserly love. Parents did not understand. His mother stood over him and made him destroy them because she thought they represented something antagonistic to the ministry. She was an intolerant, unintelligent woman. So he saw his first Lepidopter go away into ashes. But he saved the Mantis, and all the way, it appears, it was his anchor; it represented that first ambition to study more deeply the laws behind the winging moth, the trembling butterfly, the crawling thing.

And he did it in the end, parents, "suet-faced" congregations, colourless and uncomprehending students notwithstanding.

But the Professor and a "little wisp of an Irish girl" are the centre of the story. There is no idle romanticism about their association. She never loves him, but she goes to him in the end and marries him. There is a mysterious thread woven into the fabric: Naiko, the inexplicable, who was of these dark people, and yet not of them; he worshipped her with the "unspeaking" part of himself. There came a time when the white girl was alone, and when Naiko came up to her and, bowing to the earth, placed her foot on his head. "The brown questioning hands . . . closed like iron round her two wrists. She could feel the fluttering of a wild pulse beating against her numbing hands. . . . She trembled at the touch of savage love. . . . She grew faint with the strange, bitter taste of it. . . . She looked wonderingly down at her little bruised hands."

And in the end, after Naiko was dead and after she was married to the Professor, who still held his Mantis in its little tin, she stood apart from the friendliness, the quiet comfort of this marriage, and thought of "the agonising pressure of two hands grasping hers."

If it was the purpose of the story-teller to show the two sides of the woman—the unbridled primitive and the sane, quiet, comfortable product of intelligence—then this Irish girl fulfils that purpose.

Mrs. Lewis has advanced far beyond her previous work in "Mantis," especially in the latter half. She never thinks along second-rate lines, and never fills her characters with second-rate emotions.

Liberian Boundary Line to Be Fixed by Surveyor

Monrovia, Liberia, Aug. 12.—The government of Liberia recently announced that a part of the $5,000,000 loan secured from the United States will be utilized in bettering the highway system of the Republic. There are now about 300 miles of highways in Liberia which can be used by motor cars. President King is touring the continent of Europe engaged in the study of road-making.

The government, anxious to establish the exact boundary between Liberia and French Guinea, has secured the services of Henry Gorman, American surveyor, to trace the line. The surveyor will be in the employ of the republic for two years.

KING REELECTED 3rd TIME CHIEF OF LIBERIAN REP.

President Defeats Former American, Faulkner, By 60,000 Vote

Cable advices received here Monday from Monrovia, state that Charles D. B. King has been re-elected President of Liberia by a majority of 60,000 over T. R. Faulkner, a former American Negro.

Kings victory is construed as an indorsement of his economic, financial and educational program recently adopted. He will establish a precedent January 1 by entering on his third term as Chief Executive of the little Negro Republic on the west coast of Africa.

Liberia is enjoying a boom since American interests started to grow rubber in the hinterland on a large scale. Already nearly 15,000 natives are employed clearing the forests and planting rubber. At Monrovia the Government has opened a new general hospital, and is planning a modern electric lighting system.

CROWD IN RAIN WELCOMES PRES. KING IN PARIS

Troops Stand At Attention As He Places Wreath On Unknown Soldier's Tomb

LIBERIAN LADIES WORE THE LATEST STYLES

African Executive Travels In Special Car And Suite Aboard Ship

PARIS, (By Mail)—In spite of a heavy rain, a large crowd of Parisians flocked to the Arc de Triomphe de l'Etoile here to witness the ceremony of the laying of a wreath on the tomb of the unknown soldier by President C. D. B. King, of Liberia, now on a European tour.

Accompanying the president were his aide-de-camp Col. T. Elwood Davis of the Liberian army; Capt. Charles T. King, son of the president and secretary to Col. Davis; Mrs. C. A. Kintz, Miss Ellen King, Master C. B. D. King, Jr., and Mrs. M. D. Ketter,ter of Liberio. In addition there were the attaches of the Liberian Legation, Baron Rudolph Leman, and Baron Bogardo, and the Baronesse Bogardo, as well as sereval leading French officials.

Frock Coat

The president, dark, tall, a striking figure in a black frock coat, with Col. Davis on his right in a well-fitting military uniform descended from his automobile at the hour set for the ceremony and walked up to the tomb between the bright-colored ranks of the French Republican Guards. Here after a short silent prayer, he laid the wreath, a magnificent one of roses and hyacinths, with the colors of the Liberian Republic, on the tomb under the great arch, while the crowd stood by reverentially with doffed hats.

The ceremony though simple, was a very touching one—this head of the single republic in Africa paying his tribute to the valor of the leading republic on a neighboring continent.

Crowd Flocks To Carriage

At the conclusion of the ceremony, the crowd which had been kept back by the gendarmes flocked to the president's carriage to get a closer glimpse of him, while photographers levelled their cameras at the party.

Styles For Ladies

The Liberian ladies were becomingly dressed in spite of the rain, in styles, which if not Parisian, in cut showed that the ladies of the far republic are not a whit behind the French capital in matters of elegance. All in the ensemble and bearing of the Liberian party was one that generally reflected credit on the Negro race, everywhere.

President King, as was said, is here with his party on a European tour, arriving recently in Paris from Bordeaux, where a special car was provided for him by the French government. Leaving Monrovia, the French steam ship line, Chargeurs Reunis, placed the entire first class deck at his disposal.

Colored Deputies Receive Him

Arriving at the St. Lazare station, Paris, President King and party were met by Colonel Phillippe, aide-de-camp to President Doumergue, Deputy Blaise Diagne, of Senegal, Col. Becq de Fouquieres, and other French officials. Several functions have been given here in honor of President King.

Later the Paris representative of the Afro-American called on President King for an interview chiefly relative to the migration of American Negroes to Liberia. The president was engaged in a conference and the reporter talked with Col. Davis instead.

Selective Immigration

As to the matter of immigration Col. Davis, who is a native of Indiana, said that American Negroes were very welcome in Liberia, and that business opportunities were unusually good. Nevertheless, he pointed out, that any immigration to Liberia would at this time have to be a selective one, just as in the case of white colonists to Canada and Australia. "Liberia," said Col. Davis, "is not in the position to care for dependents. What it needs in the matter of immigration are persons with capital, and most of all skilled farmers. There are splendid opportunities for persons with from five thousand to six thousand dollars. Right now there is a fine opening for a haberdashery and a tailoring and cleaning establishment."

No Discontents

Another requisite, said Col. Davis, is that immigrants should be of a type sympathetic to the republic, as persons of the radical discontented type were likely to embroil the government with neighboring European powers, some of whom are anxious for any pretext to seize Liberian soil. "That was one of the reasons," he said, "why the Liberian government had to oust the Garvey movement, and prevent the landing of Garvey's officials on Liberian soil.

Garvey Had Sent Home

"The Universal Negro Improvement Association had landed shipping supplies, building materials, and even a temporary residence already to be set up for Garvey himself 375 miles down the coast at a spot where such a proceeding was likely to get us into trouble with one of the big European powers, all of whom watch this sort of thing carefully on their African soil.

"Let us suppose that at this spot in question any trouble had arisen during which a subject of another country was hurt, why, it would have been easy for that country to claim an idemnity, or to invade us saying that we are not able to maintain order.

Americans Welcome

"American Negroes are most welcome—the proof is that I am one myself, being a naturalized Liberian.

John Hall, Killer

The type we do not want however, is that of a man, named John Hall, who recently migrated to Liberia from Pennsylvania. Hall, whom we had permitted to land with his goods in which were several thousand rounds of ammunition was responsible for a tragedy unknown before in the history of the republic. Some weeks ago some soldiers were returning from parade, when one of them accidentally fell against his booth, knocking it over. In the altercation that followed, Hall shot the man dead, then a lieutenant and a policeman, and fled to the home of his lawyer, where he barricaded himself, heavily armed. From this place he killed several others, and finally the place had to be burned down with the murderer in it.

"Doctors, dentists, business men, electrical engineers, farmers we are glad to get. In fact Liberia prefers American Negroes and American goods.

Coffee Chief Product

Speaking of the rubber industry Col. Davis said that was getting along well, but that Liberia was very far from deserting its most famous product, Liberian coffee. Piassava, a fibre that grows wild in the swamps, he said, was finding a splendid market in Europe, as well as palm products.

The presence of an independent Negro government in Africa means much to the future of the Negro race the world over, said Col. Davis. Africa with her vast almost untouched resources is the coming continent. Col. Davis admitted that Garvey had done a wonderful work in advertising Africa to the Negro people, and that he had some splendid ideas but that Garvery himself was not the right one to put them into execution.

Return By January

After visiting Holland, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Italy and possibly England, Prseident King will return to Liberia arriving there in time for his inauguration in January, 1928. He was recently re-elected by a great majority.

COLUMBIA, S. C.
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Liberian President Visitor in London

LONDON, July 25.—Charles Burgess King, President of Liberia, arrived in London last Tuesday from Paris. He was welcomed at Victoria Station on behalf of King George by the Earl of Lucan. The President stated that he had come to London principally for a holiday but that he wished to study certain things, especially road-making. He will be present at a royal garden party in Buckingham Palace Friday and will attend receptions by King Fuad of Egypt and the Lord Mayor of London.

"We have no Reds in Liberia; only whites and blacks," said the President, when asked whether the Communist influence had spread to his republic.

"We are not interested in trade disputes in Liberia," he said; "we haven't reached that stage yet. We haven't a railway yard in whole country, but we are progressing with good roads. I have built 250 miles so far."

Journalist Who Sailed From Charleston 48 Years Ago in Bark Azor With Colonization Venture Surveys Prospects Related to New Rubber Developments in Liberia —South Carolina College Graduate Once President of University in Monrovia—Columbia. Negro Made Fortune There Planting Sugar—Great Transformations in Process Now

Amazing and revolutionary changes in economic, political and social conditions in the South and this country generally may result from work now being done 3,000 miles away, on the other side of the Atlantic, overlooked by all our heavy thinkers and profound prophets. From demands of our rubber industries an international romance more fantastic and fascinating than any told in history may come, is likely to come. A new nation important in world affairs may be built on rubber from a community impotent and unconsidered, which until very recently lived precariously and by general good natured sufferance on old foundations, beautifully designed but badly made and fast crumbling. As in the old fable of the lion and the mouse, the lordly American eagle may be delivered from the snare of British monopoly of the rubber supply—essential now for peace and war purposes—by the humble and long slumbering and forgotten dormouse, Liberia, Negro republic, smallest, weakest and least regarded of all civilized governments. Going beyond the fable, the dormouse may develop

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power and influence to shatter sectional and party lines in the United States and force on us here new agricultural and industrial problems. Nothing more astonishing ever has happened than may be happening at this moment.

Authorized publications tell us that a great American corporation has begun to spend a hundred million dollars, involving employment of 330,000 men, developing rubber plantations in Liberia. This makes it certain that the tiny burlesque of a nation occupying a narrow strip of land on the west coast of Africa will be wakened from sleep and rescued from decay, brought from isolation and obscurity to active and far felt contact with world affairs. The process develops swiftly. Announcement of the American enterprise came in October, 1925. Last year came news that Monrovia, the Liberian capital, was congested with automobiles and that colored officers from the United States army would be borrowed to establish and enforce traffic regulations. The town was established more than a century ago and its population was estimated in 1905 at 7,000, including about 1,000 aborigines of the Kroo tribe living in the outskirts.

Monrovia 49 Wears Old.

Those of us who went there with the ill fated Azor immigration party, that left Charleston Easter Sunday of 1878, found it a place of shabby, stagnant, squalid dilapidation, with forlornly patched remnants of departed ambitions and endeavors at elegance and grandeur. Massive stone warehouses, built at heavy cost by sanguine American philanthropy of 50 years before, for trade that never came, stood at the waterside, empty, ruinous and desolate. A university building, also erected by the friendly white Americans and formally opened in 1863, was falling to pieces, without faculty, students or means to maintain it. Wide streets, well designed to carry the traffic of a busy city, were so overgrown with wild verbena and other tropical bushes, five to eight feet high, as to be indistinguishable. Narrow footpaths through this mass of vegetation led from one point to another. There were no horses, sheep, cattle, not even goats, no vehicles of any kind.

The latest book on Liberia, "The Black Republic," by Henry Fenwick Reeves, C. M. G., an Englishman who spent most of his life among the Africans and many months in Liberia, with introduction by Sir Alfred Sharpe, C. B., also an expert on Africa, was written in 1920. Mr. Reeve was in Monrovia 42 years after the Azor expedition and describes conditions there almost exactly as we saw them. In the interval the Germans had established a colony, erected a cable office, with communication with Europe, and wireless station and a number of modern dwellings, but were forced away by the World war; and an English corporation, seeking to open iron mines and find diamonds, had opened and made some miles of roads over which vehicles could travel safely, but this venture broke down for lack of capital. Swift tropical growth had choked the road in 1920 and surrounded the other improvements, while the Liberians looked on. Mr. Reeve found Monrovia in 1920 as we found it in 1878, with footpaths, just wide enough for one, the only means of communication within the town, walking there at night possible only by the aid of hand lanterns.

Dying, Egypt, Dying!

Monrovia and Liberia were dying. After each momentary stimulation, always from without, they had relapsed to inertia, lanquidly and indifferently watched weeds and wilderness grow over them, their small hopes of progress disappear, industries and enterprises created for them die, one by one. Men in control applied all the thinking they did and energy they used to ridiculously petty politics, to scheming for little jobs in a government with many pretentious titles, accumulating debts and pitiful and doubtful income and to robbing shamelessly and by stale devices the unfortunate native tribes. The university, created and supported by gifts from benevolent New Englanders, was opened in 1863 with seven students, died, was revived, in 1920 had three students in the college course and 123 boys and girls in the "preparatory," ranking with grades three to six in the American school system.

McCants Stewart, first Negro graduate of the South Carolina college in the Reconstruction period, accepted the presidency of the Liberian university, worked there two or three years and left, disheartened and disgusted. In 1920 the income of the university from tuition fees was $320 and from appropriation by the congress $2,000, paid in treasury scrip or actual cash as political influence might direct. In the early '70s a Philadelphia firm undertook to stimulate coffee growing in Liberia and had a sailing vessel plying to the ports of the country, but soon became discouraged and quit. Liberian coffee in appearance and flavor compares favorably with the best Mocha, but as coffee culture developed in Brazil and elsewhere, the few Liberian planters failed to meet the competition and the plantations were left to be overrun by the jungle. Sugar production promised well in the '70s and '80s. A mulatto named Sharpe, who went from Columbia in 1857, made a fortune of $500,000 by 1887, growing sugar, but his example was not followed and sugar exports dwindled to almost nothing. Sir Alfred Sharpe, writing, in 1923, the introduction to Mr. Reeve's book, already mentioned, said of the Liberians: "They have had their chance and have shown themselves to be incapable of civilized government."

A Miracle in Process.

And, now, behold the miracle! Monrovia in 1923 sleepy, shabby, decaying, in 1926 broad awake, the wide streets, laid off 100 years ago and four years ago overgrown with wild verbena and bushes and further obstructed with outcropping rock and foul filth piles, now so crowded with automobiles, needing smooth and open ways, that traffic cops and regulations are necessary!

No dead and forsaken town in our older states is so dead and apparently hopeless as Monrovia was in 1923. Hardly a gold rush or oil discovery town has sprung into life faster or more vigorously than this long, lonesome, dormant, 100-year-old village over on the west coast of Africa. As Monrovia was, Liberia was. As Monrovia is, Liberia is. The country is being cleared and transformed. Dense and hitherto impenetrable forests, of thickness and rankness of growth inconceivable to people of moderate climes, are being penetrated and hewn away.

The American corporation will plant 100,000,000 rubber trees on 1,000,000 acres of ground, 100 trees to the acre, the proportion approved by experience. The huge plantations will fill more than 1,600 of Liberia's 38,400 square miles, the country being approximately the size of the state of Ohio. A breakwater is being built at Monrovia, that vessels of deep draught may load and unload at wharves there. This will remove permanently one of the external obstacles to the development of the country. On the 440 miles of coast line there has been no harbor. Ships anchored in open roadsteads, from a mile to three miles off shore, and cargo was distributed and taken in by canoes, propelled by Kroomen, the tribe of amphibious aborigines living always close to the sea and from earliest African history living on and from the sea—finest natural watermen and sailors in the world. Commerce will have convenient access as never before.

What of American Negroes?

How does all this touch us here in the United States and in the South? Practically a new country owned and governed by Negroes, in which no white man may be a citizen or property owner, is opened to the 10,000,000 Negroes of the United States. The American corporation holds its lands on long lease, but may not own a foot of them. No white man may vote or fill the smallest office. It is the one place on earth where the American-born Negro and descendant of American-born Negroes is not only the social and political equal of his fellow citizens, but the master of the country. Of the 38,400 square miles, 3,500 are occupied by Liberians, descendants of the original settlers and the few American Negroes who have gone there and survived in the last 75 years. The aboriginies hold 2,300 square miles. More than 2,100 square miles, nearly 13,000,000 acres, remain unoccupied and unused—land producing luxuriantly sugar, coffee, all the tropical fruits, a coarse cotton which grows wild and needs no replanting from year to year, rubber, with stores of iron yet untouched and gold in quantities unknown. At 35 to the square mile, the population of the United States, Liberia has room for more than 700,000 new people. At 100 to the square mile, there is more than 2,000,000 and the hinterland beyond and the British and French possesions on either side offer unlimited territory of the same soil and climate. No definite or accurate census of Liberia ever has been taken. Mr. Reeve estimated the Liberian population proper, descendants of the Negroes sent from America, the 5,700 Negroes rescued from slave ships, from time to time, and sent there and the few aborigines admitted to citizenship, at 40,000, all told. The aboriginal tribes within Liberian territory are estimated at between 1,000,000 and 2,000,000 persons.

No Place for Whites.

Suppose the plans of the American corporation, prosecuted by capital practically unlimited and by American brains, skill, ingenuity and energy, successful. The standard yield of a rubber tree, eight to 12 years old, is three pounds a year. Three hundred million pounds, from the 100,000,000 trees, make 150,000 tons. This country now uses 400,000 tons a year, 70 per cent. of the the world's present production.

Rubber is indigenous in Liberia. The official English maps of the country, made years ago, show one great tract marked "Nidi Forest. Magnificent growth of rubber trees.' This is 50 miles from the coast and heretofore made inaccessible by dense intervening jungle, through which not even the narrow footpaths that have been the sole means of land travel have gone. Sir Alfred Sharpe says, as late as 1923, that few residents of Monrovia ever had been so far as 35 miles into the interior. Liberian territory, geographically and nominally, extends 200 miles inland, but no Liberian official or citizen dared venture beyond the clearings without strong military escort. The tribes in "the bush"—said by Mr. Reeve to be the strongest, mentally and physically and most ambitious of all the native Africans—welcome white men cordially, but hate the Liberians, who haughtily and rigidly draw caste lines against them, call them "bush niggers," and tolerate them only as servants and cheap laborers, require them to pay "hut tax," hale them before magistrates, with help of modern rifles and machine guns, and impose on them onerous fines for small offenses, real or imagined. The value of rubber exported from Liberia in 1921, the last year for which reports are available, was $3,000. This probably was gathered casually by members of wild tribes, to be traded at stores or to pay fines or taxes.

Let us suppose the annaul exportation increased to 150,000 tons from the American corporation's plantation and many thousands of additional tons from the Nidi forests, already in full growth and ready to produce, made acessible. Strong imagination is needed to realize the difference that one item would make in and to Liberia, including consideration of some thousands of men from the bush tribes, now producing practically nothing, trained to regular work and regular wages and brought to intimate contact with the methods and thought of civilization.

Lure to American Negroes.

Liberia offers no lure nor place for the white settler. Its climate, conditions and laws all are against him. Except as a temporary resident, salaried employe or agent, he has no opportunity there. Opened up for settlement, with hundreds of thousands of acres of wonderfully fertile virgin soil ready for occupation and cultivation and promising rich returns for comparatively little labor, it will, within a very few years, be offering a powerful lure to the American Negro of every station, vocation and ambition. Climate and conditions are those for which he is fitted by inherited tendencies. Fifty thousand American Negroes would possess and rule within ten years against the 12,000 or 15,000 existing Liberians. Citizenship is acquired easily and quickly by black or mulatto people from this country.

Known and present facts and figures promise unprecedented events, invite broad and bewildering speculation and suggest startling prediction. Sir Alfred Sharpe says the Negro in Liberia has had his chance and has failed. Analysis of the evidence must cause strong doubt of the truth of this assertion.

It is to be remembered, while trying to think honestly on the subject, that these Englishmen are bitterly hostile to the Liberians, and with cause and reason. But for an unwritten but generally accepted international understanding that Liberia is a kind of ward, or half adopted child, of the United States, the country would have been gobbled long ago by the British on one side or the French on the other, or divided between them. It has been regarded by both nations as a dog in the manger, possessing magnificent resources which it could not, or would not, develop and forbade others to develop.

Also, Liberia has been an international nuisance in that part of Africa. Its unexplored and undeveloped wilderness, 150 miles wide by 400 long, has been the refuge for criminals and rebels from the British Sierra Leone on the north and the French colonies on the south. The Liberians were unable to arrest these outlaws and public enemies, but stood always on their dignity and—with the power of the United States supposed to be behind them—made majestic protest against invasion of their sacred soil by British or French pursuing officials. Practical, rough-and-ready English explorers and pioneers had no tolerance for the tawdry strutting and posing of Liberian officials on ceremonious occasions, absurdly defying the climate in venerable high silk hats and long frock coats, supposed to appertain to statesmanship. Petty tyrannies, discourtesies and exactions of petty Liberian executive and judicial representatives maddened men intent on doing business in businesslike ways.

A Kinder Verdict.

The American missionary bishop, Lloyd, a Southern white man, judged the Liberians far more kindly than did the Englishmen and thought, and said, they had done wonderfully well, considering all the circumstances. Delafosse, French consul to Monrovia several years, wrote a book on the country in which he was severe as the English in criticism of the sloth, arrogance and ill treatment of the aborigines by Liberians generally. His book was published in 1908. He remarked, however:

"There is yet a nucleus of Liberians of our section of a standards and customs were preserved best traditions of the first objects with these relics of former connecentury ago. One entering the home of a tions. I noted when entering a much honored Liberian bearing name was the once familiar Virginian case containing a pair of crazy mahogany silver mounted, long barrelled duel- ling pistols, on the top of the library shelf, where usually those articles of furniture rested in the old plantation homes. Maybe other and better

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What of American Negroes?

How does all this touch us here in the United States and in the South? Practically a new country owned and governed by Negroes, in which no white man may be a citizen or property owner, is opened to the 10,000,000 Negroes of the United States. The American corporation holds its lands on long lease, but may not own a foot of them. No white man may vote or fill the smallest office. It is the one place on earth where the American-born Negro and descendant of American-born Negroes is not only the social and political equal of his fellow citizens, but the master of the country. Of the 38,400 square miles, 3,500 are occupied by Liberians, descendants of the original settlers and the few American Negroes who have gone there and survived in the last 75 years. The aboriginies hold 2,300 square miles. More than 2,100 square miles, nearly 13,000,000 acres, remain unoccupied and unused—land producing luxuriantly sugar, coffee, all the tropical fruits, a coarse cotton which grows wild and needs no replanting from year to year, rubber, with stores of iron yet untouched and gold in quantities unknown. At 35 to the square mile, the population of the United States, Liberia has room for more than 700,000 new people. At 100 to the square mile, there is more than 2,000,000 and the hinterland beyond and the British and French possesions on either side offer unlimited territory of the same soil and climate. No definite or accurate census of Liberia ever has been taken. Mr. Reeve estimated the Liberian population proper, descendants of the Negroes sent from America, the 5,700 Negroes rescued from slave ships, from time to time, and sent there and the few aborigines admitted to citizenship, at 40,000, all told. The aboriginal tribes within Liberian territory are estimated at between 1,000,000 and 2,000,000 persons.

No Place for Whites.

Suppose the plans of the American corporation, prosecuted by capital practically unlimited and by American brains, skill, ingenuity and energy, successful. The standard yield of a rubber tree, eight to 12 years old, is three pounds a year. Three hundred million pounds, from the 100,000,000 trees, make 150,000 tons. This country now uses 400,000 tons a year, 70 per cent. of the world's present production.

Rubber is indigenous in Liberia. The official English maps of the country, made years ago, show one great tract marked "Nidi Forest. Magnificent growth of rubber trees.' This is 50 miles from the coast and heretofore made inaccessible by dense intervening jungle, through which not even the narrow footpaths that have been the sole means of land travel have gone. Sir Alfred Sharpe says, and in fact that few residents of Monrovia ever had been so far as 35 miles into the interior. Liberian territory, geographically and nominally, extends 200 miles inland, but no Liberian official or citizen dared venture beyond the clearings without strong military escort. The tribes in "the bush"—said by Mr. Reeve to be the strongest, mentally and physically and most ambitious of all the native Africans—welcome white men cordially, but hate the Liberians, who haughtily and rigidly draw caste lines against them, call them "bush niggers," and tolerate them only as servants and cheap laborers, require them to pay "hut tax," hale them before magistrates, with help of modern rifles and machine guns, and impose on them onerous fines for small offenses, real or imagined. The value of rubber exported from Liberia in 1921, the last year for which reports are available, was $3,000. This probably was gathered casually by members of wild tribes, to be traded at stores or to pay fines or taxes.

Let us suppose the annaul exportation increased to 150,000 tons from the American corporation's plantation and many thousands of additional tons from the Nidi forests, already in full growth and ready to produce, made acessible. Strong imagination is needed to realize the difference that one item would make in and to Liberia, including consideration of some thousands of men from the bush tribes, now producing practically nothing, trained to regular work and regular wages and brought to intimate contact with the methods and thought of civilization.

Lure to American Negroes.

Liberia offers no lure nor place for the white settler. Its climate, conditions and laws all are against him. Except as a temporary resident, salaried employe or agent, he has no opportunity there. Opened up for settlement, with hundreds of thousands of acres of wonderfully fertile virgin soil ready for occupation and cultivation and promising rich returns for comparatively little labor, it will, within a very few years, be offering a powerful lure to the American Negro of every station, vocation and ambition. Climate and conditions are those for which he is fitted by inherited tendencies. Fifty thousand American Negroes would possess and rule within ten years against the 12,000 or 15,000 existing Liberians. Citizenship is acquired easily and quickly by black or mulatto people from this country.

Known and present facts and figures promise unprecedented events, invite broad and bewildering speculation and suggest startling prediction. Sir Alfred Sharpe says the Negro in Liberia has had his chance and has failed. Analysis of the evidence must cause strong doubt of the truth of this assertion.

It is to be remembered, while trying to think honestly on the subject, that these Englishmen are bitterly hostile to the Liberians, and with cause and reason. But for an unwritten but generally accepted international understanding that Liberia is a kind of ward, or half adopted child, of the United States, the country would have been gobbled long ago by the British on one side or the French on the other, or divided between them. It has been regarded by both nations as a dog in the manger, possessing magnificent resources which it could not, or would not, develop and forbade others to develop.

Also, Liberia has been an international nuisance in that part of Africa. Its unexplored and undeveloped wilderness, 150 miles wide by 400 long, has been the refuge for criminals and rebels from the British Sierra Leone on the north and the French colonies on the south. The Liberians were unable to arrest these outlaws and public enemies, but stood always on their dignity and—with the power of the United States supposed to be behind them—made majestic protest against invasion of their sacred soil by British or French pursuing officials. Practical, rough-and-ready English explorers and pioneers had no tolerance for the tawdry strutting and posing of Liberian officials on ceremonious occasions, absurdly defying the climate in venerable high silk hats and long frock coats, supposed to appertain to statesmanship. Petty tyrannies, discourtesies and exactions of petty Liberian executive and judicial representatives maddened men intent on doing business in businesslike ways.

A Kinder Verdict.

The American missionary bishop, Lloyd, a Southern white man, judged

best traditions of our section of a standards and customs were preserved century ago. One of the first objects with these relics of former connec- I noted when entering the home of a tions. Liberian bearing a much honored In the Southern states we saw to Virginian name was the once familiar idealism and spasmodic ual mahogany case containing a pair of crazy silver mounted, long barrelled duel- ek ling pistols, on the top of the library may ent shelf, where usually those articles eed, of furniture rested in the old planta- the tion homes. Maybe other and better

"There is yet a nucleus of Libe- than the Liberians far more kindly and thought, and rians of the ancient time, remark- did the Englishmen and wonderfully well, ably instructed and civilized . . . said, they had done circumstances. De- There are also among the young peo- considering all the lafosse, French consul to Monrovia has some choice minus who desire to several years, wrote a book on the moral and intellectual country in which he was severe as elevate the South may the English in criticism of the sloth, to do so." We of the ancient arrogance and ill treatment of the imagine the "Liberians of freed, aborigines by Liberians generally. His time", direct descendants of book was published in 1908. He favorite old family servants, who marked, however: ried with them across the ocean

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So far as human foresight can discern, it is certain that the present generation will see the Negro given his chance really, in a country of his own and with government of his own, the first time in uncounted thousands of years. He has been a bondman, a slave, in enlightened countries since the dawn of history. Langston, latest Negro poet, says of the men of his race: "I helped build the pyramids; Caesar told me to keep his front steps clean; I sang my sorrow song all the way from Africa to Georgia; I blacked George Washington's boots; I toted mortar for the Woolworth building."

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Suppose, then, anywhere from 1,000,000 to 5,000,000 American Negroes drawn to Liberia? The commercial, social and political effects inevitably would be enormous. They defy our calculation and prediction, because we Southern people cannot imagine our part of the country without Negroes, or even with half the Negroes we have. Thinking and far seeing men have contended through some years that the one possible solution of the vexing race problem is peaceful and final separation of the races. Carl McKinley wrote a book about it—"An Appeal Unto Pharoah"—years ago and was little heeded.

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As an instance of results to be expected, if reasonable proportions of the Negroes going were from Tennessee, Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey and Missouri, those states would be taken from the doubtful columns in politics and left surely and solidly Democratic. Border and some middle states now counted Republican, by power of the solidly Republican Negro vote, might pass into the doubtful column. On the other hand, some Southern states in which fear of the Negro vote is the chief asset of the Democratic party, might become doubtful. Disappearance or heavy diminution of that vote and incoming of new white citizens may abolish sectional political lines forever.

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Much of this, of course, is surmise. The one fact that seems sure is that the long forgotten and neglected little Negro republic will be used to deliver American industry from the British rubber monopoly. That of itself is a tremendous consequence from the enterprise of the big corporation. Awakening and new and vigorous life for Liberia also seems sure as any human supposition can be. Results to us in this country, as suggested, are very strong probabilities, based on actual facts and, therefore, worthy the consideration of thinking people who try to judge the future from the past and from what they know and see.

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In his remarks Dr. Lyon recalled the part Liberia had played during the World war and reminded the acting head of the treasury that Liberia had been extended a credit of $5,000,000.

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The Liberian representative spoke as follows:

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Race Problem - 1927

Africa

AMERICAN ENVOY WANTED BY ANCIENT ABYSSINIA

Secret British-Italian Treaty Awakens an Interest at Addis Ababa in the Moral Effect of Representation By the United States

By WALTER LITTLEFIELD.

THE COURT GAZETTEE, published at Addis Ababa, capital of Ethiopia, commonly called Abyssinia, the only surviving independent State of Africa if we omit Liberia, recently published a paragraph to the effect that the Government of the United States had decided tot instal a permanent legation in Ethiopia about June, 1927.

"It is a great advantage for Ethiopia," the Court Gazette continued, "to see in its capital the official representative of the greatest of the neutral States of the world. The mere fact that the United States has created a legation in Ethiopia bears witness to the interest of this great republic in the Empire of Ethiopia. The presence of an American representative 'near' the Court of Ethiopia will certainly contribute toward making the United States in Ethiopia and Ethiopia in America better known. To understand the true situation in Ethiopia without prejudice, to understand the lusts of gain that beset this African empire on every hand, will form a moral defense of infinite rectitude—to say nothing of the vast mutual advantages that will arrive."

Unfortunately for those who rejoiced, the news contained in the communiqué was not entirely true. Still, it reveals an interesting situation. The native rejoicings were due to the fact that American citizens had obtained private concessions from the Government at Addis Ababa, concessions that concerned mining and railway building, both promising definite returns to the Abyssinians. Similar concessions had also been obtained by other foreigners, but these were not private, and the Abyssinians were suspicious lest, through the treaties on which they appeared to be based, they might be exploited in such way as to make the path easy for actual alien industrial occupation and political dominance. Last year matters reached a climax.

Italian and British Interests.

Italy, defeated thirty-two years ago in an attempt to secure by force the wealth of Ethiopia, has since resorted to economic penetration; which might, when the opportunity is offered, be translated into political penetration. To the north lies her practically barren colony of Eritrea; to the south the equally barren territory of Italian Somaliland. These two she wished to link by a railway passing through rich Abyssinia.

Great Britain's interest lies in water for the Sudan and Egypt. Of the two branches of the Nile, the White and the Blue, the latter takes its source in Lake Tsana of Abyssinia. If the outlet of the Blue Nile from Lake Tsana could be dammed, the much-needed extra water would be available for irrigation purposes in the Sudan and Egypt.

The Italian scheme per se would have enriched Abyssinia by opening a new market; the British scheme would have done the same by making hydroelectric power available. Both appear to be legitimate projects, with benefits all round. But Abyssinia was not informed of this, was not made a party to the enterprises. On the contrary, England and Italy secretly bargained between themselves and reached the decision that neither should interfere with the other. When this policy had been settled, Addis Ababa heard about it for the first time and at once protested to the League of Nations.

Americans Cultivated.

Both England and Italy denied any idea of coercing Abyssinia. If England wants more water for the Nile valley to the north, she must first repudiate her pact with Italy and negotiate directly with Addis Ababa. If Italy wants to build her railway, it now appears likely that, at least for some years to come, she can do so only by force of arms.

Although the correspondence with the League brought into light the situation as Abyssinia saw it, it did not furnish Abyssinia with the guarantees for future political and territorial entity that she, as a member of the League, had expected. In the circumstances, the objections Britain and Italy had made to her candidature for League membership were viewed in a new light. So was the fact that the United States was not a member. Soon a yearning for closer relations with the great republic of North America dominated the court at Addis Ababa. American engineers and concessionaires were better treated than ever; those of the suspected nations were ignored.

In spite of what the best information from Abyssinia indicates and in spite of the desire of the Washington Administration to extend American diplomacy in what it believed to be a desirable field, economically and politically, there are in Congress many who have placed themselves on record against a legation in Abyssinia.

In 1906 an American Consul General served at Addis Ababa, for the next two years a Vice Consul, in 1909 a Minister Resident, and from 1910 until 1913 a Vice Consul. In 1914 Consul General John Q. Wood was ordered to the post, with special powers to negotiate the renewal of our treaty relations.

Since 1914 there has been no American representative in Ethiopia, and, although American Consuls at Aden have rendered, in so far as was possible, the customary services to American residents and travelers in that country—have on occasion visited its capital and reported regarding its economic and political relations—American interests have been under British protection. Ethiopia, on the other hand, has at no time maintained a diplomatic or consular representative in the United States.

Still, from 1914 on, the State Department has constantly had in mind the eventual re-establishment of its mission at Addis Ababa, whenever the more pressing needs of the service elsewhere should be met—the expansion and change in character of the service due to the World War. During this period the heir to the throne and Regent, Ras Taffari, has on a number of occasions indicated his desire that the mission should be re-established. The growing number of American interests have expressed a similar wish.

A Favorable Report.

It was not until December, 1925, that the State Department felt justified in taking the necessary steps in this matter. To that end, Consul General Ralph J. Totten was sent by the President to Ethiopia to report on the need for the re-establishment of the mission. His report was favorable, and, the President approving, an item of $10,000 for the salary of a Minister to Ethiopia was included in the State Department's budgetary estimates as submitted to Congress for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1927. However, in the recent hearings before the House Appropriations Committee a generally dissenting opinion was expressed. When the bill was presented on the floor of the House, the item in question was not included.

The matter was pursued in the hearings before the Committee on Appropriations in the Senate. This committee also objected to providing for an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at a salary of $10,000.

It is now believed that President Coolidge, fully conversant with the situation, viewed both economically and politically, and may find it feasible to appoint, under the pertinent provisions of the Rogers act, a Foreign Service Officer as Minister Resident to Ethiopia, subject, of course, to the advice and consent of the Senate. Although averse from pressing the matter at this time, Secretary Kellogg believes that a solution will be obtained along this line.

THE COLONIAL EMPIRE.

OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE.

The first Colonial Office Conference assembled at the Colonial Office at 10 o'clock Tuesday morning 10th instant. Twenty-four Colonies were represented, one-third of them by their Governors in person. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Amery, presided. The Parliamentary and Permanent Under-Secretaries, Mr. Ormsby-Gore and Sir Samuel Wilson, also took part in the Conference. The first act of the delegates was to pass the following resolution:—"As our first meeting we, the Governors and other representatives of the Colonies, Protectorates, and Mandated Territories assembled in conference, desire to express our loyalty and fidelity to the King, and to assure your Majesty and her Majesty the Queen of the loyalty and devotion of the many peoples and races throughout the world whom we represent."

The Secretary of State for the Colonies then made the opening speech. He welcomed the delegates and explained the reasons for the Conference, pointing out the disparity between the large measure of unity which marks Colonial problems all over the Empire and the lack of any corresponding structural or administrative unity. He acknowledged the advantages that undoubtedly arose from the local and individual character which each Crown Colony Administration had developed, but urged that self-efficiency and the system of water-tight compartments could easily be overdone, and was in fact overdone to-day. In all those aspects of administration into which scientific method and research enter, there were plainly the strongest reasons of efficiency and economy for much closer co-operation.

Mr. Amery then traced the earlier history of conferences on the lines of the present one, but told the delegates to regard the present occasion as the experiment it certainly was. It was an occasion for new ideas, and he expressed his gratitude for the memoranda already submitted.

They could not hope, he said, to cover all the topics suggested, but he desired to draw their attention to one of outstanding importance. This was the question of giving the scientist, upon whom the Empire depended so much for further development, a career not bounded by the limitations of one Colony. The present system was full of drawbacks. Often the most important work was waiting to be done in Colonies that could not afford the best men. Free movement, determined only by the needs of his studies, and continuity of his career were not being secured to the scientific worker to-day. Moreover, scientific research was essentially team work, and the teams worked best when concentrated together. Different parts of the Empire offered different advantages for scientific work. The Secretary of State ended his speech with a plea for the fullest and most earnest consideration of this question.

The discussion then became general and continued till 1 p.m. In the afternoon session, from 4 to 6, the delegates discussed the conditions of service in the Colonies.—*The Times* May 11.

AMERICAN NEGROES AND AFRICA

There are no legislative restrictions specifically directed against the American Negro, but most African governments are opposed to, or place difficulties in the way of the sending of American Negroes to Africa. Opposition to the sending of American Negroes to Africa is due mainly to three factors: The unrest caused by certain movements believed to be dangerous or order and government and to be encouraged from America. The antagonism to government in past years of certain American Negroes in Africa resulting in serious disturbances in some cases; the failure of certain American Negroes in Africa in past years.

Owing to the effect of one or more of the reasons above named most African missionaries consulted do not think the present time auspicious for pressing upon government such a change of policy as would mean the sending of a large number of American Negroes to Africa in the immediate future, although strongly believing that efforts should be made to increase gradually the number of such missionaries.

There are at present working in various parts of Africa American Negroes of the highest character and great usefulness, whose fine spirit and devoted work will in the course of a few years greatly increase the respect in which American Negro missionaries are held and make easier the securing of permission for the entrance of additional missionaries. There is a natural and laudable desire on the part of a large number of American missionary societies, both white and Negro, to send additional American Negroes as missionaries to Africa—thereby giving the educated Negro an outlet for his zeal to render unselfish service, and aiding in a natural and important way the cause of African evangelization, education, and general welfare.

In view of the above the Negroes of America should be permitted by governments, and encouraged by missionary societies, to play an important part in the evangelization, medical service and education of Africa and that the number of their missoinaries should be increased as qualified candidates are available for needed work, and as their representatives already in the field still further succeed in gaining for their people and their socieites that public confidence which is essential. Every practical form of assistance should be given in the spirit of Christian fellowship, as to colleagues of the same missionary status, by white missionaries to qualified American Negroes working in Africa, and that the same spirit of cooperation should be expected by white missionaries from American Negroes.

Governments should be supported in requiring that American Negroes wishing to enter Africa for missinoary purposes should go out under the auspices of responsible socieites of recognized and well-established standing; and that owing to the difficult and delicate inter-racial situation in Africa, exceptional care should be used in the selection of men and women of strength of character and a fine spirit of cooperation able to meet the same tests as white missionaries.

In the interest of comity and cooperation American Negro missionary societies not now represented in Africa should work as far as possible through well-established societies already in Afirca, and that, in accordance with the general rules of missionary proceedure, they should give special attention to unevangelized districts. When missionary societies of established reputation are unable to secure the admission to Africa of American Negroes needed for important work and qualified to perform it, the matter may properly be taken up with the International Missionary Council for the use of its friendly offices.—From Findings of Le Zoute Conference on Africa.

PICTURES.

Those in the Colony who in their school days used Chambers' Geography would remember that of the illustrations given of the various peoples of the world, that typyfiing the Negro was the ugliest. At that time, Africa was a scaled continent to the civilised world. Only the blacks along the Coast of Africa were known by whites and the conditions under which they lived, left much to be desired. In process of time, Africa was opened up by explorers who then saw that there were various types of black men and black women: some had thin lips and aquiline noses; the colour of their skin was of various hues, varying from yellow to intense black, whilst others had thick lips and flat noses such as are to be seen among European, Asiatic and American people. In every part of the Globe among Red Indians, Europeans, Americans, Mongolians, Africans and Asiatics, are to be found handsome men and pretty women, as well as ugly men and uncomely women. Did not Othello the Moor charm Desdemona the white woman by his handsome presence and deeds of valour? We now know that civilised people used various arts to make themselves look handsome, sweet and charming. The further fact should not be overlooked that environment makes a great difference in the appearance of the citizens of every nation in the World. In civilised countries they have Art or Picture Galleries which contain paintings and sculptures, the creation of men's imagination, and which have effect in the appearance of the people of these countries. This explains why Europeans, Americans and Indians are far handsomer and prettier than those who have not these aids. In ancient Greece, where beauty was appreciated; the statues of Apollo, Castor and Pollux, Venus, Hebe, and the other gods and goddesses, were so numerous in the gardens and public places that they reproduce themselves in the sons and daughters of the passers-by. Apart from the picture galleries in various cities of Europe, there are in some of the churches and Cathedrals, especially in Roman Catholic countries, splendid pictures especially of the Madonna and child. Mr. T. J. Sawyesr noticed them at Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp and Brussels in Belgium. These churches are opened daily to which anyone can repair for meditation and prayer. A pregnant woman gazing, for instance, suppliantly on a Madonna and child with the desire that her offspring should be as beautiful and charming, is sure to have her wish gratified, and, is sure to bring forth an offspring that will gratify with delight her eyes. From the foregoing it will be seen that the value of nice pictures in the home cannot be over estimated. From experiment and observation Mr. T. J. Sawyerr has satisfied himself that his fellow citizens will welcome first class pictures and prints in their homes if brought within their reach. As yet, we have no art dealers. Mr. Sawyerr thinks the time is come when we should have one. The newspapers from abroad afford us information of the fabulous prices that are paid by wealthy Americans who know the intrinsic worth of good pictures. Mr. T. J. Sawyerr is now offering for sale a selection of excellent pictures, the cost of which runs into pounds. The high cost is due to the frames in which they are put up. They make acceptable presents from wealthy parents to their daughters on marraige. After Easter, there will be weddings and Mr. T. J. Sawyerr trusts that wealthy fathers will take the hint.

The following are some of the pictures —

India Print "Into the heaven of Peace" painted by Professor Herbert W. Holden, and dedicated to the motherhood of the world. This picture and the two following are reminiscent of the Great War. It depicts a child clinging to its dead mother whose corpse was floating on the sea. Price £5. framed in two and a half inch marbutt and silver slip. The like picture in plain print framed in two and a half inch oak and silver. Price £4 10 0. etc. the others to follow later on.

TECHNICAL EDUCATION.

Progress of Government Trade Schools.

The late Sir Alfred Jones, who did so much for educational work in West Africa, by liberally supporting the efforts of missionaries labouring out there, no matter of what denomination, was a great advocate of technical education for the natives. It will therefore afford much satisfaction to admirers of his work to read the following reference to technical and trade education on the Gold Coast, culled from the recently issued Colonial Report for 1925-26:—

"An important educational establishment in the Colony is the Government Technical School at Accra. This school was opened in 1909, and from year to year improvements and graduat extensions have taken place. The demand for admission to this school, the only one of its kind in the Colony, is very great, and only a very small percentage of the applicants can be admitted.

"As soon as the Training College is merged into Prince of Wales's College at Achimota, part of the present college will be taken over by the Technical School. This will allow for a considerable number of additional pupils, as there will be extra workshops and dormitory accommodation.

"The present staff of this school consists of a principal, four European masters, one of whom is housemaster, and five African teachers. Two of the masters and three teachers are engaged in the wookwork department, and the other masters and teachers in the metal work department.

"Junior trade schools have been opened at Kibi and Assuantsi in the Eastern and Central Provinces of the Colony respectively, at Mampong in Ashanti, and at Yendi in the Northern Territories. At present there are 361 pupils in residence at these four schools; 142 are being trained in woodwork, 72 in masonry, 63 in agriculture, and 84 in metal work. Each school is in charge of a European headmaster, who is assisted by literary, woodwork, masonry and agricultural instructors. These schools are organised entirely on Boy Scout lines. One object of these schools is to provide a preliminary training for boys who desire to become skilled artisans; but the main aim is the training and development of character and responsibility in the individual."

Race Problem - 1927.

Africa.

Dutch In South Africa.

Extract from Bombay Chronicle, Bombay, India, 9th June, 1927.

VIRTUAL MONOPOLY OF POWER.

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(By C. F Andrews.)

Part I.

It is not realised sufficiently in India that South Africa is very rapidly becoming a Dutch country. The British population is in a great measure leaving South Africa for Southern and Northern Rhodesia and also for Kenya and Tanganyika; even in South Africa itself the families of the British residents have always remained small in number owing to the high prices of commodities of making two ends meet. The Dutch, on the other hand have always been far more prolific in their families, and in the country districts large families of ten and twelve children are still frequently to be found, indeed they sometimes make up what is called in this country the "poor white problem."

Startling Statistics

Let me give some very startling statistics, which will go to prove what I have written about. In the years immidiately following the War there was a considerable influx of settlers into South Africa, and especially into Natal, a large colonisation scheme (which has proved a partial failure) was established in Northren Zululand and the figures of the Census show a definite increase year by year in the British population of the Union which was in a large measure due to fresh immigration, but the Cenus figure for 1925-1926 tell an entirely different story. The actual number of those who have left South Africa for good among the British population has exceeded the number of those who have entered South Africa as settlers during that year by 600 person, that is to say, even by immigration the British population is 600 less than it was a year ago. On the other hand, people coming from Holland and Germany, who may be regarded as increasing the Dutch population have made a net increase in the same year of 300 persons. There were 300 more in the Union at the end of the year than at the beginning of the year thus for one single year there have been 600 less British people and 300 more Dutch people, as far as the Immigration Census figures are concerned. This implies that in a single year the Dutch population have gained nearly a thousand more than the British.

This is an entirely new phenomenon and it is chiefly due to two things which more and more are having their natural effect

Control Over Government.

The first of these is that the Government is now entirely in the hands of the Dutch. In the whole National Party in the Cabinet, there is not a single Englishman. The only English men in the Cabinet are the three Labour Ministers, and it is fully expected that at the next elections it will be almost certain that the Nationalists in Cabinets in South Africa will be entirely Dutch and South Africa will be entirely Dutch ruled. A great many British people resent this, and dislike it extremely, and for this cause they are leaving the country.

Under the same head one may mention what is called in South Africa the "Flag Bill Controversy." This is due to the new independent status of South Africa as an independent Nation within the British Commonwealth of Nations. Great Britain accepted this position for South Africa because any other position would have ultimately meant secession. The British settlers, especially in Natal, have never liked this, some of them are Nationalists at heart, but the whole question of status has taken a turn which is peculiarly objectionable to the great majority of British in the Union. A controversy was started with regard to the National Flag of South Africa, and the British section of the population say that whatever the flag might be the Union Jack must be included in it. The Dutch who are in power have been entirely against the inclusion of the Union Jack because it was the flag which was set up at the time of the Boer surrender at the end of the Boer War. They say that it will always remain the mark of their humiliation. They do not wish their own flag called the "Vierkleur" to be included, they wish for an entirely new flag representing the new nation, but the British population have made this flag controversy a life and death issue. They will have no flag without the Union Jack.

Since the Dutch are in power the matter is likely to be settled against them unless indeed the Dutch have extraordinary powers of conciliation But if it is one settled against them and the flag of South Africa does not contain the Union Jack there will not only be a refusal on the part of the British to emigrate from Great Britain to South Africa, but there will also be a very large departure of the British Settlers from South Africa into Rhodesia, where settlers are badly wanted.

Dutch In South Africa.

The People With Whom India Must Come To Terms

Extract from Bombay Chronicle, Bombay India, 10th June, 1927.

Part II.

At the end of my first article I mentioned that the first reason for the British leaving South Africa in considerable numbers was the fact that the Government of the country is now increasingly in Dutch hands, and also that the flag of the Union is likely to exclude the Union Jack.

The second reason is almost equally strong, the British have always been essentially pioneers and settlers, the Dutch have no interest whatever outside South Africa itself, which they regard as their own home and as their own peculiar country. At the present time the call of adventure and pioneer work to the British both within South Africa, and in Great Britain itself, which comes from the rest of Africa is peculiarly strong. Southern Rhodesia is an enormous country with one of the healthiest climates in the world, ranging from 3,000 to 4;000 feet in altitude, and exceptionally fertile. There are also great unworked mineral deposits. This huge country has only about 34 000 Europeans in it at the present moment. The vast proportion of these are British by race, the Dutch have not trekked northward. Still further north are Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland which also have very fertile plateaux, and these again are crying out for settlers. On the East lie Tangaryika and Kenya, which again have vast plateaux where the white men from Great Britain think that they will be able to settle and bring up their children around them. Immense advertisements and propaganda are being carried on in London, and all over Great Britain to induce Settlers to come out to these vacant lands. For the time being, therefore, South A

Indeed, not only is it getting practically no new settlers, as the statistics have shown, but there is also a very large departure of British from South Africa to go into these new fields of adventure and to do that one work which the British appear peculiarly fitted to, namely the pioneer work of opening up a new country to civilisation and progress.

These two reasons when taken together, namely, the fact that the hands of the British in Boer War that spaces are opening out further north they never forget, and never cease to be conscious of their British traditions. To be continued.)

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[illegible] Flag [illegible] remarkable Thus to day it is not so much a question of coming to terms with the British who still predominate in Natal or not but rather to coming to an understanding with an entirely new people Dutch called the Dutch who have traditions ideas suffering by an immense atmosphere leaving its from British traditions.

(To be continued.)

ONE THING AND ANOTHER.

By our Own Correspondent.

The late Dr. Aggrey—(A fresh point of view),

Some years ago when Jack Johnson first burst into notice as a Champion Boxer there was a great deal written concerning him, from several points of view, in Sierra Leone. And everything that was written at the time appeared to have this purpose—viz—to laud Jack Johnson to the skies and to bring him before white men as a record Negro and a prophecy that given the opportunity, the Negro is capable of the greatest and the highest in human achievements. Dr. Blyden who was present with us at that time having read, with the calmness of the philosopher he was, all that was written, felt dissatisfied and proposed to write something from a fresh point of view.

The present writer is not Dr. Blyden. But although he is not "The Doctor" the latchet of whose shoes he is not worthy to untie, yet may he not on an important matter which is on every body's lips, and in which all appear to agree to say the same thing—may he not have a fresh view of his, so long as it is not calculated to tarnish in the least the golden glory upon which all eyes are for the present (and for the present only) set?

The late Dr. Aggrey first came to notice here in Sierra Leone in connection with the Phelps-Stokes Commission. Professor Faduma, a man of solid learning, educated in two continents—Europe and America; at the University of London in the one, and at Yale in the other, where he attained to a Doctorate in Philosophy, was present with us; and it may be remembered that he was greatly interested in the Commission and set himself to rouse the "intelligentsia" of the community to give the Commission a grand welcome.

Many thought at the time that some doles of money would come to us from that visit—No dole arrived but something better than a mere dole to be spent by us in the way we would like and perhaps the wrong way has issued in what we all know now as the Achimota College of West Africa and in the grand work of reconstruction in the matter of our education which our present Director of Education has been appointed here to carry out.

Professor Aggrey was a member of the Commission of which *he* was not the Pivot but Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones. But in connection with that Commission his opportunity came to him to make the acquaintance of the people of Freetown, and without doubt he acquitted himself well as a speaker. In all his public utterances it was felt that an orator appeared who had the gift of drawing crowds, and impressing them.

And when he had to come amongst us the second time as member of another Commission he had a new opportunity to impress us all as a gifted speaker.

It has appeared to me (I may be wrong) that the great value of Dr. Aggrey both to the Phelps-Stokes Commission and to the Commission charged with the duty of joining in, and assisting the local Committee in the celebration of the Jubilee of Fourah Bay College lay in his oratorical gift.

A Scholar is a great person but it has got to be realized the power that lies in the tongue of an orator. Is it true that when the great Roman Orator, Cicero, was murdered by the emissaries of Antony, Fulvia in a mood of revenge kept sticking the tongue of Cicero—dead—with her hair-pin? Why did she concentrate on Cicero's tongue? An orator is a power.

We had not the opportunity of testing the scholarship of Dr. Aggrey (a man of twelve degrees) but we knew his gift of oratory.

I bow in admiration to the late Professor both as an orator and a scholar. I feel happy to hear it stated that he was a manly man, a friendly man, a man who was willing to endure for the sake of his country. I heard him myself from the pulpit of Buxton Church where he preached from the text "In the year that King Uzziah died, I saw the Lord," and I had an inspiration.

But I do not want to dwell on these things here. I want to show to my people that there is another side to the shield.

In his fine character-sketch of Dr. Aggrey given at the Cathedral on Sunday afternon the 21st August, the Archdeacon of Sierra Leone, or as he is termed by "Yaskey"—the Sub-Dean, wrought upon by a sudden impulse, shouted, Aggrey! Aggrey!! Aggrey!!!—three times, and all felt a gentle thrill.

But my point for to-day is this, How did Aggrey come?

We all know, according to the story, how on one day Jupiter had an uncomfortable feeling on his head: and as this became unbearable he summoned Vulcan to his presence and commanded him to split his head. Whereupon, Athena (Minerva) sprang forth, fully armed, and dancing the Pyrrhic dance. Did Professor Aggrey just burst upon the world fully armed, fully equipped and ready for the fight without some shaping hand behind him? For all our thoughts and all our words have been concentrated on Aggrey and some have been saying in thoughtless pride "See what the black man can do." I do not deny that the man can do. He ought to do; and God expects black him to do equipped as he is with all the Physical and Mental powers which God has bestowed on him. My question is—Did Professor Aggrey make himself or was he made by the instrumentality of others. And if by others, who are those others? And knowing who these are why have we not expressed gratitude to them? When Saul became Paul, the man who did noble things for Christ, those who were men of understanding glorified GOD in Paul.

My space is exhausted. I congratulate my brilliant African brother on what he became and feel sorry that he had to depart as soon as he had entered upon the active service which was a worthy one for any life; *but I bow* in *gratitude*, in sincere *gratitude* to all White men who made Aggrey a sharp instrument for work in his country. (1) To Bishop Browne who, the Weekly News tells us, suggested and made possible his leaving Fantiland to earn his living in America. (2) To those who nourished and cherished him for *twenty-five* years in America during which period he ran a long gamut of progress from lowest to highest. (3) To Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones who brought him into the lime-light and made a place for him in Africa. (4) With Dr. Jesse Jones, Dr. Fraser the Principal of Achimota College, for supporting Professor Aggrey.

Let us honour these good men, these unselfish men, these gentlemen, and let us send to them our appreciation of their kindness and beg them to help to fashion another Aggrey. The man is there. Let them find him out.

Colour Bar in Wages

[To the Editor, Imvo.]

Sir—In the course of parliamentary debate on "Finance" recently, Mr. Havenga the Minister of Finance made a very important suggestion that native workers should be paid eight shillings a day. Some of the members, mostly English, were against that suggestion. Mr. Blackwell went so far as to say that a man in the Minister's position should be aware of what he says. But, as I am aware, the Minister of Finance was right, for why should I, who can read and write work for two shillings and sixpence a day at the same job with a white man who can neither read nor write but earn eight shillings per day. Except in South Africa in no where in the civilised world does one find this colour bar in wages.

The Union Government has, at this stage of human development, introduced legislation dictating to the employers the amount of wages which should be paid to servants; whereas, formerly, the option of fixing wages rested solely upon the generosity of the employer. Thus it has been mutually agreed by the political parties in the Union Parliament to avoid party divisions in dealing with Native questions, and to unite in the adoption of a uniform Native policy which would serve their purpose of reducing the Native races in that state of serfdom which has been regarded as slavery in disguise. The result of the procedure, so far, is that Natives have nothing as yet to thank the Government for all the Native laws (such as the Native Land Act and the Wages Act) which have been passed since the Union. Instead of gaining they have lost favour in the eyes of the English and generosity from the hands of the Dutch

Some time ago, a correspondent, who styled himself "Ndondella," in the E. L. Daily Dispatch wrote an eloquent and convincing article in which he pointed out that before the Union of South Africa the Natives went to work in the mines and farms in the Transvaal for higher wages and came back to their people with money enough to pay their debts and to buy cattle while the English in the Cape boasted of fair treatment but kept the Native as a servant all his life down to the grave by offering him lower wages. That article gave the Dutch candidates much credit before the last general election of the Assembly; as many Natives voted in favour of the Labour members knowing by so doing they were voting for the Nationalist leaders. Again, a short time afterwards, we had to criticise, in the columns of this paper (Imvo), the statements which were made by Mr. Wellbeloved; and two of his compatriots, of the Native Recruiting Corporation, who said, if higher wages were paid to Natives they would keep away from the mines; because they would become rich and cease to work as servants.

The best sentiments and good qualities of the two ruling races in South Africa should be combined for the welfare of the Native races instead of trampling justice and fairplay under foot like the unjust alliance of Herod and Pilate against the Holy Lamb.

NEUTER GENDER

British Soldiers Murder Protesting Nigerian Workers

LONDON, Oct. 29 (By Mail).—"Trouble has occurred in the Warri province of Southern Nigeria in connection with the recent enactment of direct taxation," states the "Times" corespondent in Lagos.

"It appears that a recent meeting of chiefs with the Acting-Governor, Mr. F. M. Baddeley, at Warri town, was followed by considerable uproar.

"At Sapele Mr. Baddeley addressed the chiefs and people, explaining the purpose of the new taxation, but the meeting was followed by disorder, and a subsequent attempt to liberate an arrested ringleader nearly resulted in the overpowering of the small available police force.

"The police were eventually compelled to fire into the crowd. One man was killed and a few persons were wounded. The crowd then dispersed.

All Over the Empire.

Palm oil and rubber are the main products which capitalism exploits in Nigeria, where the late Lord Leverhulme complained of the "silly sentimentality" which allowed the natives to retain their land. The anxiety of the native chiefs, who saw their rights threatened, was shown when Mr. Ormsby Gore visited Nigeria a year ago and quieted them down with empty promises from the Colonial Office.

Race Problem - 1927

Africa

THE LATE DR. J. E. K. AGGREY.

Life is full of paradoxies. When Dr. Aggrey was on the eve of accomplishing that which was thought to be the purpose of his life, his end came. The greatness of many a man has never been sufficiently appraised until after his death. For men are sometimes born before their time and it takes one or more generations after them to appreciate their outlooks so that Aggrey's death may therefore immortalise him. We have dreamed dreams of the future of Achimota—and whenever we think of that new centre of learning the name Aggrey comes into consciousness. He was the pride of his people and a representative man. The death of this man of the future naturally appears untimely and nothing short of a tragedy to the people of West Africa in particular.

It is said that "Man is immortal till his work is done." The people of England would have thought it impossible if they had been told that they will carry on the Great War to a successful issue without Lord Kitchener. He, it was who fired the youngmen with such a spirit of patriotism that drove them to victory and to death—and then his work was done. Aggrey loomed large in the horizon of the West African people: they saw in him the star of their hopes and aspirations, but he was not a planet. He raced along their sky and then disappeared—he was a comet. If Aggrey meant anything at all to us then it is now our duty to learn the secret of his life.

"Seldom do we find that a whole people can be said to have any faith at all; except in things that it can eat and handle; whensoever it gets any faith, its history becomes spirit stirring, noteworthy."—(Carlyle: French Revolution).

A close study of Dr. Aggrey's life would lead to this one conclusion: that his greatness and his personality lay in his great faith. By faith I do not mean the term to refer to his religious persuasion, but rather to that strong belief (1) in the potentiality of his own people and (2) in the magnanimity and sense of fairplay in the European.

THE POTENTIALITY OF HIS OWN PEOPLE.—Dr. Aggrey had "peeped into the future" and seen, and believed, that his people when fully equipped with the right kind of education embracing mind and muscle, would unfold their individuality to the full in all directions.

He saw the African as "a bundle of possibilities." He believed that there would come after due discipline, a sense of honour and commercial mortality, and co-operation would be possible, and that we shall realise that we have first of all to combat those elements in ourselves which made for disintegration.

FAITH IN THE MAGNANIMITY AND FAIRPLAY OF THE EUROPEAN.—He had had to fight every inch of ground that led up to the vice principalship of Achimota. In the struggle that would naturally attend such an unaided climb to fame Dr. Aggrey must have had the opportunity of knowing in the psychological sense of that term, the European, so as to speak of him with authority.

An out and out wicked Europe without the minimum of virtue capable of producing coherence would have meant destruction to Western civilisation in general and the British Empire in particular. Professor Aggrey did not believe that every white man was a saint no more than he believed that every black man was an angel. He had lived with the European studied him with an open mind, and was able thereby to arrive at a true estimate of him.

The position which Dr. Aggrey held as vice-principal of Achimota is the strongest argument for his faith in the white man. Of course a distinction should be drawn between the white man as such and the representative white man. And a man is not a representative man just because he happens to fill a high position. Facing the subject with such clarity and a sense of discrimination it is almost impossible to come to any other conclusion than that of Aggrey's faith in the white man was justified.

Another virtue of this great man was Tact,—a word which defies accurate definition. Perhaps the best description of the word tact was that given by a Scotch preacher: "Give a hungry man a religious tract and you make him swear, wrap it round a loaf of bread and you may win his soul." Dr. Aggrey found himself many a time in a difficult position due to mixed audiences of white and black.

His love for the uplift of his people has never, so far as I have known, led him to say anything unkind of the other members of his audience nor otherwise render them uncomfortable.

We may raise in due course a statue to this great man; but let us first erect in our hearts a monument though abstract, yet more abiding to his memory. Call it Aggreyism if you like, but such a monument that may make it possible to refer to our hero in such terms as that Aggrey's "body lies smouldering in the grave but his soul is marching on."

J. G. HYDE.

Closs Chambers,
Pultney Street,
Freetown.

South African Justice.

British justice as found in practice in the British Isles is a principle of which Englishmen have rightly prided themselves, because it has been the foundation stone of their empire for many generations. Those of us born in the pre-Union Cape Colony were taught to believe this from our earliest childhood, and saw it justified by the evidently earnest, even if imperfect, efforts of our neighbours, the English colonists and settlers. When we heard of injustice and brutality in the Transvaal, we felt thankful to be in the Cape which granted us equal rights in politics for all civilised men without colour discrimination. Hence our apprehension when the old Cape merged in the so-called Union in 1909.

It is no secret that our confidence in the course of justice under the Union regime is not equal to that which we had towards the rule of the Cape Parliament under Saul Solomon, Rhodes, Schreiner, Merriman and so forth. Our grievance under the head of miscarriage of justice has once again been aggravated by the recent absolution of a white farmer from a charge of murdering a Native, in which a Transvaal jury found D. J. White not guilty against all the strong evidence against him. According to the Press report, Mr. Justice Tindall said to the accused: "The jury have found you not guilty. You are amazingly lucky that, notwithstanding the evidence against you, nine members of a Pietersburg jury have found you not guilty. I disagree entirely with that verdict, but the jury have found you not guilty and you can go." This is not British, but South African Justice of the type that has gradually tended to lower the white man's prestige; and has impelled many otherwise peaceable African citizens to go to extremes in their denunciation of such instances of a grave want of integrity.

Lady Frere Show.

A meeting of the Committee of the Glen Grey Native Farmers' Association was held at Lady Frere on the 15th instant, when it was decided to hold the fourth Native Agricultural Show at Lady Frere on the 11th May next. In addition to the ordinary Agricultural exhibits there will be school choir competitions, school competitions in needle work, grass and rush work, etc, and prizes will be offered for the best dressed native baby boy and girl, the clothes to be hand made by the mother. With a view to encouraging the smaller exhibitor in the more distant parts of the district, it was also arranged to hold an Agricultural Show at Bolotwa on the 27th April. These Agricultural Shows do much to encourage the Natives to improve their stock and methods of cultivation. Indeed since the Magistrate (Mr Harries) formed the Association some four years ago, there has been marked improvement all round; and some of the produce would win prizes on European Shows. The displays in the fruit and vegetables, cookery and needlework sections have made many exclaim: "Did Natives really do all this by themselves?"

THE MISSION OF DEATH.

A CONTEMPLATION ON THE DEATH OF DR. J. E. K. AGGREY.

By Professor J. Abayomi Cole.

I have listened to discourses of eminent Lecturers on "the Ministry of Sufferings" but the sudden—and from our own view, "untimely death" of our friend Dr. Aggrey—turns my thought to the existence of such a dispensation as "the Mission of Death."

It is hard for blind humanity to face the fact, but nevertheless it is true that some men revolutionize the world more by their death than by their living.

The clearest example of this is the Lord Jesus Christ who told his disciples. "It is expedient for you that I go away." His death brought power from above, so that millions are prepared to live and die, sacrificing all in carrying on the work that he established.

Africa is poorer to-day by the death of this special messenger; but spiritually, Africa should become richer by the spirit that he inspired—Love for the advancement of his race—and Love for humanity.

One of his great object was to teach his people the difference between "Race pride" and "Race antagonism," and he has even gone to the extent of pitying men of the fair races that treated him discourteously on account of his dark skin.

I remember once relating to him my experience on board a steamer—when I was sent on a Deputation to Repley, Ohio. He told me that he had passed through many such experiences. He said once he had a table and an isolated room to himself. He said that he enjoyed it; and before leaving the ship, he thanked the Captain for recognizing him as an African Prince and going to the trouble of providing him a special room and table by himself. He was always happy and always find a bright point in the darkest aspect of life.

As a genius, he was a gift to humanity—which he loved. From his letters now before me he was as interested in the development of the only Negro Republic Liberia as in the Gold Coast or his people Achimota.

I was engaged in writing a small handbook of West African Botany dealing mainly with African plants illustrated with our familiar flora—to be found everywhere in West Africa so that the study of botany might be easier for students and persons interested in native herbal remedies. As soon as he saw the manuscript, he took me on board to see the Principal of Achimota College—and there he invited me to the Gold Coast so that the Fantee names of the plants might be added to make it useful—not only for the Yoruba, Mende, or Temene students but that the Gold Coast students might also be benefited. He closed the interview by saying "I am sure it will help my people."

That expression is ringing in my ears. The expression "my people" is significant of great souls. With them humanity is a whole, there is no separateness. It was the expression of Christ, the expression of Moses, the expression of Budha.

As a rule, these men do not remain any longer on earth, after their mission is fulfillled; but in the plan of Providence, their short span of life is long enough to lay solid and lasting foundations for the special works they came into the world to perform.

We look to the Gold Coast—and to Africa for whom he offered his last prayer—for young men that will respond to the call, and continue in his spirit the work marked out so clearly by our departed friend.

But be sure, there will never be another Aggrey. Any external limitation of him will be a ridiculous failure. Nature does not work that way. No two blades of leaves in the stem of a tree are the same in form or size. There never was another Moses but Joshua did his own work in the sprit of his predecessor no second Paul, John the Baptist or John Brown of Harpers Feir.

The weight of his mission overcame the physical energies of Dr. Aggrey. No doubt from exhaustion, he lost the power of resistance—because his mission was to be transferred to another and higher region His plan was prodigious for Africa; it takes many inspired men to accomplish it, and may God pick out His chosen to rise up to the occassion.

Government Hospital,
Monrovia,
Liberia.

SLAVERY IN SIERRA LEONE.

THE BRITISH PUBLIC PUZZLED.

We published elsewhere a leading article from the *Daily Telegraph* of 30th August, on the subject which bears the heading of this article—"Slavery in Sierra Leone," at which there appears so much surprise amongst a section of the British public, consequent on the majority judgment delivered at the recent Appeal Court in the Colony, to the effect that in the Protectorate slavery is a legitimate institution, that an escaped slave may be lawfully recaptured by the master, provided that no undue force is used.

To us it is not surprising that such an anomality should have created the shock it has given in English circles. It would be remembered that on the principle—that if a thing were to be done it should be well done; we took objection to the proposal of the Government to liberate domestic slaves without compensation. Our Government felt that it had discovered a short cut and convenient process by which the payment of compensation to the owners might be obviated. But as the Government well knew, this was contrary to the process by which the great philanthrophists, Wilberforce, Granville Sharp, and Zachary Macaulay, gave the death-blow to the infamous institution and planted the star of renown and great achievements on the firmament within the sphere of British Rule. The brutal slave owners were compensated, their claims were met and so each slave obtained his freedom. The enactment therefore by which all slaves were to be at liberty at the death of their masters, or by which all run-away-slaves should not be recaptured with undue force did conversely accept the position of slavery within the British Protectorate and reaffirm the rights of master to the slaves; there could be no other pronouncement on the subject than that which the learned majority Judges delivered at the recent Full Court.

It is not surprising that that action of the Sierra Leone Legislature has not only created a stir of surprise and in some cases resentment amongst the British Public, but it has also created some unrest in the Protectorate itself which gave rise to the case heard on appeal. The slaves knowing the new relation thus instituted between themselves and their masters, have availed themselves of such opportunities as offered to take their freedom even before the death of their masters.

Now such a position is altogether unsatisfactory and unhealthy. Knowing the attraction which living in the Colony affords it would be difficult for masters speaking generally, to retain their slaves until their deaths. Our position therefore in opposing the proposal of the Government at the time has been given added cogency by the after results; and opinion in well informed quarters is that, there is need for an amendment of the law. But we see no other course open to Government than that which is reported in the columns of the *Aurora* last week accredited to have been expressed by the Bishop of Sierra Leone in an interview with a representative of the *Observer*, namely that the only way to exterminate slavery in Sierra Leone is by paying compensation of £4 a head to the owners. We are quite aware of the famous pronouncement of Lord Mansfield, that a slave becomes free on touching British soil. But the Sierra Leone Protectorate stands on a different footing and if it must be brought to line with British sentiments and aspiration, the price must be paid. Redemption at full price must be made. It is not because this happened "in such a wild place as Sierra Leone," Sierra Leone's wildness does not in the least touch the issue pertinent to the subject. England paid compensation when it attempted to redeem the slaves. There is no other way, Sierra Leone must walk in the same footstep the price must be paid, if the British ideal of equity and justice must even at this juncture remain unsoiled or unimpaired.

Sierra Leone.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

A Correspondent's Misrepresentations

In order to correct any erroneous impressions which may have been created in the minds of the British public by the recent articles in the "Daily Mail" on the abolition of slavery in the Sierra Leone Protectorate, Mr. A. E. Tuboku Metzger, Rura Member of the Legislative Council, has addressed to the Editor of our contemporary a letter, wherein he draws attention to the numerous inaccuracies and misrepresentations contained in the articles in question.

In the first place, the "Daily Mail" correspondent refers to the presence of Sir Ransford Slater at the special session of the Legislative Council, whereas His Excellency had left the Colony more than two months before the meeting of September 22. The correspondent's description of the robes of the Paramount Chiefs is entirely inaccurate, while his reference to the dress of the other African members is described by Mr. Metzger as "a bold fabrication, based on an exaggerated stretch of imagination."

The remarks of Mr. Songo Davies and of Mr. Metzger were misreported to such an extent as to render their meaning unintelligible. "In trying to be humorous, he distorted the speech of Mr. Songo Davies very badly in stating that Mr. Songo Davies pleaded for compensation, contrary to the plain statement of Mr. Songo Davies, who said in unmistakable language that compensation was unnecessary and would lead to delay in bringing the Ordinance into operation, and to dissatisfaction, as it would be difficult to trace the rights of those entitled to compensation."

The correspondent also, it appears, made quite unwarrantable assumptions as to the attitude of the Paramount Chiefs towards the measure, and concludes with a reference, in singular bad taste, to "the descendants of freed slaves, for whose benefit Freetown was founded"—a reference which, if it reflects upon anyone, can only do so upon the descendants of those who carried on the brutal and ignoble traffic in human lives, the last traces of which have just been eradicated from the Constitution of the British Empire.

The Chief Justice.

Sir Gilbert Purcell, the Chief Justice, who has been seriously indisposed, and recently underwent an operation, is reported to have made a good recovery, and was able to attend Court again in mail week.

Race Problem - 1927

Africa

"THE WHITE MAN'S GRAVE."

A MISNOMER.

(Special to "The African World" by H. W. PATERSON.

The recent greatly lamented death of Dr. Adrian Stokes from yellow fever in Lagos has supplied fresh material for the scaremongers and unenlightened to further propagate their mischievous doctrine in regard to British West Africa. I refer to the erroneous picture that is unwittingly painted by the uninformed of the West Africa of to-day, as a "white man's grave."

African World

In the interests of the nation's advancement in West Africa it is well that the lie should again be given to this myth and an endeavour made to give to those who know little or nothing of the Coast a truer conception of our four colonies there.

10-29-27

A few days ago I read with no little astonishment that 75 of every 100 Europeans who become infected with yellow fever, die. To those who know anything of British West Africa such a statement is not only grotesque but ambiguous. The statement, to be at all enlightening, should have gone on to tell us how many hundreds of white people have been infected, and how many hundreds have died over a given period of years. The uninitiated might well be pardoned if they pictured from this statement a vision of hundreds of white people all over the Coast "going down" like "ninepins" with yellow fever. The simple fact is that few white people contract and die from this disease in the four colonies under British rule in West Africa to-day. From Colonial Office statistics, which I quote further on, only two officials died from yellow fever in 1926.

It is true there is at present an epidemic of yellow fever in various parts of the Coast (the last serious outbreak being in 1912), but it is in the French territory chiefly, and not in the four British colonies, that the death-rate amongst Europeans is disturbing.

Vaccination has for some time been greatly employed, and although this does not necessarily prevent the disease, it most certainly goes a long way to preventing a fatal termination.

Improved Health Conditions.

West Africa to-day is, for the European, a healthy country in comparison with what it was 20 or 30 years ago, as witness the reduction in recent years in premiums on life assurances for those living out there. Moreover, for some few years now (and the practice is increasing) not a few officials, and others whose means allow, periodically have their families (including children) out to stay with them on the Coast. And, again, the number of women going out to West Africa is monthly increasing—as a glance at current shipping lists will show.

Dr. C. J. Macalister, a leading Liverpool doctor, speaking generally of British West Africa some few years ago, said of the country then: "These districts are now almost as healthy to live in as Liverpool." Let me interpose here to remark that it is significant the Government have recently increased the period of tour for officers from 12 to 18 months.

The knowledge that the School of Tropical Medicine has been able to give to West Africa has been, and still is and will be, of incalculable value. This, coupled with the steady advancement in sanitation and all branches of hygiene, no longer entitles West Africa to be so erroneously described as the White Man's Grave.

Sir Hugh Clifford (the present Governor of Malaya, and one of the most efficient administrators West Africa has known) was endeavouring to dispel the "White Man's Grave" myth 12 years and more ago. He in fact made a very trenchant speech in this connection some time back at a dinner in Liverpool.

Let me here give for the benefit of anyone who still imagines British West Africa to be a white man's death-trap the return of the Colonial Office Vital Statistics for last year (1926). Accurate and complete figures in regard to the non-official white population for the same period are as yet not available, but I am advised, from the information already collated, the figures are proportionately not much different from the Colonial Office return:—

VITAL STATISTICS OF NON-NATIVE OFFICIALS IN WEST AFRICA FOR 1926.

Colony.	Average No. in Service.	Deaths in 1926.
Gambia	66	1
Sierra Leone	232	1
Gold Coast	1,060	7
Nigeria	2,134	22
	3,492	31

An average death-rate of less than 9 per 1,000 throughout the four West African Colonies. Less than the death-rate in England.

It may also be of value to quote the death-rate for the preceding five years:—

	Per 1,000.
1921	12·6
1922	8·0
1923	11·7
1924	12·8
1925	12·1

What more deadly ammunition is needed to explode the "White Man's Grave" myth? Surely none!

It may also be mentioned for the benefit of those contemplating working in West Africa that, unless they are to be stationed in some out-of-the-way spot in the back of beyond, there is no appalling loneliness, monotony or boredom (as I saw it recently described) to be experienced. The majority of white people in West Africa to-day work and live together in townships or communities, and it is only a very small number of the unlucky ones who are cut off from their fellows for any length of time. In most stations of any size there is tennis and/or golf to be had, with periodical lances, etc. At Zaria, in Nigeria, there is even a racecourse. Failing these, one need still not be at a loose end—there will be either the club or one another's bungalow in which to pass a pleasant evening. Of course, anyone to whom a nightly cabaret performance is a vital necessity to existence should not go out to West Africa—at least not yet awhile.

Danger of Misrepresentation.

Reverting to the health question. There is no reason to-day why anyone with good health who takes reasonable precautions to preserve that health and not abuse his leisure hours should not live many years, or in fact a life-time in West Africa (with, of course, periodical leave at home) without injurious effects; and here let it not be forgotten that conditions are improving each year.

The description given by some unenlightened, and one can only think prejudiced, writers of British West Africa to-day would be cause for no little amusement to those who know anything of existing conditions on the Coast, were it not that considerable harm might be done to the Empire's advancement in her West African Colonies by such ill-inspired and deceptive pen pictures. There might, indeed, have been cause for British West Africa's being described as the White Man's Grave 20 or 30 years ago, but such a title has been a misnomer for some years now, and it is only right that intending residents and their relatives should be given a truer conception of conditions existing in this great and promising portion of the British Empire.

To conclude, let me draw attention again to the statistics I have quoted. No one, I think, can dispute that they constitute very pertinent evidence in support of what I have written.

SLAVERY ENDED IN THE EMPIRE.

ECHOES FROM SIERRA LEONE.

To the Editor of the WEELY NEWS.

Sir,—I forward you herewith copy of a letter forwarded to the Editor of *The Daily Mail* in London, and will be obliged if you can kindly publish it in your next issue.—I am, Yours etc.,

A. E. TUBOKU-METZGER.

Kissy,
29th October 1927.

Weekly News

To the Editor of *The Daily Mail.*

Sir,—I wrote you by the mail of the 12th instant, that owing to the shortness of time, I could not write you on the distorted, article from your Special correspondent Mr. G. C. Dixon, who came to Sierra Leone on behalf of *The Daily Mail* to enquire into the question of slavery in the Protectorate, but that I would do so by the following mail. I now do so to confirm my letter above referred to.

11-5-27

Your Special correspondent was present at the Legislative Council when the Bill to abolish the Legal Status of Slavery in the Protectorate of Sierra Leone was under discussion. Mr. Dixon appeared to have gone there with a prepossessed mind and an expectation to see and listen to certain things. He was determined to present his prepossessions to the British Public regardless of the canon of truth as his communication shows, under the article "Slavery ended in the Empire" in your issue of Friday, the 23rd September last. He writes:—

> "Opposite the Governor (Sir A. R. Slater) and the British officials, who were in white, sat the coloured members of the Council, including the native Paramount Chiefs in long robes of blue and green coloured fezes and bright slippers."

The above quotation is full of inaccuracies and misrepresentations. Sir A. R. Slater had left the Colony more than two months before the meeting on the 22nd September last, and was not in the Colony during the discussion. Two officials, viz. Mr. Fitch-Jones, the Acting Director of Public Works, and Mr. H. Michell, the Acting Director of Education were not dressed in white. None of the Paramount chiefs in the Council was dressed in green or blue, and none of them had on coloured fez. Paramount Chiefs Bai Comber and Kenneh Coker have always appeared in council bare-headed but Paramount Chief Bai Kompa had on his turban wrapped in white as an alfa. There was nothing extraordinary in the dresses of the Chiefs, the Honourables Bai Kompa and Kenneh Coker had on their ordinary white gowns with black stripes, while the Hon. Bai Comber had on a plain white *sulia*, a long narrow gown with a long black coat of melton open in front over the white.

In the next paragraph Mr. Dixon writes:—

> "In the room were also representatives of the Colony's natives, euphemistically termed Creoles, wearing tailed coats, high collars white waistcoats, massive gold chains and tan boots."

The whole of this paragraph is a bold fabrication based on an exaggerated stretch of imagination. For there was only one African, who was present as a stranger in the Council Chamber, as was Mr. Dixon on the occasion. This African gentleman was *Reuter's* Agent, he wore a lounge suit and a soft collar; he had on no waistcoat and wore no chain of any kind.

Your special Correspondent misrepresented me to have declared "that the British Public had been misled by the *Daily Mail*" and put into my mouth the following words:—"In the copies of the *Daily Mail* which I have just been reading it is stated that slavery should be abolished in the Protectorate as in the Colony," he declared, "*The Daily Mail* should know that there has never been slavery in the Colony."

What I did say was that *The Daily Mail* referred to slavery in Sierra Leone, and stated

that "whilst slavery existed in the Protectorate of Sierra Leone, it had already been abolished in the actual Colony" "This," I said, "is incorrect, for slavery was never abolished in the Colony proper, as slavery had never existed here from the foundation of the Colony." This I submit is not the same thing as your Correspondent has written.

Commenting on my statement he remarked "The honourable coloured gentleman did not know that the Admiralty Courts of Sierra Leone were established for the expressed purpose of suppressing traffic in slaves." This comment evidently reveals the ignorance of Mr. Dixon of the history of the Courts of the Admiralty and their work in the Colony.

Mr. Dixon was either unable to follow a speaker or he was so obsessed in his possessions that he distorted every thing. In trying to be humorous, he distorted the speech of Mr. Songo Davies very badly, in stating that Mr. Songo Davies pleaded for compensation contrary to the plain statement of Mr. Songo Davies who said in unmistakable language that compensation was unnecessary and would lead to delay in bringing the Ordinance into operation, and to dissatisfaction as it would be difficult to trace the rights of those entitled to compensation. Mr. Dixon did not seem to understand or on account of his prepossessions was unwilling to observe and appreciate the reservation and hesitancy in the speech of the Hon. Paramount Chief Bai Comber, to whom and the other Chiefs, Mr. Dixon referred in a more or less condescending vein, on account of their self-abnegation and humility, and all the more commendable because they accepted the inevitable situation with dignity, unlike the Rural Elected Member who in his fortitude frankly stated his view of the situation.

Mr. Dixon, an instructor of humanity, in his sympathetic vein, omitted to write a most important statement and element in the speech of the Hon. Bai Comber who stressed how slave owners in the Protectorate would suffer greatly by means of the abolition of the legal status of slavery, as their wealth would be broken down almost entirely, and asked it to be recorded, that in the near future some sort of recommendation might be made to the big people in England to make some provisions for the betterment of the people of the Protectorate. Mr, Dixon has yet to learn that there was a deep mental protest in the Hon. Bai Comber's hesitancy

Mr. Dixon concluded his report by saying "the other Chiefs concurred in this dignified acceptance of the inevitable" The writer has no authority for this statement which I am in a position to say is contrary to the fact, and to add that he has no data by which he could positively surmise from the attitude of the other chiefs that the Hon. Bai Comber was alone in his silent reservation and mental protest.

I do not know under what difficulty Mr. Dixon was labouring when he applied to me and other Africans the expression "coloured gentlemen." If I wish to refer to him by his colour, I will speak of him in a positive term as a "European" or a "white man." He might have referred to me as an "African," a "blackman" or a "Negro." I am not ashamed of my colour or race. Mr. Dixon in this connection is rather the "coloured gentleman" than I. For a fever will soon make him pale or change his colour; or if I give him a blow on the face, his colour will soon turn, but I will always remain the same in fever or under a shower of blows on the face.

He further refers in a contemptuous tone to the "descendant of freed slaves for whose benefit Freetown was founded." He lacks sufficient tact to appreciate, that such a reference recalls, the ignoble part played by European races in the trans-Atlantic slave-trade, in which the part of the MAN-STEALER or MAN-SELLER was more contemptible than that of the man stolen and sold, and that the descendants of stolen Africans, coming forward through education and culture cannot, under a searching criticism, have unlimited respect or unqualified admiration for the qualities of any of the descendants of a European race, who makes reference to any act that calls to remembrance these brutal instincts of his ancestors, which should be reprobated and suppressed, and to which members of both races must enter a solemn protest, as such a reference will only create a desire to reciprocate disparaging sentiments which will in no way produce happy feelings and harmony.

I challenge the genuineness of the illustration appearing in the midst of the report under review, representing the picture of three children liberated from slavery in the Protectorate of Sierra Leone. No Political Officer, Missionary or Traveller in the Protectorate can testify to the genuineness of it for children were never exposed for sale even in the days before the British Government began to exercise jurisdiction over the Protectorate, as they are always regarded as "children of the house," and as part of the family.

I will send you a copy of the full text of the debates as soon as they are published. In the meantime I trust that you will exhibit the spirit and fairness of the British Press by publishing in one of your early issues this letter, of which I am sending copies to the Editors of some other leading English Journals.—I am, Yours faithfully.

(Sgd). A. E. TUBOKU-METZGER.

Rural Representative in the Legislative Council of Sierra Leone.

Providence Cottage,
Kissy, Sierra Leone,
October 20th. 1927

SLAVERY IN SIERRA LEONE.

SUMMARY ABOLITION OF DOMESTIC SLAVERY.

II

THE Sierra Leone Legislative Council last Thursday the 22nd inst., has as it were, by the stroke of the pen abolished slavery in all its ghostly forms in the Protectorate. This was in keeping with instructions received from the Colonial Office. The following is the text of the Ordinance.

"Be it enacted by the Governor of Sierra Leone, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof, as follows:—

This Ordinance may be cited as the Legal Status of Slavery (Abolition) Ordinance 1927; it shall apply to the Protectorate, and shall come into operation on first day of January, 1928.

2. The legal status of Slavery is hereby declared to be abolished throughout the Protectorate.
3 Section seven of the Protectorate Ordinance 1924, is hereby repealed.
4. The Protectorate (No. 2 Amendment) Ordinance, 1926 is hereby repealed.

Passed in the Legislative Council this 22nd day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-seven.

The Objects and reasons given contain *inter alia* the following.

The effect of clause 2 of the bill will be to preclude any Court from recognizing the status of slavery, with the consequence that in any action or prosecution in respect of an assault it will be of no avail for the defendant to allege that the person assaulted is a slave. In providing that Courts are to regard all persons as being free, the Bill in effect makes all persons legally free, It would therefore be illogical to retain section 7 of the Protectorate Ordinance 1924 (Chapter 167), which allows a slave to purchase his freedom by the payment of the sum of four pounds or to retain Ordinance No. 9 of 1926. The Bill accordingly repeals that section and the Ordinance.

Now as pointed out in the *African World* of September 3, Domestic Slavery, described in the same issue by Sir EDWARD MEREWETHER once Governor of this Colony, as existing in the Protectorate "in a very mild form—more like a tribal custom than anything else," has been an integral element in the constitution of all West African Society. Its sudden and arbitrary abolition would not only be largely ineffective, but might be injurious to the slaves themselves. Such an Ordinance would certainly cause hardship and the abuse of liberty. Our position therefore is entrenched on the fulfilment of two important conditions by Government. First and foremost, hitherto the slaves form part of the capital of the owners. They as a rule are well treated as Sir EDWARD MEREWETHER averred in the following statement." During the whole time I was in Sierra Leone I never heard of any abuses or scandal in connection with it."

In some cases some of the female slaves, are taken as wives by their masters and are well provided for. They for the most part form the labouring classes in the Protectorate, as by virtue of their position, they are fixed to the lands of their master and are not allowed to leave them and go abroad as those born free. It would not therefore be enough for the Sierra Leone Legislature to pin its strength on the logical sequence of the passing of the Ordinance and say that thereby the provision hitherto sanctioned by law as to the payment of a ransom becomes negligible. Nor should the British Public demonstrate its protest only by the revulsion which the discovery has made bare. The only course, and it is the legitimate course history has laid down, is for the British Taxpayers to buy the Freedom of all slaves in the Protectorate.

The Honourable Dr. BANKOLE BRIGHT who is now in London, in an interview reported to the *Manchester Guardian* stated that when the Ordinance was before the Council last year, this difficulty was discussed by the unofficial element which suggested that the best and simplest course would be to withdraw all semblance, direct or indirect, of recognition of the status of domestic slavery, and that necessary compensation funds should be voted by the Council; but the official element took the view that the ordinance as presented was sufficiently explicit, and that it was not necessary to make any grant from the Colony's fund.

If the Government persists in that view at the present change of the situation, there is no question but that it would be inflicting a disastrous blow on the economic position of the Protectorate as also a smashing calamity on the resources of all slave owners.

Our next point is, what will be done by way of regulating the movements of the men and women who would find themselves free to go wheresoever they chose and do whatsoever they would, even to the extent of being idle? The Ordinance which has just become law though short is pregnant with difficulties the effect of which we think would not be long to experience. We trust that against the time when it will become operative something would have been done not only to compensate the owners for the financial loss involved, but also to regulate the movements of the freed slaves that they do not become a drag to the progress and advancement of the Protectorate

Race Problem - 1927

Africa.

The Umtata Native Welfare Association & the Native Bills.

A week or two ago the Umtata Native Welfare Association published a series of resolutions quite subversive of what the Natives themselves said at Pretoria in their capacity as spokesmen of their own people. We have since discovered that the Umtata association consists only of Europeans and as such, need not be castigated seriously for its aberration because it represents only Europeans and is evidently out of touch with the views of native voters. The first resolution, which is the offending resolution, contains two fundamental misconceptions of the question (1) it welcomes the idea that Natives should have their own representatives in parliament; and (2) strongly urges that existing voters should retain their right of voting individually for such members.

The first blunder is the assumption that we Natives welcome the Premier's proposal to give us a separate set of white members as if we already lived in different territorial spheres. It was made clear at Pretoria that all the Natives of the Union strongly oppose any change in the existing Cape Native franchise, especially if the new seven members are to be white men. Any such change would mean a loss that cannot be compensated by the Premier's destructive offer of two members for the Cape which to-day controls more than two seats. The Prime Minister's offer can only logically follow complete territorial segregation as a preliminary condition for parliamentary separation, because the present Native vote protects the landed property of black and white voters living inextricably mixed up in the whole of the Cape Province.

The second blunder consists in the assumption that the present Native voters are indifferent to the fate of their descendants who in all fairness should inherit the franchise of their fathers.

In fact the Natives of the Transvaal, Natal and the Orange Free State have expressed themselves in uncompromising terms against accepting any offer that involves a weakening of the present rights of the Cape Native voters.

Now this Umtata Association has either wilfully or ignorantly gone against Native opinion by posing to be friends of the Natives and yet contradicting the united opinion of all the Union Natives. This is a case of "Heaven save us from our friends."

We would respectfully exhort our Umtata friends to study Native opinion carefully before publishing what is obnoxious to the Natives under the claim of being an association the object of which is to advance the welfare of Natives.

The Native of to-day is quite competent to express his opinionon matters vitally affecting his interest, and stands in no need of advocates who fail to grasp his viewpoint.

[Written after consultation by Davidson Don Tengo Jabavu, Imvo Office,, Market Square, King Williamstown to express the views of "Imvo Zabantsundu."]

Be Strengthened with Might.

(Notes of an address in Lovedale, by Miss J. W. Coombs.)

To be present at an S.C.A. meeting in this building brings back many recollections. I am reminded of stirring meetings thirty years ago when the S.C.A. was started in Lovedale. There had just been missionary companies going out, and the forms of Christian work among the students; these were then grouped together, to form an organisation linked on to the movement which had started with such zeal and power among the students in America and Great Britain, and which was becoming world-wide. I remember being present at one of the early Conferences in England, and how impressed I was in passing the tent where the meetings were held during the afternoon, which was usually devoted to recreation, to see on the platform of the empty tent, a group of young student leaders kneeling in prayer for a blessing on the meeting to be held that night That was the power behind the speakers. Declaration cards were given out for signing which stated "It is my purpose, if God permit, to become a foreign missionary," and those who took them scattered to all parts of the world. A missionary is literally a 'sent one'; in this connection one sent by God with the Gospel of Jesus Christ. You are needed to be missionaries, but not foreign missionaries: you have the heathen always with you or near you. I realised this afresh recently when I came to a village where one of our girls had recently died, after witnessing a good confession. It appeared that, though she had Christian relatives, the members of her own family circle were all "reds," and this is not an isolated case.

For four years now I have been following up the old students of Lovedale. When we think of Lovedale, we think of the students. You are here to-day and in a short time you will be scattered all over the Union and the Protectorates. I have seen your homes and I know the difficulties of the out-side-life. I know the loneliness and monotony in country places I know the town locations, with heathenism just varnished over, and the evils attendant on civilisation at its worst. There are so called model locations, where facilities have been given to the people to build good houses, but all kinds of people flock to them, and their good name is soon tarnished. The churches are torn with dissension, and members of them 'blown about with every wind of doctrine.' On a Sunday afternoon, drums are heard beating, like the Indian tom-toms, and open-air meetings are addressed. Talk of wrongs and hardships goes on, which tends to foster self-pity, which is anything but helpful to character. We want you to be noble. You have heard that the negroes in America are to day a prosperous people. In their old slave days Christianity spread among them; they gathered for secret services, and sang the beautiful spiritual songs which the Jubilee singers made known to the world. God honoured their faith, and gave them freedom and prosperity "Faith worketh patience, and patience experience and experience hope." The early missionaries taught this faith: be true to them. There are those who go about telling people that the old missionaries taught them wrongly. I remind them of the words of Our Lord, "By their fruits ye shall know them." I think with growing admiration of the work of the early missionaries, who came when all was dark, taking their lives in their hands No one knew the language of the people; they had to listen to it and write it down little by little, and then set about translating the Bible bit by bit. What a great work; truly they were giants in those days! The heathen came out one by one, and had the courage to suffer for their faith, and so a Christian church was built up, and that is how there is one to-day. Beware of the undoers who go in to break down the work of which the old missionaries built up.

What is able to keep you among all these discouraging influences? The power of the Holy Spirit He is given, our Lord told us, to guide us to all truth. He has the power to change the hearts of those that believe, making them love the things that are pleasing to Him, and He is the power to keep and to restore I have heard of men and met some of them, who had been at Institutions, who after leaving school went astray through bad companions or through drink, in whom this change took place through hearing the Word of God. They arose and came to their Father, and are to-day able to be of service to God and to their people. But there are others, in important positions, who need our prayers, and we should remember them at the throne of grace.

May you be "filled with all the fulness of God," to overflow to others. There is much faith among your people, but it is smouldering; leaders are needed, on fire for Christ, to cause it to burst into flame, so that many souls may be gathered in, for His glory.

NATIVE LEGISLATION.

THE Government can have no reason to complain of any inadequacy in the attention given by all sorts of intelligent organisations to the Premier's draft Bills on Native Legislation.

To date these proposals have been considered by important individuals like General Smuts, Mr. Matabili Thomson and Sir William Beaumont, while the front rank newspapers of the country have all devoted well thought-out leading articles thereon.

General Hertzog himself spent three days with European farmers, and discovered that radical changes will have to be made before the Bills can command approval by white farmers. The Native organisations everywhere have exhibited unprecedented unanimity in expressing the view that these bills approach as near as it is humanly possible to do the opposite of what a correct Native policy should be. So say the African National Congress, the Government Native Conference, the Industrial and Commercial Worker's Union, the Bantu Union, and the Cape Native Voters' Convention. The Joint Council of Johannesburg has made a scientific examination

of the Bills and found them impracticable. The Dutch Reformed Church has issued a guarded and tentative manifesto which urges the Prime Minister and all legislators to adopt a new and more charitable view towards the Natives than is evident in the Bills. The Anglican Synod has been outspoken in its declaration that these Bills do not carry out the christian duty of a christian body of legislators. The forthcoming Conference of Europeans and Bantu summoned at Cape Town for the end of this month by the Federal Council of Dutch Reformed Churches while not likely to give unqualified approval, will probably provide useful constructive suggestions towards a complete remodelling of the Bills.

We are therefore in bright hopes that the Prime Minister, as a man of tact, will take due warning, and not be in undue haste to drive his Bills into the Statute Book without fundamentally altering them so as to meet the honest constructive criticism of such an overwhelming volume of white and black public opinion.

On Tuesday, 11th January, the Transvaal Wesleyan Synod passed the following motion :

1. "This committee of review of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of the Transvaal and Swaziland districts, assembled in Pretoria, resolves that the Native Land Act 1913 Amendment Bill, 1927, fails to carry out the promises of the Government respecting improvement in the conditions of native occupation of land, inasmuch as

(a) The released areas set apart are not for native occupation only, and the possibility of European competition in the purchase of land in these areas would make it difficult, if not impossible for natives to acquire land therein.

(b) The labour conditions proposed in the Bill are definitely retrogressive, and if established by law would create a state of affairs scarcely distinguishable from serfdom.

(c) The tendency of the proposed legislation seems to be to drive back the detribalised and educated natives into tribal life and conditions.

2. The Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill, 1927. The committee resolves :

(a) That whereas the exercise of the privilege of the franchise by natives in the Cape Province has never been abused, there is no warrant for its withdrawal.

(b) That the proposed status of representatives of natives in Parliament is unsatisfactory in that such representatives would have strictly limited powers of influencing legislation.

Therefore the committee suggests :

(1) The free election of representatives by native voters who reach a standard of qualification to be imposed by the Government.

(2) That the principle underlying the native franchise in the Cape Province be maintained, and that until this franchise be extended to the northern Provinces the Government be urged to make provision for those Provinces to be represented by seven members as follows : Transvaal, three members ; Natal, two members ; O.F.S, two members. Such representatives to be full members of the House of Assembly.

(3) Union Native Council Bill, 1927 : The committee resolves that the terms of clauses (1) and (2) of the above suggestion should apply with equal force to the proposed method of election of members of the proposed Native Councils."

Native and Other Questions.

"We came to change that state of affairs and as far as lies within our power to solve the native question, and we are carrying out that programme to-day," said the Minister. "And we have reached a most important stage of that programme. How can we at this stage throw up our work and allow South Africa to drift towards the chasm, as it was drifting in the past?"

No one, unless they be biased, will deny the Pact Government has accomplished a considerable amount of useful work, but it does seem a pity that responsible Ministers should indulge in personalities ad lib., as many of them (Gen. Hertzog excluded) have been doing with regard to Gen. Smuts.

Talking of hereniging, Dr. Malan is all for it, subject to conditions, of course. What, he asks, is the hereniging the South African Party wants? They want to be able to break the Labour Party away from us. They want South Africa exploited in the interests of the great capitalists and the mine magnates. Rather than that, he would go into the political wilderness. He would never belong to any herenigde (reunited) party unless it could be said that it was, in the fullest sense of the word, a party of the people.

Splendid : but no two people alike can agree as to what constitutes this ideal party. Dr. Malan's dislike of General Smuts is shared by Mr. Roos, who declared at Potchefstroom that he would not agree to an unprincipled union with the South African Party, especially in view of the persons who were leading it to-day. It was General Smuts who dared the National Party to battle, and they would fight until the end. Like Dr. Malan, Mr. Roos is enthusiastic where the Pact is concerned, and predicts that it would remain in power till the last day of the period for which it was elected, "so that it could do everything in its power for the people of South Africa."

Condemns South African Slavery

By N. A. A. C. P. Press Service.

Lord Olivier, former British Secretary of State for India, writing in *The Nation* for February 9 analyzes and condemns the "slavery" imposed upon the native workers in South Africa by a system of laws and industry based entirely upon exploitation of the colored man. White men in the South African mines, Lord Olivier points out, are paid "on the average about ten times as much as the black," even skilled native machine operators receiving only a maximum of 54 cents a day.

"The mines," declares Lord Olivier, "are over-capitalized on a scale at which they can only be kept running on a basis of underpaid native labor." Lord Olivier continues :

"Some apologists argue that as the white man is racially superior to the black, he is justified in seeking to maintain his position by preventing the native from attaining equality with him. That sort of self-deceiving pseudo-Darwinism claptrap is indicative of the kind of argument used in defense of the South African white labor policy. It is claptrap because, in the first place, not all white men, on any scale of human valuations, are superior to all black, and a great many white men are inferior to a good many black. There are a great many educated black South Africans who show much more intelligence in regard to the essentials of this question that whites who thus argue.

"If the attempt to maintain the repressionist and color-bar theory should be persisted in it is not the natives that, in the long run, will be defeated. It is not they, but the white race that have shown the first symptoms of degeneration—a degeneration entirely due to their own perverse social theory. The native is at present desirous and disposed to adapt himself to the life of European civilization; and if white men worthy of that civilization continue to assist him to do so. South African society will develop on stable lines."

Race Problem- 1927

CHILD "SLAVERY" ALLEGATIONS.

Mr. Cripps' Criticism of Native Juveniles Employment Act.

The Native Juveniles Employment Act was criticised at the annual meeting of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, which was held on Thursday at the Central Hall, Westminster.

Mr. A. S. Cripps, an Anglican Missionary from Rhodesia, who for many years has fought for the rights of the natives, appealed for "fair play" in regard to the Native Juveniles Employment Act, which, Mr. Cripps said, was passed last year in the Southern Rhodesia Legislative Assembly, as being entirely "in the interests of the native juveniles themselves," but he feared that the power given under this measure would lead to an objectionable form of child slavery in Rhodesia. Sir Charles Coghlin had stated that in bringing forward this Bill they were attempting to carry out what had been advocated by the Assistant Native Commissioner several years ago, and that, so far as he, the Premier, was concerned, there was no other object in view than the well-being of the natives themselves.

Mr. Hadfield, a Member of the Legislative Assembly, when this suggested legislation came up for discussion in the Assembly, pointed out that the Bill was originally intended to *protect* the native juvenile, but that it now seemed to be regarded as offering facilities for wholesale juvenile labour. Mr. Cripps referred to the testimony of the Rev. John White, a Missionary in Mashonaland since 1894, who argued that European lads were protected by a sympathetic public opinion from hardship and injustice, but that in Southern Rhodesia, owing to racial prejudice, the only public sentiment that counts would be on the side of the white employer. Mr. Cripps said he had had bitter personal experience of "injustice perpetrated" under the Southern Rhodesia Labour Contract system amongst adults, and he deprecated the "dangerous and retrogressive" step of extending the labour contract system to children.

The protests made by Mr. Cripps and others had had the "effect of hanging up this measure" in Rhodesia, and he urgently begged all present to speak up for the 900,000 inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia—to a large extent politically dumb—and to reinforce the voices of the few isolated people working in this cause, to voice the "Cry of the Children."

"Fighting Parson" Passes.

The death has occurred of the Rev. Father Biehler, a Jesuit priest, who went to Rhodesia in 1892. He arrived in South Africa in 1885, and for four years was a master at St. Aidan's, Grahamstown, where the school choir became well known under his able direction. After ordination in 1892, he proceeded to Rhodesia, to the Chishawasha Mission, and in 1910 was transferred to Empangeni. He started the famous native band at Chishawsha, which Dame Clara Butt said was one of the two things that impressed her most in South Africa, the other being the Victoria Falls. In the rebellion he earned the nickname of the "Fighting Parson."

SIR HENRY BIRCHENOUGH ON COLONY'S PROGRESS.

Return Visit After Fifteen Years.

Sir Henry Birchenough, president of the British South Africa Company, who is paying a return visit to Rhodesia after an absence of fifteen years, expressed some exceedingly interesting views on the colony the course of an interview with the "Herald."

"I was due to return in 1914," he said, "but the war intervened, and that my time was largely occupied at home during the years of reconstruction that followed. I also suffered from ill-health, and therefore my visit was postponed. But now that I am here I want to say that I could not have believed that fifteen years could bring such all-round prosperity and such incredible improvement. High credit is due to the municipalities for their energies and foresight. Here in Salisbury, which, when I last saw it, was a very different place, where you wandered more or less at your free will, between vacant stands and tin shanties, you now have all the amenities of a much larger town.

"I took the trouble, as a Beit trustee," said Sir Henry, "to visit many of your schools, and I have no hesitation in saying that no colony has in so short a time created so efficient an educational system. You have the true public school traditions. If sound education lays the foundation of prosperity you have nothing whatever to fear.

Tribute to Administration.

"Finally," said Sir Henry, "I wish to pay a tribute—speaking as I do from a quite disinterested standpoint—to your present administration. I consider the greatest credit is due to them. Faced with all the temptations which beset a young Government they have resolutely refused to be stampeded into hasty and ill-considered actions, and to that fact, I believe, is largely due the state of prosperity which you see in Southern Rhodesia to-day."

On the subject of cotton Sir Henry said that he was chairman of the Royal Commission on Cotton-Growing in the Empire, which took evidence relating to many British territories, and he was impressed with the fact that Southern Rhodesia was undoubtedly a cotton-growing country. There were two extreme theories in this matter; one was that cotton was a "native" crop, and the other was that it was a "plantation" crop. He saw no reason why there should not be a half-way house between the two, as a means of livelihood for more white settlers in Southern Rhodesia. He most heartily endorsed the statement put forward by Sir James Currie that cotton is invaluable as a rotation crop. But there was one danger, continued Sir Henry, which should be avoided, and he hoped would be avoided, and that was the danger of growing cotton in impossible places. He understood, for instance, that over 4,000 feet was not suitable for it. There were other limitations which should be carefully considered.

On the question of the mining industry Sir Henry said that he was quite satisfied with the position in regard to base metals, but he would like to see more new gold discoveries. He confidently anticipated great developments in asbestos and chrome.

THE WESLEYAN PRESIDENT.

This year's annual conference of the Wesleyan Methodists was remarkable in several ways. The President, Rev. T. R. Curnick, B.D., obtained his position as a result of forty years of honest work in Native circuits, where apart from successful evangelistic labour, he made history by establishing a new secondary school at Emfundisweni (Pondoland), producing a number of valuable books for Native readers, revising the Xòsa hymn book on scientific lines and making a meritorious contribution in the joint revision of the Xósa Bible in which he acted as Secretary of the inter-denominational committee. In all probability there is no white clergyman who commands greater confidence among the black Wesleyans then he does. He is the guardian of the young Paramount Chief of all the Pondos, who actually lives in his house—a rare position of trust. No greater proof of his genuine love for Africans need be sought. His addresses on the Native question, which constituted the central theme of his Presidential orations, created an atmosphere of racial brotherhood. A man of his sympathy as well as scholarly attainments is in his right place as Warden of the Wesleyan Hostel at Fort Hare.

Under his inspiration the conference framed a series of useful and wise resolutions on the Premier's Native Bills and appointed a strong deputation to transmit these as well as to give evidence before the Select Committee at Cape Town. The Press reports show a continued upward progress in the missionary and educational activities of this church and we wish the church, its President and all its leaders a long life of usefulness to the divine glory of their Lord and Master.

Non-European Conference,

First of its kind in Union.

A non-European Conference—the first of its kind in the Union—at which practically all the non-European associations in South Africa were represented convened on 23rd June in the City Hall, Kimberley. There were 101 delegates from all over the Union.

The keynote of the proceedings was embodied in the only resolution passed on this day which was to the effect that it was only through co-operation among themselves that the non-Europeans could hope to have their desires gratified. It was emphasised that the conference was not a combine against the Europeans, but was merely a combine among the non-Europeans for their own good, and with an ultimate view to co-operation with the Europeans.

Dr. A. Abdurahman, M.P.C. (African Peoples Organisation, Capetown), who was elected to the chair for the day, said that again and again he had been urged to call a congress of all non European organisations, with the result that a resolution was passed at a meeting in Cap town to hold such a congress in Kimberley at the end of June.

The question of whether or not the Press should be excluded from the congress was raised, it was deferred, pending the dismissal of preliminary business

After a number of resolutions had been dealt with in committee, Mr. Sol. T. Plaatje moved,

That this conference, representing the non-European organisations and community in the four provinces of the Union and in South-West Africa, assembled in the City Hall, Kimberley, on June 23, resolve that the interests of South Africa as a whole can best be served by closer co operation among the non-European sections of South Africa, and also between the non-Europeans and Europeans."

"BRITISH OBJECTS."

Mr. Plaatje said that the non-Europeans in South Africa were regarded as British objects, instead of British subjects. Some of them, he said, thought they would do better by fighting their own battles, but co operation would get them very much further, and would be the only solution to all their difficulties.

Extraordinary Legislation.

Throughout the committee stage of the Native Administration Bill in Parliament clause after clause has been passed conferring powers on the Government to do some extraordinary things which would be intolerable to the finer senses of civilised people. In each instance the Minister has sought to justify the clause on the ground that it would never be actually applied, but that the Government meantime wanted to make sure of possessing such power. The same plea was put forward when the Colour Bar Bill was forced through into the Statute Book last year. And the same defence was put up in the case of the original colour bar against non-Europeans sitting in Parliament. When the clause designed to disfran-

chise the Cape Natives by a two-thirds' majority was incorporated in the Union Act it was argued that such a contingency would never arise as the white had too tender a conscience to think of perpetrating such brutal injustice. What do we see to-day? We see, contrary to all the original assurances, a brazen attack on the Cape Native franchise embodied in the Premier's bills. This is a sure sign that the political morality of some of our white parliamentarians far from improving since the year 1909 has actually degenerated. What security therefore can the Native be expected to believe in when the lesson of recent history is so clear?

THE METHOD OF TEACHING IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL.

The third great problem that faces the Basutoland Elementary school is that of the method. A better knowledge of child (mosotho) psychology in our school books, and of the laws that govern the process of learning, is yielding a more rational methodology. There is no doubt that to day learning by doing is supplanting learning by listening. Even where listening is necessary, everything is being done to make it active listening. No longer are the senses of sight and hearing doing all the work: the whole child, with all his senses and faculties, is being challenged. Subject matter is being presented as experience to be lived, rather that as formulae to be memorized. The work of Rosmini, of Froebel, of Montessori, of Shields, of Dewey; is bearing fruit, and dissipating the spell of Herbartainism. As someone has put it, the classroom is less and less the auditorium, and more the laboratorisium. The teacher prepares the tacks and strives to make them vital and meningful, the chidren perform them freely, getting direction only when they need it. Burnham sums up the spirit of the newer methodology in the works." A task, a plan, and freedom." Discipline is sought in the task itself, and it is kept in mind that activity always accompanies childish absorption. The child becomes a disciplinary problem when there is nothing in the situation to challenge his activity, when unnatural passivity is the desired end. Instead of hearing lessons the teacher helps the child to learn them. More attention is paid to the formation of good habits of study than was the case in the past. Teaching becomes direction rather than testing.

Another promising development in methodology is the tardy recognition that no two children are exactly alike The full singnificance of individual differences is being realized, that in a large measure to the intelligence test. Various devices are being tried out for the purpose of suiting instinition to different degrees and types of mental ability. The class may be divided up into a number of homogeneous groups, each having somethin like its own course of study.

Of course, all of these devices are still in the experimental stage and none of them claims in infallibility.

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The crops throughout the district have lamentably failed, but the members have shown real pluck and have done their best with some success to reap something by following the lessons given at the meetings. The report of the establishment of three more sister associations at Engcobo, Hackney and Oliviers' Hoek (Natal) was gratifying as showing the continued good influence of the principal association. The association had been highly honoured in that its secretary, Mr. D. D. T. Jabavu, was invited by the Magistrate of Lady Frere and his Agricultural Society to open the Lady Frere Native Show as well as to address the local Europeans on the political situation as affecting the Natives. Further, Mr. Jabavu has been invited by the Department of Agriculture of Basutoland to make a tour of Basutoland next Christmas and give a series of lectures to the Basuto people on modern methods of cultivation. To the forthcoming conference of the S. A. Native Farmers' Congress, at Cala the meeting appointed the Secretary to be its representative.

An excellent address was then delivered on "Home Gardening" by Mr. Alton Tatu, the Government Agricultural Demonstrator who works in the Alice district, and this was highly appreciated. Mr. Paul Germond, head of the department of agriculture at Fort Hare then contributed useful information on the projected show. In his remarks he deplored the townward tendency of the white and black population of South Africa, revealing the astounding fact that while forty years ago eighty per cent. of the Europeans lived on the land to day only thirty-seven per cent. remained there, the rest having gravitated to industria and urban centres. He recommended the development of prime beef cattle and the elimination of scrub cattle for divers reasons, and showed how sheep rearing was to be preferred to cattle rearing, under South African conditions. On the calling of the roll the net membership increased to 134, the subscriptions realising £4-15/- which constituted a new record and the balance at bank rose to £62-8/9, the bank book being placed on the table for public inspection.

Next meeting was fixed for the 27th August at Madubela's Location, Deb Nek.

MISSIONARY WORK AMONGST THE NATIVES.

British Doctor's Valuable Activities.

(From a Special Correspondent.)

Dr. C. C. Chesterman, O.B.E., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., M.D., the well-known Bath Baptist and son-in-law of Alderman E. W. Spear, has just returned from his work for the Baptist Mission, Yakusu, in the Belgian Congo. Dr. Chesterman has worked there since 1920, and his activities have been so much appreciated by the Belgian Government that he has just been appointed a member of their official Commission for the Protection of Natives.

"Sleeping sickness," Dr. Chesterman told me, "is one of the greatest scourges with which we have to deal. However, with the new drugs that are now available, many provided through the Rockefeller Health Foundation, about 50 per cent. of the cases are now curable. Recently the Belgian Government has asked us to be responsible for the health conditions of a district of about 150 miles along the banks of the Congo. This means that I and my native medical assistants have to patrol this area each year to examine every individual. Not only are we able to accomplish, therefore, very valuable medical work, but it gives us all wonderful opportunities for evangelistic work. One of the great difficulties we have to meet with is the language question—half a dozen different languages are spoken within a score of miles"

Speaking of the commission to which he has been appointed, Dr. Chesterman said that this body meets every three years and discusses questions relating to the welfare of the Africans, such as the problem of abandoned children, hygiene, the liquor question, and so on. The ten members, of whom by the way, the Public Prosecutor is always the president, consists both of officials and Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries. The Rev. Ross Phillips, another Baptist missionary, has been a member for many years. The commission reports direct to the King of the Belgians.

Dr. Chesterman's hospital seven years ago consisted of a dozen beds; now he has fifty beds, and a rapidly increasing work is being done in the training of men medical nurses, towards the cost of whose instruction the Government makes considerable contributions. These nurses now do all the injection work that is necessary, and they are also being sent to country districts to carry on medical sub-stations and dispensaries. All these men are Christians. Developments are also taking place regarding higher general educational work.

Dr. Chesterman's brother, Mr. Arnold Chesterman, recently went out to Yakusu in connection with his plans for new hospital buildings for his brother. During the war Dr. Chesterman served with the Red Cross in Serbia, and was later with the Army in Palestine. He and his wife are still members of the Manvers Street Chapel, Bath. After, Dr. Chesterman was at Bristol University, where he was president of the Christian Union.

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Race Problem - 1927

Africa.

PRESIDENT KING'S MESSAGE.

Considerable consternation was expressed over the passage taken from President King's last message to the Liberian legislature, in which he urged that a ban be placed on the operations of foreign missionaries in that part of West Africa. Some observers read into this suggestion a result of the advent into the country of the fine one interests, and a desire to establish absolute control free from missionary interference. Others saw in it only the revival of a recommendation made by President King a year ago, which was not heeded by the legislature.

The Star of Zion, the official organ of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, said that the carrying out of President King's plan for freeing Liberia from foreign ecclesiastical control would affect religious bodies in this country and Europe, which are expending about a quarter of a million dollars yearly in Liberia. It enumerated among these denominations, the African Methodist, which spends about fifty thousand dollars; the Methodist Episcopal Church, sixty-five thousand dollars, and the Protestant Episcopal Church, seventy-five thousand dollars. All of these churches have bishops in Liberia.

In his message President King was quoted as saying that the Liberians are beginning to realize the incompatibility of political freedom with religious servitude. He therefore recommended:

> The control of foreign religious bodies must be withdrawn, as well as their financial support from the Churches in Liberia. If the former, why not the latter?
>
> "Since we are suporting and maintaining our own government, we ought to be able to support and maintain our own churches. In fact, this is a duty and responsibility devolving upon us as a free, soverign and independent people. No self respecting, independent Nation would desire otherwise.
>
> "Every nation, like every individual, must know God for itself and not for another. As a people, we Liberians are most appreciative of the religious guidance and assistance we have received in the past from our foreign spiritual directors and teachers, and recognize the measurable benefits which have accrued to us therefrom; but nevertheless, we hear the deep, loud and reverberating sounds of the great bell of [illegible] announcing the fact that the hour has arrived for Liberia's spiritual freedom and religious independence. To this call of freedom every true and patriotic Liberian must respond irrespective of his religious faith or creed."

It is hard to conceive from these generalities exactly what specific ground the President has for his advocacy of independent ecclesiastical government. We are uninformed as to any encroachment upon the civil authority of the government growing out of missionary movements in Liberia. It is not without precedent, however, for the advent of the missionaries in certain weaker nations to be the prelude to the importation of gin and other evils of civilization, followed by the marines and their machine guns. Maybe President King had this in mind.

Nearly a quarter of a century ago, Dr. Blyden, one of the most intellectual men Liberia has produced, raised some question as to the comparative benefits of Mohammedanism and Christianity as a working religion for the native African. If we remember correctly, his inclination was toward the religion of Mahomet, as being better adapted to the climatic environment and temperament of the natives concerned. On the other hand, many of the American missionaries in Liberia and other parts of West Africa have combined medical knowledge with missionary skill, and have done much to alleviate the physical ills from which the inhabitants suffered.

Until Liberia is in a condition to replace missionary efforts along educational, medical and religious lines with equally effective service on her own account, it would seem injudicious for the legislature to adopt the ban of religious exclusion recommended by President King.

Called to the Bar.

West African students called to the Bar on Wednesday evening included: (Inner Temple) Messrs. E. O. Asafu-Adjaye (B.A., LL.B., University College, London), S. A. Okai-Idun (B.A., Selwyn College, Cambridge), M. A. S Siffre (Fitzwilliam Hall, Cambridge); and (Middle Temple), H. A. Hayfron-Benjamin, Mr. H. O. B. Wooding (Studentship and Certificate of Honour at Bar Final Examination, Hilary Term, 1927), and President of the Union of Students of African Descent, was also called to the Bar (Middle Temple), on Wednesday evening.

OPPOSITION TO NATIVE DOCTORS IN SO. AFRICA

White Medical Men Oppose Suggestions for Native Medica Service — Native Doctors Would Constitute "Menace"

Colonel Sir Edward Thornton's suggestions for a native medical service in South Africa, as outlined in a recent issue of The Johannesburg Star, were described as excellent by Mr. H. M. Taberer, of the Chamber of Mines, Johannesburg, and Dr. R. P. Mackenzie, superintendent of the General Hospital, but both gentlemen had a few reservations.

Mr. Taberer's knowledge of native affairs is well known and, in addition, he is thoroughly trusted by the natives themselves. The appointment of a Government committee to deal with medical services was a good thing, he said.

"But until the native is as qualified as the European his activities must be restricted," he added. "The black man will find truer scope in the reserves, there is no doubt. And here he might be called upon at times to treat Europeans who might not be able to obtain the services of a white man at the moment. In the mines natives rendering first aid often treat Europeans, who find the black man quite skilful.

"Natives could study for medical work at such places as the native college, Forthare, at Alice. That is the way the whole thing should be planned and built up. In the preliminary stages it would be a good plan for the natives to go to some of those big colleges, and then the practical part of the work should be carried out at some of the hospitals in native territories, such as Umtata, where the majority of the patients are natives.

"For that matter, there is a big non-European hospital in Johannesburg, but, as I have said, the natives would find their truer scope in their own territories, where perhaps their activities ought to be confined.

"The trouble will be to get them to stay in their own territories. No medical man wishes to remain in a country district, and the native would be no exception. At present our d[illegible] geons have a tremendous amount of work to do, and it might be possible to create such a post as assistant district surgeon for the native."

Mr. Taberer, however, did not regard the granting of diplomas, the equivalent of those available for Europeans, as a menace to European practitioners, provided that the natives' qualifications were equivalent.

"If, as suggested by Sir Edward Thornton, examinations are held at one of the universities, let the successful native have his diploma," he said. "No doubt that native doctor will soon want to come to the urban areas, where some Europeans would employ his services. That might mean, to a small degree, competition with the European medical men. It is a problem that faces us in any profession which the native is allowed to adopt. But the percentage of natives able to qualify fully as medical men would be so small as to be almost negligible."

Medical Attitude

Dr. MacKenzie, on the other hand, refuses to subscribe to the policy of allowing natives to practice, whether they can become qualified or not. This is the attitude the medical profession has always held, he says.

To a suggestion that the number would be so small as to be no serious menace, he said: "That is true at the present time, but their number would increase. It is really a question for the future, but I would not like to see a start made on the lines suggested with regard to granting a diploma.

"The same thing applies to the nursing profession. In Johannesburg we do not put up native nurses for the Government examinations, as they do in the Cape, but we have hospital examinations, and to the successful native give a certificate, which is not, however, the equivalent of a Government certificate.

"The same practice must be followed regarding the medical service. The suggestion of an auxiliary service of native medical assistants is a good one, and has proved successful in other countries. They would be particularly useful in such outlying districts as Middleburg, where there is a large native population, and where a native medical service is undoubtedly badly needed."

Dr. MacKenzie also thought that it might be possible to have some such post as assistant district surgeon, and assistants' diplomas could be granted, he said.

"Of course you know it is possible for a native to graduate at home, where there is no color bar, and I believe there is a native practitioner at Mafeking, whose services are employed

Imperial Conference and King's Veto.

[TO THE EDITOR, IMVO.]

Sir,—In the leading article of your "Imvo" of 21st ultimo you express satisfaction in the report of the Imperial Conference on the new constitutional status of the British Dominions. You derive your satisfaction from the assurance of Mr. Baldwin the Prime Minister of Great Britain that the right of the Governor-General to reserve a Dominion Bill for the consideration of the Crown was not affected by the report nor any change was contemplated in the King's right of Veto

I am afraid Mr. Baldwin's assurance is of no value to the Bantu within the Union of South Africa and we should not be satisfied with this bare assurance. You are well aware, Sir, that both the right of reservation of Bills by the Governor-General and the King's Veto are entrenched in the South Africa Act of 1910 but because the Imperial Government has been reluctant to interfere in South African affairs, these rights have been allowed to exist in theory only—I might almost say as ornaments. In other words, there is no case since Union in which these Powers have been exercised by the Crown on the advice of the Imperial Government In every case where there has been a Union Bill competent for the Governor-General to reserve for consideration by the Crown, the Imperial Government intimates *in advance* that the King will not be advised to disallow the Bill. This intimation in advance by the Imperial Government has been made with the deliberate purpose of avoiding to have a say in the Union internal affairs. Even where the Imperial Government is actually called upon to intervene and advise the King to exercise his powers of veto, as for instance, in the case of the Natives Land Act 1913, the Imperial Government has time and again quite definitely refused to even consider the request for fear of interfering although it has statutory right to interfere. So that apart from the new Imperial Constitutional development, Mr. Baldwin's assurance quoted by you in your last week's leading article is and was already valueless in the Union of South Africa

What is the position now? Quite frankly, the new position as reflected in the Report of the Imperial Conference calls for alarm rather than satisfaction Shorn of all constitutional technicalities, the constitutional position is simply this that the Governor-General's right to reserve Union Bills for consideration by the Crown as well as the King's power to Veto a Union Bill are for all practical purposes now nullified and as good as dead. Under the Report of the Imperial Conference over which Gen. Hertzog is so glad, the King will no longer take advice in Union Affairs from the Government of Great Britain, The King will now take and act on the advice of the Union Prime Minister. The Governor General will no longer be representative in South Africa of the Government of Great Britain or be advised by it he will now represent His Majesty the King direct and mark the point, representing a constitutional monarch, he will act on the advice of the Union Ministers only. To make the point clear, the Governor-General will reserve a Union Bill or veto it on the advice of the Union Prime Minister. The Imperial Government is now out of it altogether and will not advise King George in South African affairs.

Let me follow your own example, Mr Editor, where you say the Bill repealing the Cape Native Vote when passed by two thirds majority of Union Parliament would be reserved for the King's signature before it may become law Yes, but what would happen in constitutional practice is this. The Native Representation in Parliament Bill 1926 (the Bill abolishing the Cape Native Vote), if passed by the required majority in the Union Parliament, would be reserved by His Excellency the Earl of Athlone, the Governor—General, for signature by His Majesty the King. The King will sign or disallow the Bill solely on the advice of General Hertzog the Prime Minister (who is the father of the Bill). Again, the King would only disallow the Flag Bill on the advice of the Pact Government! Tell me wherein lies the value or importance of Mr. Baldwin's assurance? Wherein can we derive satisfaction with this aspect of the report of the Imperial Conference? As subject races, the Bantu have been deprived of the constitutional protection they possessed under the Union Act, even though in practice it was reduced to mere theoretical entity. Under the new Status and as reflected in the report of the Conference, the Imperial Government definitely renounced its Trusteeship of subject races and has left us in the mercy of a reactionary, fearful and uncultured European public opinion of South Africa. Great Britain has stepped aside The Union Jack the symbol of liberty is going; under Chapter II of General Hertzog's Land Bill 1926 South Africa is reverting to 1834. that is, there will be forced labour or a veiled form of slavery.

I hope the National Congress in Bloemfontein will consider this great subject and make suggestions that are discernable in the circumstances. Do you still have cause for satisfaction in Mr. Baldwin's naked assurance?

[News supplied by R W. Msimang, Solicitor, Johannesburg.]

At the annual conference of the Bantu Union, held at Middledrift at which there were 500 delegates present, the following resolution was adopted: "That in view of the fact that the Cape had, only for the purpose of bringing about the organisation of the Union of South Africa, agreed to respect the institution of the colour bar in the Province in which it existed, this meeting strongly deprecates and resents the policy and the contention of the South African Government that it is not possible to be pro-white or to be national or patriotic without being anti-native, and that therefore it is not justified in demanding that the franchise and other rights and interests heretofore lawfully enjoyed by the native population of this Province should be taken away.

It was resolved to co-operate with the Ciskei Convention with a view to sending a deputation to the Government to pray for abolition or relief of the poll tax. The Prime Minister's Native Bills were considered and the conference was opposed to the Native Representation Bill.

(Summarised by Hubert Francis Hargrave, 25 Cathcart Street, King Williamstown).

The Lovedale Appeal.

Three years ago the grand educational building at Lovedale was almost completely gutted by a fire the origin of which has remained a mystery to this day. It was erected in 1883 at a cost of £25,000 and was easily the most substantial and majestic structure in all Bantu educational institutions in South Africa. It has now been wholly restored and with modern improvements, provides a beauteous scene within, and a stately exterior enhanced by a four-faced clock with chiming bells. When the edifice was destroyed by fire, many sympathisers expressed by letter and by word a desire to assist Lovedale financially in her grievous misfortune, but were advised to wait until the Governing Council issued its appeal. This has now been issued in a neat brochure obtainable free from the Principal. In this well illustrated booklet the needs of Lovedale are given in detail. These include a new High School Block with hostels and staff residencies (£29,800); a Training School, £15,000; a Primary School Block, £8,000; Industrial Departments £7,000 Dining Hall Enlargement, £1,000; Common Room £600; Assembly Hall £15,000 —Total £76,400.

Dr. Henderson rightly says "This amount appealed for may seem large, but it is "to be regarded in light of the magnitude of the work being carried on and the changing position of the Native people, with the advance of learning among them and their economic upheaval, whereby new claims and new opportunities for service come pressing upon the Institution."

We hope the Bantu people will do all they can to respond to the first general appeal ever made by a school that has played a remarkable part in their advancement by supplying innumerable leaders and pioneers. This is a chance also for those affluent Europeans who have made their wealth in the Diamond Fields and in the Transvaal mining centres out of the wondrously cheap labour of black men. If they had the conscience possessed by American magnates who have financed Tuskegee and Hampton for the benefit of the American Negro, they would between themselves easily solve the problem. Our prayer is that Lovedale may receive the handsome financial support she so richly deserves.

PROBLEM OF THE NATIVE WHO WON'T WORK.

Premier's Reply to Critics.

The problem of Rhodesia's native labour supply was raised by Sir Ernest Montague during a debate in the Legislative Assembly. There was, he said, an opinion prevalent that a large number of natives who helped themselves at the food stations established by the Government after then went on to the Transvaal instead of working.

He was opposed to any system of forced labour, but "we, as guardians of these people, should induce them to take some steps to cause the native to earn what we had to earn—a livelihood. It was no use asking people to settle in the colony if there was a shortage of labour."

The Premier stated in reply to Sir Ernest that while there was an alleged shortage of labour he had yet to learn whether it was due to the wasteful methods which were employed. The farmers had refused to make any attempt to help themselves, and now they wanted the Government to do it. The farmers had suggested nothing as a solution to the problem. A law regarding forced labour such as was still on the Statute Book in Kenya would never be tolerated in Rhodesia.

They could not have forced labour, and if the determination resulted in hardship they would have to endure it. He had heard it said that when they got to the end of their native labour, and the white man was compelled to do some of his own work, then only would the country begin to get on a sound basis. He was inclined to think there was a core of truth in that statement, and that if they were going to rely upon cheap native labour they could not expect to have anything like the number of white people in the country they otherwise would have if the white man did more of the unskilled labour.

Race Problem—1927
Africa.

WHITE MAN'S SUPREMACY IS THREATENEDIN AFRICA," IS WARNING OF THE KAISER

MAR 1 8 1927

N. Y. AMERICAN

"France's Use of Colored African Troops in War Against Germany Has Awakened a Dangerous Race-Consciousness," He Says

BY THE KAISER

In an Authorized Interview with Colonel Alfred Niemann, His Close Friend and Former Aide.

Translated from the German for the Hearst Papers by George Sylvester Viereck, Whose Attachment to the Kaiser Is Well Known.

DOORN, Holland, February, 1927.

"THE battle cry of 'Africa for the Africans' may soon be heard ringing throughout the Dark Continent.

"The race consciousness and self-reliance of the African races has been strengthened to an appalling extent in recent years. The fact that colored men were permitted to fight side by side with white men and against white men on European soil during the World War is primarily responsible for this development, pregnant with dangers to the supremacy of the white man. The misuse of colored troops by the French in occupying the Rhineland has also helped to develop the black man's ego.

"Before the World War Africa was considered by the Western Powers as just so much space wherein European nations could expend their excess energies in colonial expansion. It was popularly divided into three parts, the one consisting of the wide stretches north of the Sahara and the other made up of the tremendous spaces of the desert, the steppes in the centre and the jungles to the southwest.

"Pan-Africa a World Problem"

"The first, facing Europe across the Mediterranean, was connected with our continent by bonds of civilization more than several thousand years old, while the second, flanked by the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, had been opened to European penetration but recently, and as yet only partly.

"Today Africa can no longer politically be so easily divided into different parts, for in the west the French colonial power now extends from the Mediterranean to the Gulf of Guinea, and in the east the British have penetrated to the heart of the Soudan. Africa as a whole has been drawn within the realm of world politics.

"Added importance is lent to the Pan-African movement by the fact that it frequently links up with the Pan-Asiatic movement. This connection is fostered by the prevalence of Islam in both continents, and is strengthened by the continuous immigration to Africa from India.

"During the World War, it was France who especially invited her colonial peoples to avail themselves of the weapons of European warfare. And at present France is busy militarizing her whole colonial empire.

"In considering the future of the white people, it is appalling to note that in 1924 France's peace strength standing army of 780,000 men contained 220,000 colored troops. And she was prepared to put into the field in an emergency not less than 1,600,000 colored warriors.

"The Perils of Mixed Marriages"

"Now, when we consider that North Africa is developing with incredible speed, thanks to the Trans-Sahara Railway, the dangers besetting the British African colonial empire, as well as the European continent in general, become glaringly apparent.

"Another vital factor threatening the white man's supremacy in Africa has been the fallacies of French colonial policies. On account of her dwindling birth rate, France has abandoned the color line. More and more, France permits the natives of her colonial possessions to enjoy the rights of full-fledged French citizens.

"France actually favors mixed marriages. Her new citizenship statutes facilitate the nationalization of foreign born. And by the charity of the law, not only legitimate children of French mothers are to be considered French citizens, but also all those children born of alien mothers wherever the tricolor flutters in the wind.

"Attention has often been directed to the fate that overtook Rome on account of a far-reaching bastardization. And experience has shown the extreme preference for all things European on the part of the colored African half-breed. The mulatto always moves on to the European homeland. He is in striking contrast to the native, who by dint of his natural strength holds on to the African Continent.

"France, therefore, as a result of her colonial policies, is well under way towards peopling the motherland with

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Africa.

WHITE MAN'S SUPREMACY IS THREATENEDIN AFRICA," IS WARNING OF THE KAISER

MAR 1 8 1927

N. Y. AMERICAN

"France's Use of Colored African Troops in War Against Germany Has Awakened a Dangerous Race-Consciousness," He Says

BY THE KAISER

In an Authorized Interview with Colonel Alfred Niemann, His Close Friend and Former Aide.

Translated from the German for the Hearst Papers by George Sylvester Viereck, Whose Attachment to the Kaiser Is Well Known.

DOORN, Holland, February, 1927.

"THE battle cry of 'Africa for the Africans' may soon be heard ringing throughout the Dark Continent.

"The race consciousness and self-reliance of the African races has been strengthened to an appalling extent in recent years. The fact that colored men were permitted to fight side by side with white men and against white men on European soil during the World War is primarily responsible for this development, pregnant with dangers to the supremacy of the white man. The misuse of colored troops by the French in occupying the Rhineland has also helped to develop the black man's ego.

"Before the World War Africa was considered by the Western Powers as just so much space wherein European nations could expend their excess energies in colonial expansion. It was popularly divided into three parts, the one consisting of the wide stretches north of the Sahara and the other made up of the tremendous spaces of the desert, the steppes in the centre and the jungles to the southwest.

"Pan-Africa a World Problem"

"The first, facing Europe across the Mediterranean, was connected with our continent by bonds of civilization more than several thousand years old, while the second, flanked by the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, had been opened to European penetration but recently, and as yet only partly.

"Today Africa can no longer politically be so easily divided into different parts, for in the west the French colonial power now extends from the Mediterranean to the Gulf of Guinea, and in the east the British have penetrated to the heart of the Soudan. Africa as a whole has been drawn within the realm of world politics.

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HERE is a group of the colored Senegalese troops from Africa, which France employed among her armies against Germany, and whose introduction into modern warfare the former Kaiser discusses in the accompanying article.

"France's Approval of Marriages Between Blacks and Whites Because of Dwindling Birth Rate Is Perilous Policy"

negroids, without making any real progress towards assimilating Africa's people on Africa's own soil.

"In short, the world will face some day the possibility of an Africanized and bastardized France. This should not only line up all the people of Europe against the French colonial policies, but also the United States. Due to its large negro population, America more than any other nation will be exposed to deep political reactions to the French policies in Africa.

"Closely linked with the Pan-African movement is the movement for independence in Egypt. This in turn is intimately connected with the Pan-Asiatic movement. And although not really associated with the Egyptian movement, the trend toward complete independence of the South African Union gives the former a certain spiritual support.

"Cecil Rhodes' splendid conception of a great British empire in Africa was hardly realized before it was on the decline. More and more South Africa is following her own ways. Prime Minister General Smuts stated:

"We shall be master of our own fate, internally as well as in the reference to the outside world, in peace as well as in war."

"Liberation from European Domination"

"Only on the southernmost tip of the continent has the white man settled in compact masses. As a whole, the South African Union has 6,500,000 colored inhabitants to 1,500,000 whites. And I have already indicated, even among the whites, Africandism (a native white independence movement) is constantly winning new adherents.

"Neither the head nor the tail of that colossal combination of British colonies, which was to reach from the Cape to Cairo, is at present securely held under purely British authority.

"Not only in the North and South is English supremacy in Africa threatened, but also East and West. In the East, the Pan-Asiatic movement is invading the Soudan, and the Italians are busy trying to extend their sphere of influence beyond Eritrea. In the West, the French Colonial Empire grows and grows.

"Thus, on the African Continent we see developing simultaneously numerous movements of liberation from European domination. All are of the greatest importance from a world-political point of view. At present they tend to widen the differences between the European nations, but in the future they may seriously threaten the white race as a whole."

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Accra and the Legislative Council Election.

If the mass meeting held at Accra by the Manbii Party on July 16 is any index of public opinion, the return to the Legislative Council of the present representative of the municipality is assured. The meeting was one of the largest held in the town, and the chairman was Mr. A. B. Quartey-Papafio. A handbill, which contained extracts from WEST AFRICA referring to Mr. Kojo Thompson's work, was distributed and was translated to the meeting by Mr. J. D. Garshong. Mr. Thompson's candidature was based on the claim that he had set an example to all future representatives by keeping his constituents informed of events in the Council, and that he did not rely on his own independence of thought and of action, but presented the views of those he represented. Several of Mr. Thompson's supporters spoke in the same strain, and were followed by the Hausa Chief, Kadiri, who through an interpreter congratulated the Party, and urged all Muslims and others to support it, while Nee Ayiteyfio Nunoo spoke to the same effect on behalf of the Manchemei of the four of the six quarters of Accra that are not opposed to the new Constitution. The meeting closed with cries of "Thompson must go," which, however, had exactly the opposite meaning to that usually associated with the slogan elsewhere.

"A History of Barbados, 1625-1685." By Vincent T. Harlow, M.A. (Clarendon Press. 21s. net.) Exemplifies the English Colonial policy of the seventeenth century. The author writes the history of the Colony from its original settlement, and describes, largely from new sources, its social and economic development.

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Africa

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Cod and Cowries.

A recent announcement that a commissioner from Scandinavia is about to make a tour of West Africa to inquire into the possibilities of trade in Scandinavian products, especially dried cod, is a reminder that that article was once a quite important import. It was imported mainly by the Portuguese it was known by its Portuguese name of "baccajao," one of the many words of that language formerly in common use all along the coast, but now superseded by English or French equivalents. While trade in baccajao is connected with that in two other marine products—salt and cowries—which were first imported from the East Indies via Europe, and as their cost was greatly enhanced by the double voyage the small East Indian shells were superseded by the larger East African variety as soon as a source of large and regular supply was found on the east coast. As there was a large demand all over Africa for salt, schooners were loaded with the coarse salt produced at the Portuguese saltpans by the evaporation of sea water. At Zanzibar they discharged the salt and took in a cargo of cowries which they delivered at a number of ports along the West Coast from the Congo to the Senegal. Other schooners loaded with salt and baccajao made the direct voyage to West Africa. The coarse fishery salt travelled along the rivers to the markets at Kano and Timbuktu, where it was met by the rock salt from the salt deposits of the Sahara. Now both these coarse salts have been driven out by the white fine-grained salt from the Cheshire and other brine beds, squares and cubes of which have taken the place, as small change, of the cowries, whose transport is no longer remunerative to the Portuguese mariners; Portuguese fishermen no longer work the cod fishery, and Portugal imports baccajao instead of exporting it. Salt cod is still largely consumed on the West Coast, but the largest share of the trade is now held by Norway. As the Imperial Committee has reported that "there is a market in those African countries (the British West African Colonies) for preserved cod, either air-cured or salted, and it is a market which, if studied well and suited, will most probably increase," the Scandinavian Commissioner's attention will, no doubt, be largely diverted to the search for methods of increasing the demand.

Fish and Flesh.

The peoples dwelling along the West African coast are bold and skilful fishermen, whose industry supplies one of the favourite foods. Besides the large quantities consumed in a fresh condition, still larger quantities are dried, or smoked, or preserved in various ways for export. Near every fishing village the odour of the "stink-fish" in course of preparation permeates the air, and near by are the ovens where fish are smoked for sale up country. A large trade with ports along the coast as far as Lagos used to be carried on by the Elminas, who learnt from the Dutch the art of pickling herrings in salt. Every Hausa Kola trader returning to Nigeria took one or more barrels of salted herrings in addition to his huge baskets of kolas. The cost and difficulty of the land transport of the barrels of salted fish—weighing over a hundredweight each—limited this traffic to water-routes. A much larger trade was carried on with the interior in dried fish, which travelled nearly 200 miles up country. On the journey the owners halted every few days to smoke their fish in order to keep it in condition. By the time it had travelled 100 miles, now more like wood than flesh of fish, and broken into fragments, it was sold at 10 or 20 times its price on the coast. Nevertheless, it was eagerly purchased, and consumed with much gusto. It was a natural instinct that caused this craving for fish; the report of the Imperial Economic Committee shows that it was a wise instinct as the fish supplies constituents deficient in vegetable foods. The health of many African agricultural communities is lowered by a lack of easily digestible proteins and necessary mineral salts. There are good grounds for supposing that the form of protein found in fish is particularly useful in assisting the assimilation of the proteins received in the cereal foods. The inclusion of fish is especially important when maize is the staple food. "It is known that maize protein, by itself, is not effective in building flesh tissues, but the addition of fish meal in comparatively small quantities to the cereal proteins may be an important aid in the formation of these tissues." The committee urges increased production of fish-meal as a means of utilising the by-products of the fisheries, mainly as food for cattle, and thus increasing the output of meat, milk, and eggs, and at the same time reducing the cost of fish sold for human consumption in Great Britain. In the tropics it will also be useful as a human food to make good the deficiencies of the customary vegetable diet. The fish-meal chiefly dealt with by the Committee is that prepared from "white" fish—cod, haddock, hake, plaice—but a meal nearly equally valuable to the agriculture of the British West African Colonies is obtained from the "brown" fish—herring, mackerel—which abound in tropical waters. The oil, which is more widely distributed through the muscles than in white fish, carries certain strongly smelling substances which impart a taint that makes it unpalatable to human beings, but increases its value as a manure for replacing the phosphates and nitrogenous substances removed from the soil by the crops.

The Harvest of the Sea.

It is to be hoped that a considerable development of the West African fisheries may result from the Committee's labours. With a considerable population whose hereditary calling is sea-fishing, and rich fishing grounds along the coast, the foundations of a fishery industry are already laid. In 1913 I had an interesting correspondence with a German group, which was seeking sources of supply of fish oil and fish meal. Their demand for fish oil was stimulated by the introduction of processes for hardening and deodorising fish oils, to make them suitable for the manufacture of soap. The residue after extraction of the oil was to be made into meal for use as manure. They wanted brown fish because they contain a larger percentage of oil than white fish, and they wanted the fish from tropical waters, because less of their oil is absorbed by the fish in maintaining their bodily heat than in the cold waters of the north. As the brown fish frequent the upper waters of the sea, and are caught by nets when swimming freely, we decided to use drifters and drift-nets, instead of trawlers and drag-nets. Our decision receives support from the committee:—"Doubts are entertained . . . . whether steam trawlers of the kind in general use in the North Sea are the best form of power-vessel for catching tropical fish." The war put an end to our project, but projectors of West African fishing industries will do well to make a note of the Committee's statement.

W. F. H.

Joint Council and the Native Bills.

The most searching criticism of all Native legislation since 1921 has unfailingly emanated from the Joint Council of Europeans and Bantu of Johannesburg. Their memoranda on the Urban Areas Bill, The Pass Laws and the Premier's four Native Bills, not to mention others, will deserve historical permanence because they lay bare all the weaknesses of the Bills in question and then offer constructive criticism. It is no wonder, because all legislation is in the first instance framed by lawyers, and it only takes a lawyer to perceive the tricks of another lawyer in the obfuscated mazes of intricate legal phraseology. This council has amongst its members two or three legal men of first rank. Hence the criticism of such a council is always worthy of attention and respect. The evidence given at Cape Town by this organisation occupies 58 pages of the report. It exhibits the minutest examination of the Land Question, exposing in a merciless manner all the misconceptions underlying the purposes of the Bill; but at the same time offering the most reasonable positive scheme put forward as a substitute by any group of witnesses so far. It will be difficult to improve upon it. The very personnel of the deputation inspires full confidence. They were Mr. Howard Pim, O.B.E., Professor W. M. Macmillan, M.A., and Mr. R. V. Selope Thema who is the accepted spokesman of the Transvaal. Mr. Thema stuck by the Pretoria Conference resolutions loyally and submitted excellent matter when speaking of the Cape franchise. He said, *inter alia*,

> "I am afraid in this matter of the franchise South Africa is leaping in the dark. We have no precedent in history where two peoples have lived in one country and under the same government, but were each allowed to develop along their own lines, for this produced eight wars in the Cape and seven in the other provinces. The policy should be to recognise that the Native people are part and parcel of the national life of South Africa, . . . At Pretoria we unanimously passed a resolution definitely stating that we would not agree to the Cape franchise being taken away, and that some modified form of representation should be given to the people of the North." Mr Thema has put in a nutshell exactly what the intelligent Natives of the whole country feel. In the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal where this Bill was offered as a bait not one holds a different view. We shall in due course shew that the single Cape Native who takes a different view, for reasons best known to himself, is just the proverbial exception that proves the rule, and emphasizing the otherwise absolute unanimity of all sensible and articulate opinion among the Bantu.

BRITISHERS DESERTING THE UNION.

One of the immediate effects of the long-drawn-out controversy over the Flag is the diminishing number of British immigrants. Both the census figures and the reports of Settlers' Associations shew that immigrants from England now prefer to go to Rhodesia and also that there is quite a steady exodus of Britishers out of the Union migrating northwards to the Zambesi where the Union Jack is not under dispute and where there is no irksome bilingualism. The number of Europeans who sentimentally detest the Union Jack is steadily growing and will probably command a vast majority in years to come and render the Union a prey to secession agitators and independence faddists. This is a serious question for the Bantu, and those of them who are intelligent enough to ponder over such matters will feel a real concern and will be far from indifferent on the flag issue which many people mistakenly regard as a question exclusively belonging to the white races. One writer states that the British population to-day is 600 persons less than it was a year ago and that people coming from Holland and Germany, who may be regarded as increasing the Dutch population, have made such additions that in a single year the latter have gained

nearly a thousand more than the British. He ascribes this situation to the fact that the government is in the hands of the Nationalists, a phenomenon so disliked by the Britishers that they are leaving the country.

We do not admire it as a mark of courage that the Britishers should elect to desert their country when they see themselves being gradually overwhelmed by non-British people.

The loss of capital and business enterprise so conspicuous a talent of Englishmen, not to mention sentiment, will greatly retard the progress of the Union, and we Natives are not rejoicing at the ominous process. It is the duty of all Britishers, we believe, to reverse the position and at least restore equilibrium for the good of the Union of South Africa.

Cape Natives on their Franchise.

Before the Select Committee on the Native Bills last May the Cape Natives were represented by four men, apart from the three Transkei delegates who had preceeded, and others who followed in June. The four were Prof. D. D. T. Jabavu, Dr. W. B. Rubusana, Rev. A. Mtimkulu and Mr. M. Pelem. Interest naturally centred on what they had to say on the vote above all other topics. Their evidence occupies fifty pages, of which Mr. Jabavu's evidence takes up thirty, Mr. Pelem's ten and the other two five each approximately. Mr. Jabavu dwelt on the lines of the article he composed and printed in the "*Cape Times*" last January, and later in this journal and the *S.A. Outlook*, and in pamphlet form. Throughout the searching questions fired at him by the keen committee he made his stand on the lines of the Pretoria conference, maintaining an uncompromising opposition to any change in the Cape franchise. In this Dr. Rubusana and the Rev. Mr. Mtimkulu powerfully supported him. Mr. Pelem was the first and only witness in the whole Union prepared to compromise by accepting a change towards separate representation. His authority for this was closely questioned because Dr. Rubusana objected to the Bantu Union being quoted as being undividedly behind its President on the matter. The simple fact is that out of the five hundred Natives who attended the Bantu Union meeting at Annshaw last December there were only about thirty actual members. These were divided on the question, and there was a mere handful who shared this opinion. Reduced to simple facts, the situation is that out of thousands of Natives in the Cape and Natal and the Orange Free State, who think sensibly on these matters, who intelligently follow political reports, are articulate in their expression of considered opinion, and are definitely united on the question, there is just a bunch of about fifteen men whose opinion differs. They are educated men whose opinion *qua* opinion deserves all respect. But their evidence will carry little weight when balanced against the rest of the country with all the four provinces combined. The Select Committee will probably attach small value to such evidence as this that goes against the united voice of the Natives. This sort of opinion might have been wisely entertained in silence by those who hold it, out of loyalty to the interests of the race as a whole during a crisis such as the present when unity of action is more important than personal triumph in the advertisement of disagreement. "United we stand, divided we fall" is a principle admirably assimilated by our Northern compatriots and we trust that all Cape Adullamites of the future will in such matters copy the method of the Northerners.

TRANSKEIAN TERRITORIES

General Council Scholarship.

The following rules regarding the grant of scholarships by the Transkeian Territories General Council to Native students have been communicated to us for publication.

1. Provision for the institution of scholarships to enable Native students to attend the South African Native College at Fort Hare has been made by the Transkeian Territories General Council. Subject to the availability of funds these scholarships will be allocated to the Territories of Fingoland, Tembuland and East Griqualand in the proportion of two, two and three respectively; provided that if in any one year any quota for any Territory be not filled, the surplus scholarships may be utilised for pupils in either of the remaining Territories.

2. Each scholarship will be ordinarily for five years at the rate of £20 per annum

3. The scholarships will be limited to Native pupils who have passed the Junior Certificate examination and whose fathers or guardians are local tax or quitrent payers resident in a district within the jurisdiction of the Transkeian Territories General Council

4. In selecting pupils regard will be had to the financial circumstances of their parents or guardians, and scholarships will only be granted where it can be shown that, without monetary assistance, the pupil cannot be sent to the South African Native College at Fort Hare.

5 Forms of application may be obtained from any magistrate of a district under the Transkeian Territories General Council, or from the Secretary to the General Council, P.O Box 40, Umtata

The following procedure will be observed in allocating the scholarships:—

(a) Completed forms of application are to be sent to the magistrate of the applicant's district of domicile.

(b) The magistrate will, if considered necessary, augment the information contained therein in any manner that may be found desirable, and will obtain certificates of character, fitness and attainment of applicant and financial position of parents or guardians from the Principal Teacher or Missionary Head of the institution at which the applicant last attended.

(c) The application will then be sent to the Secretary of the General Council, who will forward the forms of application received to the School Inspectors of the respective areas in which the applicants completed their studies. The School Inspectors will be asked to furnish their recommendations in order of considered merit and return the applications to the Secretary of the General Council

(d) The final selection of successful applicants from each Territory will be in the hands of the Chief Executive Officer of the Transkeian Territories General Council.

7. After the holder of a scholarship has matriculated, and before the scholarship has extended to post-matriculation work, a special report will be obtained from the Principal of the College as to the holder's character, ability and general fitness for higher education.

8 Students who have entered the Junior Certificate examination will not be debarred from submitting applications by reason of the fact that they have not actually passed the examination. Where such application has been made, the student, if successful, must notify the Secretary to the General Council immediately the results are published.

9. All applications for scholarships must be in the hands of the magistrates by the end of the year. Applications received after that date will not, in the absence of exceptional circumstances, be considered.

NEW ITALIAN COLONIAL REVIEW.

The Italian Colonial Institute at Rome has begun publication of a monthly review, "L'Oltremare," dealing with African and Oriental subjects. The first number appears this month with a quaint cover design illustrating the maps of Africa of the past and containing articles dealing chiefly with the Italian Colonies in North and East Africa, but for the next number articles are announced on such "foreign" subjects as British East African Federation, René Maran, the African writer, and French Colonial Reconstruction.

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Student Christian Association Meeting.

The Assistant Travelling Secretary at Wilberforce

Wiberforce Institute labours not without its friends, for whi[illegible] there are those who desire to see it prosper and flourish [illegible], there are others who look with deep and sincere concern to the spiritual growth among the students. Among the latter group we include Rev. Newane, L. A., (Fort Hare) acting for the travelling secretary of the S. C. A. of the Native section. The Institute, had watched with eagerness for the coming of Rev. Newana, and on his arrival Monday, a long felt desire was realised. Many a student will always have good cause to remember Monday, February 14, for it good it brought to them. Introduced by the Principal, the Rev. Newana, after a brief but lucid outlining of the scope and objects of the student movement, delivered a soul winning address on "What shall I do with Christ?" The question "[illegible] Christ?" was pointedly directed to every student; and, led by the Spirit, the speaker declared that there was not the making up of their minds in the final decision, but of the will; that the challenge brooked no delay of an answer in the evening of their lives, but on an urgent and immediate answer, that Christ accepted no compromise but an entire surrender; He must have all or nothing; rule alone in their hearts or not rule at all. Christ must be supreme in their lives. The challenge was directed to every one individually therefore, individual answers were desired. What will the answer of the young men and women be to the question, "What shall I do with Christ?"

The sermon was one that blended dignity with simplicity, hopefulness with sincerity, and conviction with faith. The S. C. A. was indeed blessed, because Tuesday afternoon, at a special meeting held, its membership was increased by twenty four. Here Rev. Newana encouraged the members to think out things for themselves; to study the Bible and think as Christ would have them think on the vital questions that would confront them in the world. The perfect solemnity of the occasion was beautifully reflected by the singing. The S. C. A. is a movement and the one at Wilberforce Institute is surely moving on.

In the evening a social gathering of the teachers and ministers of the village, arranged for our visitor by the Principal, Dr. Gow, was held. Humour and seriousness went hand in hand. Before tea was served, the Principal in a few well chosen words, introduced Rev. Newana who with his usual impressive manner gave an account of the good work of the S. C. A. and especially of the part Rev. Yergan played in it through the agency of the Negroes of America. He pleaded for leaders who would think not territorically but in broader and more comprehensive terms. The Principal then thanked Rev. Newana and assured him of the interest which he had in the work of the S. C. A., and further wished him the success due to such christian endeavours.

OPINION

OF THE

JOHANNESBURG JOINT COUNCIL

OF

Europeans and Natives

ON

General Hertzog's Solution

OF THE

Native Question

JOHANNESBURG JOINT COUNCIL OF EUROPEANS AND NATIVES

EUROPEAN MEMBERS:—Miss C. Albu, Rev. E. Carter, Rev. H. B. Catlin, Dr. C. M. Doke, W. Fearnhead, Rev. P. H. A. Fouche, W. Gardiner, G. Godwin, Rev. E. W. Grant, D. C. Greig, Prof. T. J. Haarhoff, Mrs. Haarhoff, J. A. Hamilton, Rev. Father Francis Hill, [illegible] R., Prof. B. F. E. Hoernle, Mrs. Hoernle, Blair Hook, H. Hesken (Associate Member), J. D. Rheinalt Jones (Hon. Sec.), Mrs. Jones, Rt. Rev. Dr. Karney, Bishop of Johannesburg, Prof. W. M. Macmillan, Mrs. Macmillan, S. K. McKedzie, H. Mayer, P. Millin, The Very Dean Palmer, Rev. W. Parker, Rev. Ray E. Phillips, Howard Pim, C. B. E. (Chairman), W. H. Ramsbottom, O. D. Schreiner, Saul Solomon, K. C., H. M. Taberer (Associate Member), Rev. D. Theron, Walter Webb[illegible], Rev. Father Winter, (Associate Member.)

NATIVE MEMBERS:—Peter Bell, L. J. Butelezi, Rev. [illegible] S. Dhlepu, P. A. Gajana, Rev. H. D. Hlabangane, Thomas Jamuda, D. S. Kekane, G. S. Mabeta, Rev. P. M. Mabiletse, W. [illegible]ana, Rev. J. H. Mahlamvu, J. M. Makhote, P. N. Malunga, Rev. M. M. Maxeke, Mrs. Maxeke, P. M. Mohlala, J. L. Moorosi, L. R. Mohlabi, B. Mpama, S. M. Mphahlele, S. P. Mqubuli, J. K. Mrupe, H. Selby-Msimang, A. J. Msimang, S. Mtoba, J. Nyakale, H. B. Piliso, J. M. Pooe, Z. P. Ramusilane, H. D. S. Ramushu, I. Rathebe, Rev. G. M. Sivetye, (Vice Chairman), Rev. J. Y. Tantsi, S. Tlale, R. V. Selope Thema (Assistant Secretary.)

(Continued from previous issue)

45. Section 19.—If a squatter (see Appendix "B") dies or moves on he cannot be replaced by another squatter, and the "ferocious" squatters' licences will compell the farmers to get rid of those they may wish to keep. And further, as the licences payable for Native labour tenants rapidly increase in amount with their number, the room for squatters as labour tenants will be limited. The result must be numbers of homeless Natives.

The period for applying for the renewal of squatters' licences is restricted to three months, so that the farmer has only to do nothing for three months after the fixed date and this law can be brought into force.

There is no free land to which the squatter can move, so he will be driven once the list of labour tenants is full to realise his stock, probably at a ruinous loss, and, if he can find an employer, to become a full-time servant. Should he fail to find an employer his lot is indeed hopeless, for under the Natives' Urban Areas Act he will probably be prevented from residing in any town, and, even if he is allowed to settle in a Native township, the Colour Bar Act may be invoked to limit his chances of employment.

46. The questions with which we commenced this Memorandum have been answered.

This Land Bill is not framed with due allowance for the essential factors of Native life and for the conditions in which the Bantu peoples of South Africa live to-day. It is not practical and it is not just.

There is no idea of progress in this measure. It is not aimed at the development of the Native to a higher state of civilation, but seeks

47. Can any attempt to solve the South African Native question by an enactment possibly succeed? We do not think so. "Meet the demand for a general declaration of policy with regard to Native affairs! A policy which should be applied to the highest civilised Native, the owner of a farm, and the Native barbarian! They could not do it." (Mr. Merriman, May 16th, 1913.)

48. Mr. Keyter said in the same debate that "from his experience of the different parts of South Africa and various Native tribes, neither this Parliament nor any future Parliament would ever be able to make one uniform Native law for South Africa. . . . Knowing how divergent were the different interests of South Africa and the wants and requirements of the inhabitants, and the customs of the Natives," he said "it would be madness to even try to make one uniform Native law for South Africa." (19th May, 1913.)

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Race Problem- 1927

Africa.

Student Christian Association Meeting.

The Assistant Travelling Secretary at Wilberforce

Wilberforce Institute labours not without its friends, for which there are [illegible] to see it prosper [illegible] deep and sincere concern for the spiritual growth among the students. Among the latter group we include Rev. Newane, L. A., (Fort Hare) [illegible] travelling secretary of the S. C. A. of the Native section. The Institute, had welcomed with eagerness for the coming of Rev. Newana, and [illegible] desire was realised. Many a student will always have good cause to remember Monday, February 14th, for it stood out through to them. Introduced by the Principal, the Rev. Newana, after a brief but lucid outlining of the scope and objects of the student movement, delivered a soul winning address on "What shall I do with Christ?" The question "[illegible]" was pointedly directed to every student; and, led by the Spirit, the speaker declared that there was not the making up of their minds in the final decision, but of the will; that the challenge brooked no delay of an answer in the evening of their lives, but on an urgent and immediate answer, that Christ accepted no compromise but an entire surrender. He must have all or nothing, He alone in their hearts or not rule at all. Christ must be supreme in their lives. The challenge was directed to every one individually thereforе, individual answers were desired. What will the answer of the young men and women be to the question, "What shall I do with Christ?"

The sermon was one that blended dignity with simplicity, hopefulness with sincerity, and conviction with faith. The S. C. A. was indeed blessed, because Tuesday afternoon, at a special meeting held, its membership was increased by twenty four. Here Rev. Newana encouraged the members to think out things for themselves; to study the Bible and think as Christ would have them think on the vital questions that would confront them in the world. The perfect solemnity of the occasion was beautifully reflected by the singing. The S. C. A. is a movement and the one at Wilberforce Institute is surely moving on.

In the evening a social gathering of the teachers and ministers of the village, arranged for our visitor by the Principal, Dr. Gow, was held. Humour and seriousness went hand in hand. Before ten was served, the Principal in a few well chosen words introduced Rev. Newana who with his usual impressive manner gave an account of the good work of the S. C. A. and especially of the part Rev. Yergan played in it through the agency of the Negroes of America. He pleaded for leaders who would think not territorically but in broader and more comprehensive terms. The Principal then thanked Rev. Newana and assured him of the interest which he had in the work of the S. C. A., and further wished him the success due to such Christian endeavours.

OPINION

OF THE

JOHANNESBURG JOINT COUNCIL

OF

Europeans and Natives

ON

General Hertzog's Solution

OF THE

Native Question

JOHANNESBURG JOINT COUNCIL OF EUROPEANS AND NATIVES

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(Continued from previous issue)

Section 19.—If a squatter (see Appendix "B") dies or moves on he cannot be replaced by another squatter, and the "ferocious" squatters' licences will compel the farmers to get rid of those they may wish to keep. And further, as the licences payable for Native labour tenants rapidly increase in amount with their number, the room for squatters as labour tenants will be limited. The result must be numbers of homeless Natives.

The period for applying for the renewal of squatters' licences is restricted to three months, so that the farmer has only to do nothing for three months after the fixed date and this law can be brought into force.

There is no free land to which the squatter can move, so he will be driven once the list of labour tenants is full to realise his stock, probably at a ruinous loss, and, if he can find an employer, to become a full-time servant. Should he fail to find an employer his lot is indeed hopeless, for under the Natives' Urban Areas Act he will probably be prevented from residing in any town, and, even if he is allowed to settle in a Native township, the Colour Bar Act may be invoked to limit his chances of employment.

46. The questions with which we commenced this Memorandum have been answered.

This Land Bill is not framed with due allowance for the essential factors of Native life and for the conditions in which the Bantu peoples of South Africa live to-day. It is not practical and it is not just.

There is no idea of progress in this measure. It is not aimed at the development of the Native to a higher state of civilation, but seeks rather to protect the European against development.

47. Can any attempt to solve the South African Native question by an enactment possibly succeed? We do not think so. "Meet the demand for a general declaration of policy with regard to Native affairs! A policy which should be applied to the highest civilised Native, the owner of a farm, and the Native barbarian! They could not do it" (Mr. Merriman, May 16th, 1913.)

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49. With all difference we submit that the Prime Minister has

attempted the impossible. "Why," said General Botha (May 17th, 1913), "did the matter remain such a difficult one? Simply because the Native had got as much right in the country as the white men. Some people thought the solution of the Native problem meant the finding of sufficient labour for their requirements. The Government could not supply their labour by legislation, they might facilitate the obtaining of labour, that was all. Above all, their laws must be fair and equitable. Of a kind which would have the effect of developing these people .... The white man must do nothing to oppress the Native. In the Union there was no room for oppression, there was only room for justice and good honest legislation."

50. In this memorandum we have used, and deliberately used, the word slavery. It remains to explain our meaning, as we do not suggest that Natives under this Bill will become the property of their employers, or that they will be bought or sold.

Clause 17 enacts that licences for labour tenants shall be issued either by a Divisional Council or a Board, appointed by the Minister, who will distribute these licences and the labour tenants to which they refer among employers, the sole ground on which these labour are allotted being the Council's or Board's opinion as to the labour requirements of employers in this districts.

51. The Board is not charged in any way with the welfare of the labourer, nor is it asked to consider the conditions under which he will exist. His welfare is not even important enough to call for regulations! (See Section 25.) Is there any precedent for such a proposal? That it has been made clearly shows that South Africa is at the parting of the ways. Although this is not purchase and sale of human beings, it is equivalent to the control of them body and soul by the Government, and this is what justifies our saying that the proposals contained in this Bill "cannot be truly differentiated from slavery." (Paragraph 43.)

52. And if they controlled to this extent by the Government, what object can there be for the employer to become the legal owner of their persons? On the contrary, he will find that while he has them entirely in his power he is free from the obligations inseparable from ownership. Being without hope these labourers will have no incentive to acquire skill, and as their life becomes harder any trace of civilisation that they may have acquired will disappoar. Their's will be forced labour in its most acute form. We are confident that South Africa will not stand by and see this measure passed.

53. In the 1913 debate, Mr. Merriman reminded the House of Assembly that "when dealing with the Government of England in passing the Act of Union, South Africa gave their pledges in regard to the Natives who were placed in their care. They satisfied the Government of England that these Natives will be dealt with with the most scrupulous justice and with the uttermost toleration . . . . One of the great tasks imposed upon the white men of South Africa was to civilise and bring the Native up and not to trample on them and repress them."

54. It does not matter by whom or to whom these pledges were directly given. They were persons authorised to give and receive such pledges, and as a result South Africa received the Act of Union. Every South African is bound by this engagement, and by all of us it must be honoured.

AFRICA BELONGS TO THE NATIVES BRITISH LABOR PARTY HOLDS

Labor Leaders Promise To Free Negroes of Inequalities That Are Practiced Against Them

Future Labor Government To Back A Liberal Rule

Taxes Will Be Spent Upon Health, Educational Work and Agricultural Farming To End Forced Work.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 6.—(Special release). If the British Labor Party is again called upon to assume the reins of Government it will find itself provided with a fairly definite policy regarding the development of British Crown colonies, protectorates and mandated territories in Africa. In a booklet called "Labor and the Empire: Africa," recently published by the Trades Union Congress and Labor Party, information is given about the condition of African labor and the attitude toward black and white workers held by the responsible labor leaders of Great Britain.

42,000,000 Involved

The population of the territory covered in the booklet is about 42,000,000, of whom only 20,000 are white men, including many merchants, planters, capitalists and technical experts. This population is spread over about 2,000,000 square miles and does not include the Union of South Africa, which is a self-governing dominion. The booklet asserts that the natives are taxed much more heavily than the whites and that they have been deprived of practically all their best land, which has been sold or leased to white men at very low rates.

Suppress Natives

It is explained that there are two quite distinct policies supported by Englishmen in regard to Africa's development. The so-called African policy aims at preserving the land for the natives, while not excluding European capital and enterprise, in so far as they do not hamper the progress of the people. The "European policy," on the other hand, favors the economic development of the country by European syndicates, with the help of hired, or forced, native labor. The first policy is practiced to some extent, in British West Africa and Basutoland, while the second prevails in Kenya, Nyasaland, Rhodesia and parts of South Africa.

To Recognize Natives

According to the definite proposals of the British Labor Party, the land is to be treated as the property of the natives, the taxes should be spent upon health, educational work and agricultural training for the natives; all forms of compulsory labor should be abolished; the color bar should be wiped out, and more attention should be paid the natives' general education, at present quite neglected. Then the Labor Party would train the natives for eventual self-government by allowing them to participate in municipal administration and later in the legislative councils.

To Apply Policies

J. H. Thomas, the railroad union leader, who was secretary for the Colonies in Ramsay MacDonald's Labor Cabinet, in a preface to the booklet, says that the application of the policies sketched therein will be one of the most important tasks of any future Labor Government.

BUSH NEGROES JUST HEAR OF THE PAST WAR

South American Chieftain Writes Imploring All Nations To Live In Peace Rejoices Over War's Ending.

GENEVA, April 2.—A strange incident was revealed here recently by Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary General of the League of Nations. It was brought to light through a letter received by the Secretary General from the potentate of the Bush Negroes, as they are called, of the upper regions of the Surinam River in Dutch Guiana, South America. The missive bore the startling revelation that this group of people had just learned of the World War and were rejoicing over the fact that it has ended.

The letter addressed from Adjankoeso, the high chieftain of the Saramaccan Bush Negroes, to the League stated that the chieftain and his people have just learned of the great war which the peoples yonder on the far shores of the great ocean have fought.

The fine Christian spirit of the simple natives was expressed in the words of the message which read in part as follows:

"We have seen the great evils which this war has brought, even unto us Now we rejoice that the great war is come to an end and that there now is peace.

"Slay one another no more! Dwell in peace with one another! So speak we, not vaingloriously but in all humility and love. I greet you all with a strong greeting in the name of the captains and of all of my people."

The letter, written in the native language of the Bush Negroes, and translation were sent through the Governor of Dutch Guiana. Sir Eric has courteously acknowledged receipt of the communication through the Dutch Government

—Associated Press Excerpt

Race Problem - 1927
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(Continued from previous issue)

29 The necessity for such a department becomes if possible more manifest when the provision and handling of funds is considered.

The average Native cannot be left to himself to acquire land; it will be necessary to purchase it for him in bulk and allot it in detail. This is especially the case when, as the Bill lays down, only a definite limited area is made available for Native occupation. The area obtained by any individual Native will depend upon his capacity to pay, and will bear no relation to the total Native land requirements of the Native population requiring to be provided for in that area.

30 Again is it conceivable that Parliament will vote moneys to a Native Land Purchase and Advances Fund unless they are satisfied beforehand that it will be systematically and economically applied to the purpose for which it is voted? This belief can only follow the establishment of a permanent department formed for this special purpose.

31 But dominating all these problems of machinery is the all important question whether if land is made available by law the average Native will be able to buy it. His wages are small. Nowhere in South Africa today is the price of land negligible, and the only basis upon which Natives can acquire land under this Bill is to purchase it in the open market.

31A The position of the Native purchaser who has the funds to acquire land is made still more difficult by the provisions of Section 2 of the Bill with regard to "fencing" set out in Second Schedule. They are onerous and drastic, and it is difficult to justify an addition to the exististing Union Legislation which equally applies to the European and Native Land owner. Under it rates can be levied upon Native tribes for the fencing of locations held under communal tenure. What more is required?

32 Had the Bill contained the machinery necessary to enable ground not merely to be scheduled in bulk, but (in course of time) to be divided into plots suitable for individual occupation; (an enormous task, but necessary to the Prime Minister's Proposals); had the Prime Minister adopted the proposal of the majority of the Economic and Wages Committee and take steps to ascertain the economic position of the Native; had he stated that this Bill would not be proceeded with until this inquiry determined the necessary land obtained at current prices could be paid for by the Natives in 20 or even in 40 years, we might have retained some belief in this first portion of the Bill. These being wanting, we cannot consider that it supplies any solution of the Native Land question, and must turn to Chapter II for its real meaning That Chapter II demonstrates that this Bill is in no way a fulfilment of the promise of 1913.

33 If it comes into force all estimates made in the past of the areas required by Natives will be valueless. There will at once be brought into existence a vast body of Natives faced with the grim alternative of seeking land at impossible prices in inadequate areas or becoming wholetime servants of European masters. The 1913 Act allowed the discretion of the Governor-General to be used in the direction of increasing the total land to be available for the Natives. That matter of elasticity is now gone. Provisions exist in the New Bill for substituting other land for the land in the "released areas" But as already mentioned, the maximum is inexorably fixed There is thus nothing to prevent the full pressure of Chapter II being brought to bear upon the Native population.

34 The provisions of Chapter 2 now fall to be examined in detail. This Chapter is concerned with the creation of "Proclaimed Areas." Within this proclaimed areas the residence of Natives is governed by severe restrictions. If the Native resresident does not happen to be the owner of the lanb on which he resides he is virtually bound to engage himself to the owner of the lanb as a servant, recieviug little in exchange for his service beyond the privilege of residence, or,as it might be put, beyond the security of not being turned adrift.

35 SECTION 15.--This section provides for the creation of proclaimed areaa. It probably means that proclaimed areas can only be created in two ways.--

(a) On the initiativc of the Government on realsed areas;
(b) In any area on the request of 50 per. Eurpean owners'

The area to be proclaimed are in the case of (a) European land within released areas, and in the case of (b) any Magisterial district. (The word "district" is used but widhout definition. Therefore, in accordance with the provisions of art 5 of 1910, Section 3, the word "district" must be taken to mean "The area subject to the juridiction of the Court of any resident magistrate"). A magisterial district may include the whole or part of one or more scheduled or released areas. It is not clear Whether the pititioners for the proclamation of such an area are only to be taken from the rural proprietors of the district, or from both the urban and rural proprietors. "Proprietor," as defined in Section 22 of the Bill, i.e Bill is to be read as subject to the provisions of Sec 27 of 1913, since wide enough to embrace both classes But it may be that this Section 29 of the Bill says that the two measures are to be read as one. And Section 8 (1) (g) of 1913 says its provisions do not apply to land within limits of any local authority.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

"Health Week."

The end of last month was marked in the West African Colonies by the observance of "Health Week." A correspondent, who has sent me a copy of the programme of the proceedings at Accra, writes me that it is agreed on all sides that this year's operations have been a great improvement on those of last year. The lectures on sanitation and public and private health preservation by Drs. Reindorf, Annan, and Murrel were well attended and followed with keen interest. The value and influence of these would be greatly increased if they could be used for teaching by the eye as well as by the ear, and it is to be hoped that it will be possible to enlist the help of the "movies" by the display of appropriate scenes and living pictures on the screen illustrating the speakers' words, and interpreting them into a language "understanded of the people" of all ages, some of whom may not be able to grasp clearly the meaning of the spoken words. Pictures illustrating the difference between sanitary and insanitary conditions on the same spot, how infection is conveyed and disease is spread, will drive home the teaching the lecturer wishes to inculcate.

The establishment and observance of Health Weeks are regarded by the people as evidence of the sincerity of the Governments' desire to improve the people's health. The public sympathy thereby created has contributed in large measure to the success of the 1926 Health Week, and should be nourished as the most important factor in the work of enlisting public interest in sanitation. Without the active concurrence of the people medical and sanitary departments, hospitals, health weeks, and all the other means arrayed in the fight against disease be crippled. Their most strenuous efforts will will be rendered abortive by the apathy which persists in the old ways and refuses to adopt the new.

The towns are responding to the work of the missionaries of health in a way which gives good promise for the future, but it cannot be overlooked that the bulk of the population lives outside the towns. The villagers are as yet untouched by the teachings of modern science, and are still carrying on the methods of their forefathers. Under the native system of patriarchal control the villages were generally clean, and the sanitary arrangements were far better than those of the coast towns up to the end of the last century. In a village the owner of a dirty compound was called to account by the village head, who did not hesitate to enforce his orders by physical persuasion if they were persistently neglected. When I first visited Whydah, while Dahomey was still an independent kingdom, I was much struck by its superiority to Cape Coast, Accra, and other towns on the Gold Coast. The main streets were broad and airy and were swept every day by gangs of prisoners; no goats or pigs, seeking garbage, were allowed to wander about the town at night—indeed, there was no garbage for them to seek. From 9 p.m. till sunrise the four quarters into which the town was divided (for each of which a chief was responsible) were each patrolled by a guard, to which all passers had to account for their being out of doors at that hour, and by which suspicious characters were arrested and detained till the morning for inquiries. The Dahomean Government had its faults, and life under it had its unpleasant features, but in the matters I have mentioned it set a good example to the Governments of the neighbouring European colonies.

Cooling the Tropics.

The philosopher who said that the world would have been much better if he had been consulted at its creation has representatives among us to-day—men who think they can improve upon the plans of Providence. M. Claude, an ingenious French scientist, has put forward a plan for making the tropics habitable by white men. His project is even more grandiose than that of his countryman, many years ago, when Frenchmen were excited by the success of Lesseps in uniting the Mediterranean Seas, and their hopes of a similar achievement by their brilliant countryman in uniting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The idea gained ground among them that the seas could be modified to suit the needs or wishes of humanity, and one of them proposed to form a great sea by flooding the Sahara with the waters of the Atlantic Ocean. The sea thus formed was to replace the tedious and expensive caravan journeys across the desert by water carriage. Ships were to sail from ports along the southern slopes of the Great Atlas to ports in the Eastern, Southern and Western Sudan, and divert the trade of the interior of Southern Africa to the French Colony of Algeria. The ingenious projector did not adumbrate the effect of his scheme on the climate of Europe and Africa. At that time no European had realised the value of the tropics, nor had any desire to live in them.

M. Claude's scheme is much more ambitious, and aims at lowering the temperature of the equatorial regions by transferring to them the cold waters of the poles. By utilising the differences in temperature between the warm surface water in the tropics and the undercurrents of cold polar water, M. Claude hopes to draw illimitable forces from the sea at no greater cost than for the ordinary conversion of the motion of water into mechanical power. By means of torrents of ice-cold water the humidity of the tropical atmosphere is to be counteracted, and Europeans will be able to live and work there in comfort.

I should like to ask the projector questions on many points about his methods and results, but will confine myself to one at present. When the tropical atmosphere is deprived of its humidity what will become of the tropical vegetation whose exuberance is due to the moist heat which is so unpleasant to Europeans? Ages ago the tropics passed through a glacial period when they were colder than the present temperate zone, but Nature effects her changes so gradually that the flora and fauna have time to adapt themselves to the altering conditions. But she has all eternity for her work, and can afford to be patient. M. Claude's scheme is subject to human limitations of time, and is intended to be brought into full operation within a few years. The human inhabitants may be enabled to endure the change from humid tropical to dry temperate conditions by changes in food, clothing and housing, but the trees and plants, having no means of tempering the changes, would quickly perish. Would Europeans be desirous of settling in the tropics when the principal sources of wealth had been destroyed? For my part, I think that the arrangements of Providence are the best, and that men will only hurt themselves by trying to improve upon them. W. F. H.

WORLD CONGRESS FACES PROBLEMS OF AFRICA FIELD

LE ZOUTE, BELGIUM, SCENE OF GATHERING

Bishop Campbell and the Rev. Mr. Parson Represent This Church in Deliberations

An international conference of 250 missionary leaders of all faiths was held in September at LeZoute, Belgium, to consider the needs of religious, educational and scientific work in Africa. Our Church was represented by Bishop Campbell of Liberia, the Rev. Herbert A. Donovan of Cape Mount, Liberia, the Rev. John Kuhns, appointee to the staff in Liberia, and the Rev. A. B. Parson, Assistant Foreign Secretary of the Department of Missions.

The conference worked along broad lines, studying the history of the work in Africa, the problems of race relationships, evangelism, the past, present and future of education, governmental policies, economic questions, woman's work, the building of the Native Church, language, literature, medical work. With careful emphasis on the fact that progress in Africa must of necessity be slow the conference revealed much that is heartening. A changed emphasis on the part of the government officials, recognition of the care of human beings as a primary concern of government, the trend of education shown by the expected annual appropriation by the Gold Coast within a decade of $1,400,000, and the definite agreement of educators that not only is religious instruction in the classroom an essential of all true education, but that the whole of education is of little worth "unless religion colors the whole curriculum," are especially noteworthy and promising signposts of progress.

Resolutions embodying the findings and recommendations of the Conference were adopted, these to be submitted to mission boards in Britain, Europe, America and Africa, for mature consideration looking to the greater co-operation in the future that is so essential to the growth and success of the work.

Mr. Parson has reported in detail the Conference proceedings, his article appearing in the December *Spirit of Missions*. This statement will be followed by a report on Liberia, to appear in a later issue of *The Spirit of Missions,* following his visit to that field.

DR. MALAN'S STATEMENT.

An Honourable and Friendly Understanding.

CAPE TOWN, February 21.

Leading Indians were seated in the official bay and the rest of the House of Assembly was crowded this afternoon when Mr. Malan, Minister of the Interior, made his promised statement on the agreement reached between the Governments of India and the Union on the question of Indian settlement in South Africa.

Dr. Malan, speaking with special permission, owing to the importance of the occasion, emphasised that the agreement had been reached in an entire absence of the spirit of bargaining. It had been a wholehearted settlement; the results were not a diplomatic victory for either side, but there had been reached an honourable and friendly understanding.

Naturally, South Africa had made reservations as to "just administration" in the Union, and Indians on their side had their own ideals. Both, however, had agreed to what was, if not an actual solution, a practical and peaceable one. They had decided to give it a fair and reasonable trial.

No Racial Stigma.

The Minister urged that the most important feature of all was that no stigma of racial inferiority was implied.

South Africa would take all just and legitimate measures as to her Western standard of civilisation, and Indians conforming to those standards were enabled to do so. Indeed, the agreement indicated lasting friendship and good will between the great nations concerned.

Dr. Malan paid a tribute to Members of Parliament, the Indians, and the Press and people of South Africa for creating an atmosphere which had ensured the Conference being successful, this atmosphere which had been so remarkable a feature of the negotiations.

The Minister concluded by saying that now the agreement had been published an expression of views could be expected, but he knew that once again he could rely on the good sense, not only of Parliament, but of the Press and people of the Union.

He would like to pay a sincere tribute to the leader and members of the Indian deputation whose sincerity and desire for a satisfactory solution had been the essence of statesmanship.

Parliament and the country hoped that success would crown their efforts for a new era both from the point of view of this country and the country which they (the Indian delegates) served. (Loud cheers.)

General Smuts, the leader of the Opposition, asked that in view of the importance of the question the Government should give an opportunity for its discussion. To this the Prime Minister willingly assented.—Reuter.

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Native Question

JOHANNESBURG JOINT COUNCIL OF EUROPEANS AND NATIVES

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2-1-27

(Continued from previous issue)

23 In the debate about the Natives' Land Bill in 1913, General Hertzog stated "the place of the educated Native is not among the white people but among his own people." There may be a modicum of truth in this statement, but it makes a great difference to the educated Native whether he lives among his own folks in a civilized Native community, or is driven back to live under tribal conditions of barbarism in a location. The later would be a real hardship to him and a blow to civilisation.

24 It seems as if the desire underlies the Bill to force the progressive Native, and indeed all the detribalised Natives, back into tribal conditions; and there appears to be the further assumption that Native advancement does not lie along the generally accepted educational lines, but along some quite other lines, which he is expected to evolve and develop for himself when he is thrown back into reserves or Location. But South Africa knows well that the Native living in a reserve cannot support himself and his family without coming to work for the European for wages. So the proposal of the Bill amounts to forcing the progressive Native back to a position from which he has already risen and is in flat contradiction to General Botha's view that "if there is one thing the European must keep before him, it is the improvement and development of these people."

25. We have not overlooked the fact that there are administrative reasons for encouraging particular tribes to occupy particular areas, but no rule along these lines should be made absolute. Even in Rhobesia, where the land question is absurdly simply as compared with the Union, and where there are few educated Natives, the land Commission of 1925 finds that "they are not always able to obtain suitable land in the reserves and are hampered by the insecurity of (inseparable from tribal conditions) and by the unprogressive attitude of the chiefs and people."

The fact is that the progressive Native requires individual tenuer of land for his continued development, and this is not obtainable in tribal areas.

26 But we must look a good deal further, and a remark of the late Mr. Merriman in the 1913 debate is very much to the point. "What would be the effect," he asks, of driving these civilized Natives back into resevres? At the present time every civilized man, if they treated him properly, would become an owner of land outside the Native reserve, and therefore he was an asset of strength to the country....if they drove these people back into reserves they would become our bitterest enemies.

This ignoring of the wants of the progressive Native and the absence of any provision for him except under surroundings and conditions of barbarism is in our opinion a fatal blot upon the Bill.

27 The next question to consider is whether the released areas are adequate, fsr it is clear that the Bill fixes their maximum acreage once and for all

The released areas appear to coincide to a large extent with the Comnittee areas, but we have no information as to the extent to which they are today owned or occupied by Natives, and consequently no information as to additional extent of potentially Native land which they include If it is found that a large acreage therein is already owned by Natives there will not be enough land left to provide allotments for other Natives who wish to acquire land. Again it is impossible to prophesy how the Native will be employed in the future, or the extent to which he will depend for his livelihood upon the wages paid him by his white employers. Obviously it is essential to know this, and his numbers also, before a maximum limit to the alloted arreas can be justified.

28 The next point to be considered is. Does the Bill contain the machinery necessary to enable the average Native to acquire suitable land in these areas.

The machinery provided is altogether inadequate, indeed nonexistent. It consists mainly of invoking the Governor-General, or Parliament or both to settle matters of principle and of detail, which can only be satisfactorily determined as part of a general policy to be thought out and worked out beforehand.

A special department with pernemant officials or a section of the Native Affairs Department set apart to deal with the purchase of land by Natives, is an essential part of any scheme such as is put forward by the Prime Minister, and this department should have power to purchase and hold lands and dispose of them to Native applicants according to a considered programme. We attach a note of some of the matters which this department would probably be called upon to handle. (Appendix "A."

WHO'S WHO IN OUR PICTURES.

Mr. E. O. Asafu Adjaye, the Profumo prizeman, who was called to the Bar on January 26, sails for the Gold Coast on the "Wadai" on March 7. Mr. Adjaye, who is not yet 24 years of age, studied at University College and the Inner Temple in the five years spent in this country. He has the distinction of being the first Ashanti to be called to the Bar. He took his B.A. degree with honours in Philosophy, also his LL.B., and several prizes at the College, the chief of which was the Profumo prize, a coveted honour. Mr. Adjaye is an accomplished speaker and his services have been greatly in request on many platforms in this country, notably at conferences, etc. He is to address a Church meeting on March 1, in Kensington, before he sails. He is president of the West African Students' Union, and an active member of the Union of Students of African Descent.

The Kukuruku Races at Auchi.

The second meeting of the Kukuruku Race Club was held at Auchi, Southern Provinces, Nigeria, recently under the auspices of the following stewards:—The President, Major J. Wann; Vice-President, Lt.-Cdr. J. G. Pyke-Nott, R.N.; the Oba of Agbebe; Chief Momo of Auchi; the Oviola of Ireme; Chief Sado of Kominio; Mr. Martin Ogbake officiated as starter, and Mr. Ayama as secretary.

A correspondent writes:—The meeting was well attended. Many of those present had travelled long distances, in some cases journeys taking two and three days. A good programme had been arranged by the stewards and there was no lack of entries. The site chosen for the meeting is picturesquely framed, the natural contour of the ground making a good sporting course. In the far distance are the famous Kukuruku hills, the Highlands of the Southern Provinces, while patches of forest add to the beauty of the nearer surroundings.

The first race was the Auchi Maiden Plate, a sprint of about 3½ furlongs open only to horses of Kukuruku which had not previously won over the course. The second race, the Kukuruku Cup, of 4½ furlongs, was open to horses of Kukuruku ownership. The third, the Benin Stakes, which in time will attract horses from distant parts of Nigeria, was the open race of the meeting, the distance being 4½ furlongs. It was won by Chief Momo's grey, "Tetrach," ridden by Lt.-Cdr. Pyke-Nott, R.N.

Some amusement was caused by the incrusion of a cycle and foot race. These events were highly popular. In the bicycle race finishing without the machine was no disqualification, and this was the method generally adopted by the participants towards the end of the race. A most enjoyable day was brought to a close by the president entertaining the whole community on his lawn. The wrestling championship of Kukuruku, part of the entertainment, caused intense excitement.

Our correspondent adds:—Whilst run as a sporting event one of the main ideas of the president of the race meeting is to produce a tsetse-proof horse which could be used in the Southern Provinces of Nigeria. There appears to be no reason why under modern scientific conditions the horse could not be rendered as tsetse-proof as the very fine breed of dwarf cattle that abound in the tsetse belt of the Southern Provinces.

NATIVE COUNCILS.

According to the Government Gazette number 1598 of 7th Jan., 1927 the Council system has been proclaimed in both King William's Town and Middledrift districts, and we are informed from other sources that the areas of Peddie and Victoria East with Fort Beaufort are soon to be officially brought within the compass of Act 23 of 1920, the Native Affairs Act.

This is the best news we have had for a weary long time in Ciskei circles, because we had been mystified why it should take as long as seven years to bring the 1920 Act into operation.

While we are not in a position to allot credit for this welcome fulfilment of our long cherished desire, we cannot be far wrong in complimenting Mr. T. W. C. Norton, the Ciskei Commissioner for seeing this business through. It has been an uphill piece of work in which much temper has been lost and regained, but it has all ended well.

The Prime Minister made a definite promise, not long after he came into power, to get these Councils started. He has not been lavish with promises but has honestly kept his word in this case. Just as he did in the case of the Ciskei School of Agriculture on the Keiskama River, he pointedly refused to be discouraged or prevented by opponents from accomplishing his object. Therefore he has earned the gratitude of our people.

The Native Affairs Commission has done its best all along the line in this matter, and accordingly deserves its mead of thanks.

The Keiskama Hoek area only awaits the passing of a small parliamentary bill declaring it a Native area in order to join in the scheme, and we hope the present opposition from a certain reputed unexpected quarter will be duly withdrawn, and that district also registered under the Council system.

This is nothing less than the dawn of a new era of opportunity for the Ciskei Natives, and its influence should lead to our Councils being established in the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal, where they are urgently desired by our northern brothers.

The regulations and other details will need a great deal of revision before they prove wholly acceptable, but they are less important than the great fact of the consummation of the system. The Ciskei has always boasted to be an intelligent centre of Native life and, thanks to all those concerned, it will now be given an opportunity of displaying its capacity for this new measure of self-government.

We trust this degree of advance will do much to allay unrest and suspicion, despite the Colour Bar Act of 1926, the Poll Tax and the projected Native Bills which have certainly engendered ill-feeling and not enhanced Native confidence in white authority.

The time is ripe for the Government to abandon its process of negative legislation aimed at protecting white supremacy against the so-called Native menace. We now want a friendly hand from our authorities and peace in our time.

Native Education in the Transkei.

(FROM "CAPE TIMES.")

"Cui bono?—what is the good of it all, is a question that has very often been asked," said Dr. Viljoen, Superintendent General of Education, at the Training College Hall, on the 15th June, 1926, when giving an impression of his recent official visit to the Transkei.

"My answer is," continued Dr. Viljoen, "to bring the subject to a low plane, to confine the subject to a selfish motive, and thinking of our own interest only—native education lies at the root of your own welfare.

"Think of the conditions in the Transkei alone, where you have, all told, some 15,000 Europeans living among a million natives, and scattered over an area of 16,351 square miles.

"If we do not pull or draw the native up; by sheer deadweight he will drag you down, and you cannot get away from it.

"Compare the average native boy or girl who has been to one of our training or educational institutions in the Transkei with the poor unfortunate boy or girl still living under heathendom, witchcraft, idolatry and superstition, and you see the the difference at once.

TONE AND DISCIPLINE.

"Go, as I have gone, to those educational institutions, like St. Cuthbert's—and you feel at once that you are in a different atmosphere—you note the tone, the discipline, the example, the manner in which these girls do their work and answer your questions—there is nothing forward about them, but in a simple unaffected manner they give you whatever information you desire, and always with the greatest respect and regard for you Look at the spiritual atmosphere and the religious tone of such an institution.

"Then, again, the native is a valuable asset to South Africa. He is endowed with activities which are very marked and prominent; he displays a wonderful love of music and singing. There is also his love of design. You find that demonstrated in the houses and the huts which they build; you see no hovels, but neatly-bu lt houses with enclosed gardens in front.

"The native, unless I am sadly mistaken, has a desire for true knowledge and for learning of the right sort. They realise that they have an appointed duty and an allotted place in the scheme and order of things in South Africa; and they desire to be the ally of the white man—not his competitor; not to oust him from his position, but to help him to develop the country. That is my diagnosis of the case, and that is my answer to the question: Cui bono."

Dr. Viljoen went on to say that a missionary had taken a record of 1,119 of his old pupils, and only 48 had establishe1 bad records. He thought that was very gratifying.

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In this way the scheme of co-operation will bear its maximum fruit, that is to say, the efforts of the amalgamation of the Elementary schools will be continued in the Secondary schools to be carried forth at Fourah Bay College and the technical or finishing touch at least locally, be given in the PRINCE OF WALES School.

By such process of co-relation the seed which is being sown by His Excellency Sir RANSFORD SLATER will germinate and produce such fruits as will change the aspect of life for our young people in no considerable degree. Here then is food for thought for the United Christian Council We pass it on to them, and to the Synods and District Meetings of the Denominations and at the same time invite the opinion of the Principals and teachers who are actually engaged in the work.

LABOUR AND THE NATIVE QUESTION.

JOHANNESBURG, March 15.

The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union is endeavouring to mobilise international support for its opposition to the Native Administration Bill introduced in the House of Assembly.

Cables were despatched to-day to the British Independent Labour Party, the British Trade Union Congress, and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, as leader of the British Parliamentary Labour Party, respectively, asking for their active support in fighting "this iniquitous measure, the clauses of which are framed essentially to interfere with the liberty of the subject and aim at preventing native trade union leaders from conducting legitimate propaganda."

A cable has also been sent to the Amsterdam Trade Union International in identical terms, save that they are asked for "active co-operation."—Reuter.

African World 3-6-27

THE CAPE NATIVE FRANCHISE.

(By Professor D. D. T. JABAVU,)

[*Continued.*]

We shall now discuss eight arguments levelled against the Cape native franchise by the Prime Minister at Smithfield (November 13, 1925), and by others from time to time.

Firstly, the Cape native vote is a danger to European civilisation.

Our answer is that a little thinking will show that this a erroneous, because the ordinary native cannot be a voter until he satisfies the standard set for all civilised men To become civilised he begins by renouncing barbarism and develops political aspirations that are harmonious with progress and modern culture. Barbarism, as an inferior stage of ethnic development, can always be subjugated by civilisation. Therefore it is a logical fallacy to assume that the Cape native vote can by any possibility be a menace to European civilisation. On the contrary, the history of the last 40 years contains abundant proof that the native vote has substantially advanced the cause of European civilisation, because it has been wisely exercised, producing Parliamentarians of the calibre of Sir James Rose Innes, who first entered Parliament in the early eighties as a direct choice of the Victoria East native voters. Far from being amenable to bribery by unscrupulous orators, it has exhibited judicious selection, decorating the House of Assembly with illustrious statesmen like Mr. Merriman, Mr. Sauer, Sir Richard Solomon, Sir Charles Crewe, and many more. It has never committed any mistakes. Therefore theory and experience are entirely on the side of the Cape native vote.

Secondly, we are told it is a danger because it will in time swamp the European vote by reason of its numerical preponderance transferring political ascendancy from white to black, and making this a black man's country.

Our reply is that this is a confession of an unjustifiable fear. Past history provides no more ground for fear on this account than the Cassandra prophecies deduced from census figures by a Government official two years ago. A study of the figures reveals that in 1920 there were 6,633 native voters to 121,346 European voters, that is one to eighteen; and now, 16 years after that, there are 14,182 to 156,531, one to eleven. This comparative slowness of native growth is in keeping with the slow process of a true education a natural course of development Supposing it did swamp the whites in our present day, what reason is there to fear four million uncivilised natives on the part of a million civilised European population backed by forty five million Englishmen plus the League of Nations? A lion might as well fear the future of the mouse. Just as Natal has framed laws stringent enough to limit its franchise to a few natives, so will the Union Parliament always be in a position to circumscribe the native vote to within whatever standard of natives it judges to be adequate for the sentimental purpose of maintaining white dominance in Parliament. Furthermore, when the native voters of five centuries hereafter are numerous enough to swamp the whites, they will, ipso facto, be civilised enough to run the country on civilised lines and with the intelligence and dignity associated with civilised races elsewhere in the world.

Thirdly, it is argued that political equality will lead to social equality, a position repugnant to Europeans.

In answer, we say political equality is by no means synonymous with social intermixture and miscegenation any more than that the present native voters seek intermarriage with European women. We desire political equality not for social intercourse, but in order to rise in our economic and political circumstances. We cannot thrive economically until we have our due share to the land rightly adjusted. And we cannot obtain our land rights until we get a direct voice in Parliament, that is, political equality. We are already inextricably bound up with Europeans in our territorial occupation of the land, but minus the means wherewith to protect our interests in the land we jointly occupy. Without political equality there is no hope of our attaining justice in our territorial problems; and it is obvious that territorial segregation will for ever be a physical impossibility in South Africa. Christianity alone has failed to secure justice for the natives. The natives will get justice only when they get political equality. It follows, then, that political equality is the only practical policy which Christianity should adopt for the Bantu of South Africa. This has nothing to do with social intercourse.

Fourthly, it is averred that the vote is, in essence, contrary to the African tradition of tribal rule by chiefs.

Against this we submit that African tribal rule has undergone such disintegration that it can never be re-established among detribalised natives. Our tribal system is being gradually dislodged by the European democratic system and will ultimately be eliminated according as education spreads. It is useless to urge tribal communism as our ultimate goal in face of the Union Act based on British individualism which is the enemy of communism. Even a racial or differential imperium in imperio will be ineffectual in this country.

Fifthly, it has been said that the Cape native vote is obnoxious because it places the Cape native on a higher footing than the Northern native.

Against this we would point out that the reason why the Cape native stands politically on a higher footing than his Northern compatriot is that the Cape tradition was historically based upon impartial justice. Christian morality, so far as we understand it, requires that the happy man shall not be penalised by degradation in order to establish a uniform injustice. Rather, the unhappy native helot of the Orange Free State should be sympathetically raised to the rightful citizenship enjoyed by his more fortunate Cape brother

Sixthly, political advantage granted to the native will recoil detrimentally to European interests.

This is a favourite Northern argument based on the theory that the natives are children and should therefore be treated as political minors. Plausible as this theory sounds, it will be found on closer examination to be faulty, because the native people in the Union are not all children or barbarians. Some have achieved considerable progress, and we cannot afford to despise or defy their vanguard of worthy leaders who are already fit to exercise the franchise by their unobtrusive qualification of good character, education and substance. Another

Seventhly, it is affirmed that the political interests of the Europeans are distinct from those of the native

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We shall now discuss eight arguments levelled against the Cape native franchise by the Prime Minister at Smithfield (November 13, 1925), and by others from time to time.

Firstly, the Cape native vote is a danger to European civilisation.

Our answer is that a little thinking will show that this a erroneous, because the ordinary native cannot be a voter until he satisfies the standard set for all civilised men To become civilised he begins by renouncing barbarism and develops political aspirations that are harmonious with progress and modern culture. Barbarism, as an inferior stage of ethnic development, can always be subjugated by civilisation. Therefore it is a logical fallacy to assume that the Cape native vote can by any possibility be a menace to European civilisation. On the contrary, the history of the last 40 years contains abundant proof that the native vote has substantially advanced the cause of European civilisation, because it has been wisely exercised, producing Parliamentarians of the calibre of Sir James Rose Innes, who first entered Parliament in the early eighties as a direct choice of the Victoria East native voters. Far from being amenable to bribery by unscrupulous orators, it has exhibited judicious selection, decorating the House of Assembly with illustrious statesmen like Mr. Merriman, Mr. Sauer, Sir Richard Solomon, Sir Charles Crewe, and many more. It has never committed any mistakes. Therefore theory and experience are entirely on the side of the Cape native vote.

Secondly, we are told it is a danger because it will in time swamp the European vote by reason of its numerical preponderance transferring political ascendancy from white to black, and making this a black man's country.

Our reply is that this is a confession of an unjustifiable fear. Past history provides no more ground for fear on this account than the Cassandra prophecies deduced from census figures by a Government official two years ago. A study of the figures reveals that in 1920 there were 6,633 native voters to 121,346 European voters, that is one to eighteen; and now, 16 years after that, there are 14,182 to 156,531, one to eleven. This comparative slowness of native growth is in keeping with the slow process of a true education a natural course of development Supposing it did swamp the whites in our present day, what reason is there to fear four million uncivilised natives on the part of a million civilised European population backed by forty five million Englishmen plus the League of Nations? A lion might as well fear the future of the mouse. Just as Natal has framed laws stringent enough to limit its franchise to a few natives, so will the Union Parliament always be in a position to circumscribe the native vote to within whatever standard of natives it judges to be adequate for the sentimental purpose of maintaining white dominance in Parliament. Furthermore, when the native voters of five centuries hereafter are numerous enough to swamp the whites, they will, ipso facto, be civilised enough to run the country on civilised lines and with the intelligence and dignity associated with civilised races elsewhere in the world.

Thirdly, it is argued that political equality will lead to social equality, a position repugnant to Europeans.

In answer, we say political equality is by no means synonymous with social intermixture and miscegenation any more than that the present native voters seek intermarriage with European women. We desire political equality not for social intercourse, but in order to rise in our economic and political circumstances. We cannot thrive economically until we have our due share to the land rightly adjusted. And we cannot obtain our land rights until we get a direct voice in Parliament, that is, political equality. We are already inextricably bound up with Europeans in our territorial occupation of the land, but minus the means wherewith to protect our interests in the land we jointly occupy. Without political equality there is no hope of our attaining justice in our territorial problems; and it is obvious that territorial segregation will for ever be a physical impossibility in South Africa. Christianity alone has failed to secure justice for the natives. The natives will get justice only when they get political equality. It follows, then, that political equality is the only practical policy which Christianity should adopt for the Bantu of South Africa. This has nothing to do with social intercourse.

Fourthly, it is averred that the vote is, in essence, contrary to the African tradition of tribal rule by chiefs.

Against this we submit that African tribal rule has undergone such disintegration that it can never be re-established among detribalised natives. Our tribal system is being gradually dislodged by the European democratic system and will ultimately be eliminated according as education spreads. It is useless to urge tribal communism as our ultimate goal in face of the Union Act based on British individualism which is the enemy of communism. Even a racial or differential imperium in imperio will be ineffectual in this country.

Fifthly, it has been said that the Cape native vote is obnoxious because it places the Cape native on a higher footing than the Northern native.

Against this we would point out that the reason why the Cape native stands politically on a higher footing than his Northern compatriot is that the Cape tradition was historically based upon impartial justice. Christian morality, so far as we understand it, requires that the happy man shall not be penalised by degradation in order to establish a uniform injustice. Rather, the unhappy native helot of the Orange Free State should be sympathetically raised to the rightful citizenship enjoyed by his more fortunate Cape brother

Sixthly, political advantage granted to the native will recoil detrimentally to European interests.

This is a favourite Northern argu-

Seventhly, it is affirmed that the political interests of the Europeans are distinct from those of the natives

THE NATIVE AND COTTON PROBLEM.

Ploughing Instructors.

At the present moment, writes our Kampala correspondent, ploughing instructors attend in the towns to give the natives lessons on ploughing. The result is that the native is not inclined to come into the town, and the Instructor wastes his efforts on the desert air. What is required is that these instructors, Gombololas, or County Chiefs are central places in each district, and in these demonstrate what the ploughs can do. The same instructor should in these districts instruct native instructors, and these natives in turn could show the native planter just what the advantages of the plough are over hand work.

Taken in hand properly, and showing patience where it is necessary to raw natives, ploughing will solve the trouble of poor prices, for, comparatively speaking, the native will get about three times the cotton from the same amount of labour, and if the native can only be assured that here is a means of steady income, and something that he can be sure of, he will take to the plough and will stick to cotton planting, and the result will be not fourfold the quantity of cotton that we now get, but considerably more, for it must be acknowledged that the native is very imitative, and those who have lost heart in the matter of planting will soon see the prosperity which attends on the newer method of planting and be quick in the uptake of going and doing likewise.

Though it is said that ploughing will be more suitable in the flat country like the Eastern Province, there is not the slightest doubt that it will be taken up here in Buganda Province if it is properly pushed. Buganda Province can produce the better cotton, and though it is not a flat country there is nothing to prevent the advent of ploughs suitable to the nature of the land. That is the only thing which will ever save the cotton industry here from getting a big set-back.

There are undoubtedly those who have no love for cotton production in the country. Those who have reason to know that cotton has been too much the god of the authorities to make it universally wanted. Too much labour has been deflected from other crops in which other people were interested, and these people have not yet got over their prejudices against cotton. There is a lot to be said for them; but if cotton—the best of cotton—can be grown successfully in Uganda by the use of up-to-date methods, it may be that everyone will take a hand in an effort to make money out of it.

THE CAPE NATIVE FRANCHISE

(By Professor D. D. T. JABAVU.)

(Concluded.)

Our reply is that all political affairs are, in the last analysis, governed by economic interests. Now, in the Union it is admitted on all sides that white and black are economically inter-dependent. In native affairs the land question is supreme because the land is the indispensible asset that governs the economic status of the native. All native prosperity automatically increases European prosperity. Every native wealthy enough to contribute a substantial income tax is by that much a more valuable citizen to the white government than his impecunious brother who pays only the poll tax, and accordingly deserves a voice in the counsels of the State in which he has so much property at stake. The identity of white and black political and economic interest should be accepted as an indisputable axiom in this country. The only alternative left for those who deny this indentity of interest is the impossible task of effecting absolute territorial segregation, placing the blacks in some virgin land where they shall conduct their own separate administration directly under the Imperial Government

Lastly, it has been recently stated that "As the voting power of the native increases, so the feeling of bitterness against him will take possession of the white man. It will then doubtless come to pass that the basis of popular government, that is, honest difference of opinion on great questions, will give place to a division on colour and race lines to the neglect of everything else"

This is perhaps the strongest of all the arguments ever advanced against the native franchise; and it is of paramount importance that the whole of the intelligent public opinion of South Africa be familiarised with the truth that will explode the fallacies that underlie this and the other seven propositions just discussed.

This particular argument presupposes two things to which we cannot subscribe, namely, (a) that the white man holds an incorrigible hatred against the black man; and (b) that white and black in South Africa are irreconcilable enemies

So far as the Cape Province is concerned we venture to state that the voting power of the black man has never produced bitterness against him Division on racial lines has, from the very beginning, been conspicuous by its absence The natives have always divided along ordinary Parliamentary lines. We remember in the days of the old Afrikander Bond that Onze Jan Hofmeyr was in league with John Tengo Jabavu with a big following of native voters; whilst the Progressives had Dr. Jameson with the Rev. Walter Benson Rubusana and an equally large share of the native vote behind them. These were divisions on lines of honest differences of opinion persisting down to the year 1909 with the South African Party and the Unionists each claiming a substantial following of native voters. There was not even the mention of racialism. These are the historical facts. This situation was due to the kind of spirit that ruled in the Cape Probably it is an approximation of a Christian spirit of non-racialism. If others are incapable of rising to it, then there appears no good reason for them to blame the Cape Europeans for being good Christians. The pessimistic expectation of a division on race lines is destitute of historical foundation, and either betrays a lack of faith in Christianity, or amounts to a confession that Christianity as we know it in South Africa is bankrupt.

THE CAPE NATIVE VIEW.

It is desirable that the view of the black possessor towards his franchise should be known. He regards his vote as a treasured gift of justice inherited from Queen Victoria the Good. This Queen attracted the Basuto, the Bechuana and the Pondo chiefs voluntarily to surrender their unconquered lands under British tutelage. This franchise is ethically moral because it places a premium on merit rather than colour. It is Christian, indicating the white man's humanitarian duty towards the black. It is economically sound, for it confers equality of opportunity on all to rise freely in the scale of civilisation. It fulfils the challenge of the New Testament towards peace as against hate. It has bestowed the highest mundane privilege of man, citizenship, as opposed to serfdom. The Cape natives being full fledged citizens, have been immune from the rigours of the Pass Laws which are the curse of their voteless comrades in the Transvaal Likewise have they been saved by the grace of the franchise from the operation of the 1913 Lands Act with its painful evictions They have good reason for being vigilant against any impending dispossession of this citizenship lest such a misfortune be followed by an era of mutual hatred that can only end in the dim and dismal future with a sanguinary conflict. This franchise is thus nothing less than the noblest monument of the white man's rule, emblematic of his genuineness to practise the precepts of Holy Scriptures towards the subject races.

The obvious Christian policy is that which will in our day truly lay the foundations for a glorious future of co-operation and good understanding. There seems to be no likelihood of keeping the black man down or back from his march towards ultimate liberty in education, economic life and political privilege any more than it was possible for King Canute to block the ocean tide by an act of volition.

Oppression and restriction will perhaps serve as useful expedients for a time, but the unerring course of evolution and the ultimate destiny of Christianity will inevitably predominate.

All the native people of the Union pray that the churches of South Africa will, under the courageous leadership of the Dutch Reformed Churches, awake and respond to the call of Christian duty at this momentous hour when we are at the cross-roads of native policy, exhorting European public opinion to abandon the fatal path of mere expediency and injustice, guiding all to the safe haven of self denial, peace and good-will towards men.—"Cape Times"

General Notes.

A Native correspondent in the "Fort Beaufort Advocate" says:— "It would seem that the natives of King Williamstown are experiencing harsh treatment from the Borough authorities—as instance the treatment meted to the old and historic mission of Brownlee Station and the present raising of rents at the new location "Leightonville," and the fair name of the capital of Kaffraria is rapidly being tarnished under the new regime. No wonder many natives yearn for the good old days."

Race Problem - 1927

Africa

THE CLASH OF COLOR IN BRITISH AFRICA

"OUT OF AFRICA," runs the ancient Latin proverb, "comes ever something new," and the modern States that are growing up in that huge and mysterious continent in nowise belie this age-old reputation. The news that reaches us to-day from British South and East Africa should be of interest to thinking Americans, since it deals with our own vexed question, the race problem. The fair-skinned overlords of the "dark continent" are determined, we learn, that so far as climate will permit, it shall become a "white man's country." It contains vast tracts, even under the equator, that are high and healthful and wonderfully fertile, ripe for the spade and the plow, and rich with the promise of incredible harvests. The forest and the veldt must pass to make room for farm and factory, the lion and the elephant must give place to the tractor and the locomotive. But what of the native races? Unlike our own red Indians, a nomadic and far-ranging people, who receded year by year before the advance of our pioneer ancestors, the blacks remain in countless thousands, and for the simple reason that they have nowhere to go. What, then, is to be done to and for them? Where and how are they to live? What shall be their portion in the new order of things?

The answer to this is not easily to be found. The American negro is but a small factor of our population, yet he constitutes a grave problem. But in Africa this condition is reversed. The blacks are far more numerous than the whites. They are on the spot, and it can not be denied that they are in a fair way to become the victims of the new dispensation. Life has changed radically for them, and they are not equipped to meet the change.

From an article in *The Economist* (London) we learn how the authorities in British Africa are to-day wrestling with this difficult question. Segregation has, it seems, been tried, with no great success. But to have whites and natives living side by side is not an ideal condition. With this problem, it appears, is tied up the question of the ownership of the land. The natives, original lords of the soil, have had it taken from them. Now some of it, but by no means the best, is to be returned to them in order that they may keep alive.

The article to which we have referred thus describes the situation:

"Great things are happening in Africa to-day, and the pace quickens. Almost before we realized what was happening, a vast new problem has been opened up for us and for the world. The new problem arises from the fact that the Union of South Africa is far from being the only portion of the continent where the European can live and thrive and bring up his progeny. The whole stretch of highland territory from the neighborhood of Cape Town to far Uganda is capable of providing a home for the European. And everywhere he is coming in. Not only can Southern Rhodesia point to a steady stream of new settlers of the best type; Kenya, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, and even Tanganyika show the same phenomenon. The European has come to stay. And if he stays, he will demand control of the country which has become his home.

"Already talk of federation of the British East African Colonies north of the Union is beyond the academic stage. A great new State is already coming into view. What will its character be?

"Beyond all question the greatest immediate problem which has to be met throughout this vast area is that of the occupancy and use of the land by European and native respectively. Perhaps it is fortunate that throughout its extent the highland region is inhabited by various sections of one great African race, the Bantu, all at much the same stage of culture, and all with much the same organization and customs. There is no problem of diverse peoples, as in India, at least not in the highlands.

"Economically, the Bantu are a pastoral people in the main, counting their wealth in cattle, and cattle are inextricably involved in all their tribal life and customs. Land tenure is for them a matter of rights of user rather than of occupying ownership, and their traditional habit has been to move on to better areas when they could, dispossessing of both land and cattle those whom they found there. Now the European comes in force with very different ideas, both of the ownership of land and of the uses that can be made of it. So the issue is joined over half a continent. What shall be the future relation of the native Bantu to the land?"

The writer then goes on to point out that the Union of South Africa stands "as a melancholy warning to those who failed to be wise in time," since "she has discovered, perhaps too late, that a provision of land for natives, equitable even if not entirely adequate, is the real solution of what is known as the Native Problem." He then details the history of recent legislation. Certain areas, already occupied for the most part as native reserves, were set apart in which only natives could purchase land, such purchase being forbidden elsewhere. These areas were admittedly inadequate, but it was not found possible to increase them by legislation. A Land Bill has been designed to deal with the situation. This Bill proposes to release certain areas, that is, to throw them open for lease or purchase by either Europeans or natives. We read further:

"The 'released' areas amount to 14,000,000 acres, and the areas already reserved exclusively to natives cover about 21,000,000 acres. One of the Transvaal Local Committees calculated that about thirty-six or thirty-seven acres were necessary for a family of five. On this basis, both the present reserves and the released areas, assuming that every acre was available, would still be insufficient. And some of the land is poor stuff."

We are also advised of a suggestion by a member of the Commission on Native Affairs:

"He suggests that natives should be allowed to lease small holdings in European areas as tenant farmers—a better status, anyway, than the highly indeterminate one of squatter, which is all that many natives in such areas at present enjoy. Moreover, a farmer with such tenants would have a supply of trustworthy labor ready to hand, labor with the incentive to work in order to secure capital for the development of its own holdings."

It is admitted that the race question is a very disturbing factor, and we are told that:

"Color prejudice is even stronger in the country than in the town, and many South Africans would find it hard to conceive of the Kafir as just a peasant (potentially, at least) rather than as some one whose outstanding characteristic was that he was not white. The dust of color clouds economic vision everywhere."

There is, it would seem, no immediate prospect of a permanent settlement of the matter, and it is related that:

"Little has emerged so far to offer any hope of an agreed solution. It is clear, however, that there is no chance at all at this late date for the reservation of a sufficient area exclusively for native purchase to meet all the need. Something can be done, doubtless, to enable natives to make better use of existing reserves. But such improvement ought to issue not in an increase of population in the reserves, but in a much-needed rise in the native standard of life. All competent witnesses are agreed as to his poverty, tho possibly it is a relative poverty due more to increased wants than to an absolute decline of resources. There can be little economic health in a community where this is the condition of two-thirds of the population, and where they are viewed as barbarian black men rather than as workers and consumers."

The writer closes by summing up the situation in this way:

"One other thing is clear. 'Segregation' in any legitimate meaning that can be given to the term is now very, very dead. Natives on the land, as in the town, will always choose, if they can, to live their own lives together, socially and even, to some extent, economically. But there can be no clean cuts anywhere. The very proposal of 'released' areas is a surrender of segregation, and the institution of a system of native tenant-farmers would be a still further surrender.

"We can not bleach the native, and he would not allow it if we could. What we have to learn here in South Africa is that what matters for us in the long run is not the black skin, or even the queer social customs, but the presence of some millions of potential producers and purchasers who await only the necessary incentive in order to become the surest guaranty of economic stability we could hope to have."

JUSTICE IN WEST AFRICA.

(*Reproduced from "Truth."*)

The slavery question in Sierra Leone has lately presented the administration of that colony in a somewhat unfavourable light before public opinion, not only in this country but also in the United States and the International Areopagus at Geneva. There is another aspect of local administration which seems to call for equal notice, at any rate in this country, and that is the suspension of trial by jury in Sierra Leone in an important class of cases. The subject was dealt with by Dr. Bankole-Bright, a medical man practising at Freetown, who has been for some years one of the elected African members of the Legislative Council there, and who addressed the West African students in London on September 28. His address reveals an anomaly in the administration of justice which would not be tolerated anywhere else, and which is particularly resented by the educated classes of natives in West Africa. In considering it, we ought to bear in mind that the natives of West Africa are among the most loyal and contented subjects of the Empire, and that the administration of justice is among those benefits of British rule which are most highly prized by them.

Dr. Bright stated that for 85 years trial by jury was established in Sierra Leone, and no fault was found with its results. In 1894 the Postmaster-General of the Colony, an African named Spain, was accused of embezzlement. He was acquitted. The Governor then had him re-arrested, on a charge differently framed, though relating to the same money, and in time for this second trial the Legislative Council (in which, of course, the Government has a permanent majority) passed what is called the Assessors Ordinance. This associates with the presiding judge three assessors. They are to take the place of a jury, and to find on questions of fact, the judge deciding on law. The Sierra Leone Ordinance, however, reserved to the judge the power to over-ride and reverse the assessors' verdict. Under this ordinance Spain was found guilty, and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment!

It is left to the Attorney-General to decide in which cases the Assessors Ordinance shall be applied. Dr. Bright alleges that ever since its enactment, wherever the accused in a criminal case has been an "educated" Native, the Ordinance has been applied, and that in every case where the assessors (two of whom are usually British business men of the colony and the third an African) have found the accused not guilty, the judge has set their verdict aside and declared the man guilty. He cites specific cases. The first is that of Johnson, a dispenser in Government service for 25 years, with an unblemished record. Riots broke out against Syrian traders, accused, probably with truth, of holding up rice supplies during a shortage. Johnson was charged with receiving the goods of Syrians whose stores had been pillaged. Evidence was given that at the time of the alleged offence he was at work at the hospital, the medical staff of the hospital corroborating this. All three assessors in this case were British. They found him not guilty. The judge over-ruled them, and sent Johnson to prison, where he died, broken, protesting innocence to the last.

Another case is that of Bright, an African clerk at the Post Office. He had been in the public service 11 years. He had charge of the stamps, and was accused of defalcation. It was proved at the trial that on one occasion the head of his department unknowingly supplied him with £100 worth of stamps above the amount for which he had requisitioned, and that Bright at once returned the surplus. It was also shown that more than once he had mislaid keys of the stamp safe. On one occasion he found this out at once, and the P.M.G. had the safe sealed. When it was opened the contents were found intact. On the day when the charge arose, going to the post office unusually early, he was met by his senior officer, who at once said that he had again mislaid his keys and was hurrying down to see if all were safe. A number of stamps was missing. He was prosecuted, although he offered to pay the value of the stamps. He demanded trial by jury. This was refused, and the Ordinance applied. He declined to plead or call any evidence, and was then found guilty and sentenced—of course, by the judge acting alone.

A third and more sensational case is that of Mr. Cornelius May, a former member of the Legislative Council, Mayor of Freetown, and editor and owner of the "Sierra Leone Weekly News," one of the oldest, most moderate, and most influential organs of the native Press in the whole of Africa. Mr. May, as mayor, received the Prince of Wales on his visit to the colony. He is a wealthy man, and until the present case nothing was known to his discredit. It was alleged that in his capacity of mayor he conspired with others and made away with £25 worth of iron sheets, rejected by the municipal surveyor as useless for the purpose for which they were ordered. The case was tried by the Chief Justice, Sir Gilbert Purcell, and the Ordinance was again applied. Of the three assessors two are Europeans—men holding responsible positions with Elder Dempster and Co., and a local subsidiary of Lever Brothers. The third is an African, not of the same race as May, and one of his political opponents. May, it should be stated, had frequently been attacked by his fellow Africans because, they said, he and his paper were always on the side of the Whites (the British). He had, however, before the case arose, espoused the cause of the poorer railways workers in a strike against the Government Railway Department.

The three assessors unanimously found May not guilty. The Chief Justice overruled them and sent him and two others charged with him to prison for nine months. May was subsequently released on grounds of health. He is over 70 years old. The judge refused to state a case for appeal. Dr. Bright says he saw the Attorneyl-General seated on the bench with the judge during the trial. The opinion of Sir Leslie Scott, K.C., was sought as to the possibility of appeal to the Privy Council direct. He advised that this was impossible, the Judicial Committee not being a court of criminal appeal. But on the Assessors' Ordinance Sir Leslie Scott observed: "If the assessors had been a jury, the defendants would have succeeded in winning an acquittal. The grievance in this case is against the law, and the defendants have a sense of injustice for that reason, not unnaturally, as the assessors on the pure question of fact, upon which the case depended, were as well able to form a view as the Chief Justice." Unless Dr. Bright is guilty of mis-statement, the same Chief Justice had *five* of his decisions in civil cases reversed in one day by a West African appeal court consisting of three other judges.

The Assessors Ordinance grievance was laid before Mr. Ormsby-Gore, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, when he visited Sierra Leone. He said that cases occasionally give rise to racial antagonism, and in such cases trial by jury would lead to a travesty of justice. One of the African members of the Legislative Council of the colony asked which case or cases raised this issue. The Government replied that the Under-Secretary's remark was a personal opinion, and that to give details might raise ill-feeling. Imagine such a reply in the House of Commons! The member said that a statement of fact had been made and pressed for a more exact answer. The Acting-Governor disallowed this further question.

Not the least remarkable feature in the present legal position is that trial by jury is still preserved where the accused are illiterate, primitive Africans. It is only against the educated section of the race that the powers of the Ordinance are directed. Dr. Bright and others at Sierra Leone ask that ordinary trial by jury should be restored. It was with drawn over a generation ago on what, if it was a breakdown, was a breakdown in a single case, and in 33 years education in public affairs has moved forward. They also ask for an independent appeal court in criminal cases, to be composed not of local judges, but of three trained lawyers from Great Britain, who should visit West Africa at the required intervals, and hear appeal cases from all four colonies—Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Nigeria. The colonies, Dr. Bright thinks, can and would afford the salaries. So they are only asking for the expenditure of their own money.

Dr. Bright's speech was reported in the Press, and has been issued in pamphlet form. He is returning to the Colony at once, and can then be brought to book in the Legislative Council and discredited if he has mis-stated any essential facts. The matter also calls for the attention of Parliament. The essential questions seem to be: (1) Was the ordinary jury system suppressed because of one case which annoyed the local Government? (2) If Sierra Leone juries have returned verdicts tainted by racial bias, in what specific cases was this done? (3) When assessors have been appointed to act as jurors and find the facts, by what right is their finding of fact overruled by the bench? And (5) In any event, is not the appeal to an independent tribunal in criminal cases reasonable and necessary?

Race Problem - 1927

Africa.

GOLD COAST'S TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF PROGRESS

SIR GORDON GUGGISBERG'S CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNTRY'S FUTURE.

(By Brigadier-General Sir Gordon Guggisberg, K.C.M.G., D.S.O., in the "Financial Times.")

Since 1900 the revenue of the Gold Coast has risen from £333,283 to £4,365,320, or £815,879 greater than expenditure. In addition to this, whereas in 1900 the net excess of assets over liabilities was practically nil, to-day it amounts to £2,026,634, besides which £2,382,227 lies in reserve and renewal funds, neither of which existed prior to 1923.

The above figures indicate a remarkable fiscal advance. Those financially interested in the country will probably ask: Is this prosperity permanent? To answer this question a brief review of the causes and a glimpse into the future are necessary.

The two chief factors in prosperity have been cocoa and trade communications. Cocoa exports began in 1891, when 80 lbs. were shipped, increased to 10,000 tons in 1910, to 67,000 in 1918, and to 231,000 in 1926. The rate of increase corresponded approximately with the rate of railway and road construction. In 1900 there was no harbour, and only a few miles of railway and motor road. By 1919 there were two boat-harbours, 269 miles of railway, and 1,300 miles of motor road.

To-day there are a deep-water harbour within a few months of completion, 492 miles of railway, and 4,680 miles of motor road. Trade was further assisted by the construction in the past seven years of over 1,700 miles of trunk telephone and 1,700 miles of telegraph line. This remarkable achievement in the post-war period is one of which the country may well be proud. Trade steadily increased, for with the growth of cocoa exports the spending power of the people also grew, with a consequent increase in manufactured imports.

A Progressive People.

Summarising this brief review of the past, the present prosperity of the Gold Coast has been brought about by the industry and progressiveness of the people of the country, the construction of trade communications by the Government, the wise policy of preserving the "owner-farmer" system of cultivation, and the enterprise with which the European merchants have availed themselves of the new markets opened up for them.

Now, none of these things has changed; farmers, Government, and merchants are working as hard as ever, so there appears no reason why the future should not be as bright as the present.

Into that future we will now take a glimpse. To begin with, the staple industry of the country—the production of the cocoa-bean—is firmly established on the soundest of all systems, that of the "owner-farmer." European-managed plantations are practically non-existent, and the African farmers are thereby enabled to profit to the fullest possible extent by their own work on their own land, to the consequent benefit of the import trade.

The spread of education, both technical and literary, the quick intelligence of the local native, and the technical advice of the Agricultural Department, have all lead, and are still leading, to a steady improvement in methods of agriculture and of preparation of the bean for market.

Disease there is and probably always will be, but it is being kept well in check. The farms at present occupy less than one-seventh of the available cocoa-belt, so that there is ample room for the expansion that will come with the gradual increase of the population and for the preservation of those forest areas necessary for humidity.

Increasing Cocoa Exports.

The Gold Coast is fortunate in the possession on such a vast and increasing scale of an export industry of a raw product (cocoa) that is in universal demand.

Already she exports nearly half of the world's annual production of 500,000 tons, and there is still a market for increased production.

Consumption has in the past kept pace with the gradually increasing world production, and there is no reason why it should not continue to do so in the future when the present inability of Russia and other large European countries to import a product particularly suited to their climates is considered. Besides which there are vast areas of the world at present untouched so far as the consumption of cocoa products is concerned.

As for competition from other cocoa-growing countries, the Gold Coast need have no fear of that. In its fine deep-water harbour at Takoradi and its network of railways and roads, it is far ahead of all possible rivals in cheap transport communications. Its position in the cocoa markets of the world has, in fact, been consolidated.

But the agricultural industries of the Gold Coast are not confined to cocoa. Since the war there has been noticeable revival in the export of palm-oil products.

Experiments in the Government plantations have led to the discovery of improved methods of cultivation well within the power of the farmers; and this, with the assistance of private enterprise in small central factories capable of being run by natives, should greatly increase palm-oil exports.

European Plantations.

Government has also laid the foundations for a future export trade on an increasing scale in copra, sisal hemp, cotton, groundnuts and shea-nuts. The last three will necessitate a railway from Kumasi to the Northern Territories. This is being surveyed and will open up new markets for imported goods among a large and industrious farmer population.

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Soil and climate are suitable, communications are plentiful and rapid, and there will be ample labour if men are sent out who will make it their business to deal fairly and sympathetically with the native.

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But however satisfactory the situation may be as regards trade and finance, the greatest promise for the future is the inhabitants themselves. Intelligent, hard-working, receptive of new ideas when the value is proved to them, they are well on the way to making the Gold Coast one of the most important countries in Africa. Well and tactfully led, given the opportunities for sound education and training in trades and professions, they will in due course evolve good leaders from among themselves and eventually consolidate the races of the Gold Coast into a nation which we may be even more proud than we are to-day to include in the Empire.

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REFORM IN ABYSSINIA.

When in 1923 Abyssinia sought to obtain, by membership of the League of Nations, a guarantee for the independence which she believed to be threatened by European ambitions, her application at Geneva was held up on the ground that slavery and the slave trade still flourished on her territory. Great colonial Powers, backed by all the interference at foreign instigation with the social organisation of the nation, an interference often resented even more keenly than if it itself. An abolition campaign in Abyssinia was a revolutionary campaign, even if it is headed by the Heir Apparent. It is a tribute to Ras Tafari's courage that he undertook it, says the "Manchester Guardian," and to his statesmanship that it has achieved so much success.

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Race Problem - 1927

Africa.

GOLD COAST'S TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF PROGRESS

SIR GORDON GUGGISBERG'S CONFIDENCE IN THE COUNTRY'S FUTURE.

(By Brigadier-General Sir Gordon Guggisberg, K.C.M.G., D.S.O., in the "Financial Times.")

Since 1900 the revenue of the Gold Coast has risen from £333,283 to £4,365,320, or £815,879 greater than expenditure. In addition to this, whereas in 1900 the net excess of assets over liabilities was practically nil, to-day it amounts to £2,026,634, besides which £2,382,407 lies in reserve funds, neither of which existed prior to 1923.

The above figures indicate a remarkable fiscal advance. Those financially interested in the country will probably ask: Is this prosperity permanent? To answer this question a brief review of the causes and a glimpse into the future are necessary.

The two chief factors in prosperity have been cocoa and trade communications. Cocoa exports began in 1891, when 80 lbs. were shipped, increased to 10,000 tons in 1910, to 67,000 in 1918, and to 231,000 in 1926. The rate of increase corresponded approximately with the rate of railway and road construction. In 1900 there was no harbour, and only a few miles of railway and motor road. By 1919 there were two boat-harbours, 269 miles of railway, and 1,300 miles of motor road.

To-day there are a deep-water harbour within a few months of completion, 492 miles of railway, and 4,680 miles of motor road. Trade was further assisted by the construction in the past seven years of over 1,700 miles of trunk telephone and 1,700 miles of telegraph line. This remarkable achievement in the post-war period is one of which the country may well be proud. Trade steadily increased, for with the growth of cocoa exports the spending power of the people also grew, with a consequent increase in manufactured imports.

A Progressive People.

Summarising this brief review of the past, the present prosperity of the Gold Coast has been brought about by the industry and progressiveness of the people of the country, the construction of trade communications by the Government, the wise policy of preserving the "owner-farmer" system of cultivation, and the enterprise with which the European merchants have availed themselves of the new markets opened up for them.

Now, none of these things has changed; farmers, Government, and merchants are working as hard as ever, so there appears no reason why the future should not be as bright as the present.

Into that future we will now take a glimpse. To begin with, the staple industry of the country—the production of the cocoa-bean—is firmly established on the soundest of all systems, that of the "owner-farmer." European-managed plantations are practically non-existent, and the African farmers are hereby enabled to profit to the fullest possible extent by their own work on their own land, to the consequent benefit of the import trade.

The spread of education, both technical and literary, the quick intelligence of the local native, and the technical advice of the Agricultural Department, have all led, and are still leading, to a steady improvement in methods of agriculture and of preparation of the bean for market.

Disease there is and probably always will be, but it is being kept well in check. The farms at present occupy less than one-seventh of the available cocoa-belt, so that there is ample room for the expansion that will come with the gradual increase of the population and for the preservation of those forest areas necessary for humidity.

Increasing Cocoa Exports.

The Gold Coast is fortunate in the possession on such a vast and increasing scale of an export industry of a raw product (cocoa) that is in universal demand.

Already she exports nearly half of the world's annual production of 500,000 tons, and there is still a market for increased production.

Consumption has in the past kept pace with the gradually increasing world production, and there is no reason why it should not continue to do so in the future when the present inability of Russia and other large European countries to import a product particularly suited to their climates is considered. Besides which there are vast areas of the world at present untouched so far as the consumption of cocoa products is concerned.

As for competition from other cocoa-growing countries, the Gold Coast need have no fear of that. In its fine deep-water harbour at Takoradi and its network of railways and roads, it is far ahead of all possible rivals in cheap transport communications. Its position in the cocoa markets of the world has, in fact, been consolidated.

But the agricultural industries of the Gold Coast are not confined to cocoa. Since the war there has been noticeable revival in the export of palm-oil products.

Experiments in the Government plantations have led to the discovery of improved methods of cultivation well within the power of the farmers; and this, with the assistance of private enterprise in small central factories capable of being run by natives, should greatly increase palm-oil exports.

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The Legislative Council of Sierra Leone has been summoned to amend the Slavery Ordinance in consequence of a revelation by a recent judgment of the Supreme Court that slavery is not illegal in the Protectorate, though it has been abolished in the Colony. Sir Ransford Slater's very full discussion of the question in "Despatches Relating to Domestic Slavery in Sierra Leone" (The Secretariat, Freetown, 1926) shows that it is not a simple one, but involves grave social, economic, and political problems. It is well known that the axe has been laid to the root of the institution by the cessation of slave-raiding and trading, whereby the supply of slaves has been cut off and the existing slave population is a rapidly diminishing one, as the status of slavery is attenuated in each generation, and disappears in the fourth. Good treatment of slaves is not only general, but is enforced by public opinion, and there does not appear to be any eagerness for manumission, as the existing provisions for redemption have not been largely availed of. The experienced Commissioner of the Northern Province, Captain W. B. Stanley, C.M.G., C.B.E., in a minute dated October 9, 1923, wrote: "Scarcely any of the many slaves among the 7,000 carriers who went to East Africa redeemed themselves on their return, though they returned from the war with £30-£40 due to them in wages. A few of them, it is true, remained in Freetown, but the great majority went back to their masters, who took no portion of their slaves' wages." This is due to the fact that a slave has privileges of which freedom deprives him. For instance, as a slave he is granted a portion of the family land, but as a freeman he has no family on whose land he can make a claim. One possible consequence of sudden emancipation, as was found to be the case on the Gold Coast on the coming into force of the Emancipation Ordinance of 1874, is the creation of a class without tribal or family control, with a tendency to drift into the towns and to form a criminal class. The extinction of the claims on the provision which the communal system makes for the aged and infirm may lead to the rise of a pauper class, the care of which will fall on the public revenue, a condition which is arising in the Colony. As the question affects the power, prestige and wealth of the Chiefs, the opinions of the three Paramount Chiefs who are members of the Council was awaited with interest. As we are going to press, a cable has been received from the "Daily Mail" special correspondent announcing that the Bill to abolish slavery in the Protectorate from January 1 next has been passed unanimously by the Council. In a dignified speech, Bai Comber, a representative Paramount Chief, with the concurrence of the two other Chiefs, bowed to the will of the British people and accepted the Bill. He said that inter-marriage will settle the slave problem in time, and in the interim the Chiefs would inform the people that the existence of slavery lowers them in the eyes of the civilised world, and that emancipation is the will of the Government. No such judgment as that which has shocked the public conscience of Great Britain can again be pronounced by the Supreme Court of Sierra Leone. Yet we cannot refrain from placing on record our considered opinion that far more importance has been attributed to the existence of a form of slavery in Sierra Leone than is justifiable by facts.

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A recent judgment of the Supreme Court of Sierra Leone has called attention to the fact that slavery, though not expressly recognised, is still not illegal in some of the territories under British rule. An outcry has been raised against this, but the protesters appear to overlook two very important considerations. First, that the judgment referred only to "domestic" slavery; and, second, that the judgment does not apply to the "Colony." In the Colony slavery of any kind is absolutely forbidden, and no Court would entertain such an action as led to this judgment; but in the Protectorate British administrators and judges have to deal with very different conditions, and are not able to enforce British law in its entirety. As the Bishop of Sierra Leone (whom no one will suspect of being in favour of the maintenance of slavery) has pointed out in the "Observer," August 28: "Britain has not sovereign rights over the Protectorate, but is dealing with the Paramount Chiefs to a great extent as equals, with whom we have made treaty arrangements, and, therefore, all progressive steps have to be carried out with the goodwill of the Chiefs and their peoples." This exactly states the relation between the British Government and the Protectorate; the Chiefs are sovereigns in alliance with the British Government, whose protection they have accepted, and by whose advice they have agreed to be guided, but they and their peoples are aliens, and not subject to British laws unless accepted by them. The position of Great Britain towards Protectorates was clearly stated by Lord John Russell in 1841: "The laws of Great Britain are, of course, binding only within the British dominions . . . but I do not understand that a British subject would incur any penalty, which could be enforced against him in British courts of justice, by holding men in slavery within the limits of any country by the law of which slavery is permitted. . . . If the laws or usages of those countries tolerate slavery, we have no right to set aside those laws or usages, except by persuasion, negotiation, and other peaceful means."

Slave Trade and Slave Raids.

With regard to the external slave trade there has, of course, never been any compromise. The colony was founded for the suppression of the transmarine trade and to be a refuge for its victims, but it was openly carried on along the coast for many years after its legal abolition in British territory, and written contracts for the sale and purchase of slaves were entered into and carried out. One of the favourite resorts of the slavers was the stretch of water between Sherbro Island and the mainland, access to which was gained by the Shebar Strait, a channel between the southern end of the island and Turner's Peninsula. This was too shallow for the men-of-war, but the slavers, drawing only a few feet, could run in and lie concealed among the mangroves until their cargoes were collected and brought on board. When the overseas slave trade was finally suppressed the evil was removed into the interior. Until the proclamation of the Protectorate put an end to inter-tribal feuds and wars the interior was kept in a constant turmoil by raids, the main object of which was the capture of slaves, for whom there was always a market, both for home use and for sale to Samory and his Sofas. This traffic kept the country in a state of misery until the establishment of the British protectorate stopped the raids and made the traffic unprofitable by displacing barter by the introduction of coined money and the opening up of communications which gave the people access to markets for their food-crops, produce, and other products of their industries. Before that time slaves had been the currency of the country, passing from hand to hand at prices which fluctuated according to demand and supply. At normal times a slave was the equivalent of £3 in goods, but in times of famine a man-slave was sometimes sold for a bushel of husk rice. The suppression of slave raids was principally due to Captain Copland Crawford, who was stationed at Sulima in command of a small force of armed police, with which he struck terror into the Krubars, or native warriors. His name and reputation as a fighter still survive among the natives with whom he dealt. At the same time the annexation of Samory's territory by the French closed the interior market.

Domestic Slavery.

Domestic slavery, as permitted in the Protectorate, is in quite a different category from the foreign slave trade, whether overseas or to the interior, and has furnished one of the most delicate and difficult problems with which British administrators in West Africa have had to deal. It is an integral element in the constitution of all West African society. Its sudden and arbitrary abolition would be not only largely ineffective, but might be injurious to the slaves. As the Bishop points out, "one of the problems which has largely exercised the Legislative Council is how to protect the ancient rights of the people . . . . together with the human rights of the slave himself, and the difficulty sometimes of protecting him when he cannot protect himself as a newly freed man." Domestic slaves are not only well treated but are regarded as members of the family. Indeed, many of them, being born of intercourse between masters and slaves, actually are members of the family, an integral part of it, with a possibility of inheriting the family property. They all know when they are well off, and only the idle and disorderly would take their freedom. On the Gold Coast the chief result of the Slavery Abolition Ordinance of 1874 was a considerable increase of the criminal class. To-day, as the Bishop says, "We are increasingly understanding that great care must be taken not to ride rough-shod over the African and his customs, and while pressing forward all reforms possible, it may sometimes be better to go a little more slowly and cut out the root of evil systems by education in its broadest sense than by short cuts." In this case there is no occasion for hurry, as the system is doomed. It was born of the old economic and social conditions, and will be killed by the railway, commerce, and a money economy. When the citizens are protected by the State and a demand for labour enables them to earn their own maintenance, free labour puts an end to the status of slavery.

W. F. H.

TIMELY WARNING TO NATIVE AGITATORS.

The native agitator in South Africa is rapidly develop blacks and whites will involve very serious consequences to ng into a menace, and we are glad to see that himself. will no doubt choose his language with a little overnment has awakened to the fact and ta more discretion and pursue tactics more in keeping with o curb the activities of this particular type of nd taken steps the principles of sane trade unionism. There is not the gentry. For months past black extremists ha e of loquacious slightest objection to any native organisation which seeks ng the country ing disaffection among th slightest objection to any native organisation which seeks They have undoubtedly wrought considerable h the apparent reluctance on the part of the aut take any action against them has been interpre sign of weakness, and prob ly had a most inj fluence on large numbers of natives who hither the white man grievance against the administration of the w It is well, therefore, that the Government sho it perfectly clear to those natives with rev tendencies that they will not be permitted t their nefarious propaganda with impunity. I decided to bring the Native Administration A into almost immediate operation. This will have effect on the native agitator, who, now that that any attempt on his part to ferment unre

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With regard to the external slave trade there has, of course, never been any compromise. The colony was founded for the suppression of the transmarine trade and to be a refuge for its victims, but it was openly carried on along the coast for many years after its legal abolition in British territory, and written contracts for the sale and purchase of slaves were entered into and carried out. One of the favourite resorts of the slavers was the stretch of water between Sherbro Island and the mainland, access to which was gained by the Shebar Strait, a channel between the southern end of the island and Turner's Peninsula. This was too shallow for the men-of-war, but the slavers, drawing only a few feet, could run in and lie concealed among the mangroves until their cargoes were collected and brought on board. When the overseas slave trade was finally suppressed the evil was removed into the interior. Until the proclamation of the Protectorate put an end to inter-tribal feuds and wars the interior was kept in a constant turmoil by raids, the main object of which was the capture of slaves, for whom there was always a market, both for home use and for sale to Samory and his Sofas. This traffic kept the country in a state of misery until the establishment of the British protectorate stopped the raids and made the traffic unprofitable by displacing barter by the introduction of coined money and the opening up of communications which gave the people access to markets for their food-crops, produce, and other products of their industries. Before that time slaves had been the currency of the country, passing from hand to hand at prices which fluctuated according to demand and supply. At normal times a slave was the equivalent of £3 in goods, but in times of famine a man-slave was sometimes sold for a bushel of husk rice. The suppression of slave raids was principally due to Captain Copland Crawford, who was stationed at Sulima in command of a small force of armed police, with which he struck terror into the Krubars, or native warriors. His name and reputation as a fighter still survive among the natives with whom he dealt. At the same time the annexation of Samory's territory by the French closed the interior market.

Domestic Slavery.

Domestic slavery, as permitted in the Protectorate, is in quite a different category from the foreign slave trade, whether overseas or to the interior, and has furnished one of the most delicate and difficult problems with which British administrators in West Africa have had to deal. It is an integral element in the constitution of all West African society. Its sudden and arbitrary abolition would be not only largely ineffective but might be injurious to the slaves. As the Bishop points out, "one of the problems which has largely exercised the Legislative Council is how to protect the ancient rights of the people . . . . together with the human rights of the slave himself, and the difficulty sometimes of protecting him when he cannot protect himself as a newly freed man." Domestic slaves are not only well treated but are regarded as members of the family. Indeed, many of them, being born of intercourse between masters and slaves, actually are members of the family, an integral part of it, with a possibility of inheriting the family property. They all know when they are well off, and only the idle and disorderly would take their freedom. On the Gold Coast the chief result of the Slavery Abolition Ordinance of 1874 was a considerable increase of the criminal class. To-day, as the Bishop says, "We are increasingly understanding that great care must be taken not to ride rough-shod over the African and his customs, and while pressing forward all reforms possible, it may sometimes be better to go a little more slowly and cut out the root of evil systems by education in its broadest sense than by short cuts." In this case there is no occasion for hurry, as the system is doomed. It was born of the old economic and social conditions, and will be killed by the railway, commerce, and a money economy. When the citizens are protected by the State and a demand for labour enables them to earn their own maintenance, free labour puts an end to the status of slavery.

W. F. H.

TIMELY WARNING TO NATIVE AGITATORS.

The native agitator in South Africa is rapidly de
ng into a menace, and we are glad to see that the
Government has awakened to the fact and taken
o curb the activities of this particular type of loqu
gentry. For months past black extremists have been
ng the country, creating disaffection among the na
They have undoubtedly wrought considerable harm,
he apparent reluctance on the part of the authori
take any action against them has been interpreted
sign of weakness, and probably had a most injurio
fluence on large numbers of natives who hitherto h
grievance against the administration of the white
It is well, therefore, that the Government should
it perfectly clear to those natives with revolut
tendencies that they will not be permitted to co
their nefarious propaganda with impunity. It has
decided to bring the Native Administration Act,
into almost immediate operation. This will have a sa
effect on the native agitator, who, now that he
that any attempt on his part to ferment unrest be

Race Problem - 1927

Africa

AFRICA NEEDS EDUCATED PHYSICIANS AND TEACHERS

A MACEDONIAN cry for help comes from Africa to save th native people from the ravages of the many diseases t which they are subject. The demand for Negro physician is great, and it is to be hoped that a sufficient supply will be avail able to meet it. That is a big hope when the indisposition of th educated and professional Negro to tear himself away from th allurements of American and European life are considered. And too, ignorance of the educated Negro about Africa and its peopl and their needs, is not the least of the stumbling blocks in the way of furnishing the African people with what they need. If you want to make an American Negro very tired, for example, broach the subject of Africa and its people and their needs to him. He is not interested at all.

We reproduced from the Gold Coast Times in our last issue an article on the needs of the African people for proper medical mer which should have a general appeal. It is true, however, that we have not enough physicians of our own to meet the requirements o the people, but that is largely true because our physicians shun th rural districts and congregate in the large cities, where the return for professional services are greatest, and where all of them do no prosper as they figured they should; but the fact remains that w have physicians, or could prepare them, to meet in part the needy of the Africans, if the disposition to do so were present among ou physicians to furnish it. and we do not think such a disposition exists. It will be a good work to cultivate the necessary disposition —good for our young and aspiring physicians, who are rapidly in creasing in number each year, and good for the needy Africans.

It is planned that in time a well-appointed medical departmen shall be a fact in the educational scheme of the Universal Liberty University on the James River, to help meet the needs of our Africa brothers for educated physicians and experts in other branches o mental and industrial training, but this must be a matter of slov growth, while the need is now and will continue to grow, and ca well be supplied in part from the army of educated Negroes wh are annually graduating from our schools. The question is one tha should command general attention, and we hope that it will.

BROOKLYN EAGLE

JUL 17 1927

NEGROES WORSE OFF IN AFRICA.

"There never lives a slave on British soil" was the proud boast of British philanthropists for centuries, but "British soil, ltd.," was meant. The first speech of William Ewart Gladstone in Parliament was devoted to a defense of slavery in the British West Indies. Today nominal slavery is almost unknown in the colonies Yet Max Yergan, the only negro Y. M. C. A. secretary in his country comes from Capetown to declare to the Women's Foreign Missionary Conference at Northfield that "race prejudices" are "far more acute in South Africa than in the United States."

And it is probably true that where there is a native black population of 5,500,000 and a Caucasian population of 1,500,000, fear enters into the problem of race relations. Academically the blacks ought to be educated to economic equality. Practically, if they become more and more efficient industrially, they cannot be kept out of politics. Hence the law actually enforced to prevent negroes from entering skilled industries in which they would compete with white men Hence the agitation for a "master less man" law on old Elizabethan lines, which would prevent free movement of laborers. Hence also the attempt to cut the right of the blacks to vote directly on the election of government officials.

Even slavery didn't bar negroes from skilled mechanical arts. As Albert Gallatin Brown, Senator from Mississippi, said on the floor of the Senate (February 20, 1854):

> Nothing is more common in the South than to see the master and his slave working together at the same trade. And the man who would breathe a suspicion that the master had sunk one hair's breadth in the social scale in consequence of this kind of contact would by general consent be written down an ass.

And since slavery disappeared the negro everywhere has been as free as a white man in all America to learn and practice a skilled trade. This is what is forbidden to him in South Africa. He has a right to feel that under Boer and labor union pres

sure South Africa is going distinctly backward. And in this excluded Hindus, also British subjects, will agree with him.

The Meaning of a Mandate.

NOBODY could read the message from our Paris correspondent which we published yesterday without the gravest misgiving. We speak of the Mandate system, inverting the famous story about the Third Estate in the early days of the French Revolution, that yesterday it was everything and that to-morrow it is in danger of being nothing. Yesterday it was everything, for when the Covenant was drafted the Mandate looked like the introduction into the government of the world of a principle of infinite promise. For the first time in history it was agreed by the victors in a war that the territories which passed to them should not be treated as their private property. The new principle laid it down that those conquered territories which, for one reason or another, needed the government or the advice of the white races should be governed or advised under certain conditions. Under those conditions the particular Power which took a Mandate for this or that territory acknowledged its responsibility to the League of Nations. Article 22 did not merely declare that there should be applied to such colonies and territories "the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation." It declared that "securities for the performance of this trust shall be embodied in the Covenant." Those securities were provided by setting up a Permanent Commission with the right and the duty to "receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the Mandates."

If the chief Powers among the Allies had been in earnest in giving this new principle a fair chance they would have been scrupulous in keeping to the spirit and the letter of the Covenant. Unhappily, neither France nor England has behaved in this manner. Although article 22 expressly forbids the military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of the territory, the terms of the French Mandate for the Cameroons and French Togoland allow such troops to be used by the Mandatory Power in the event of a general war outside the mandated territory. This was one of the departures from the spirit and letter of the Covenant which weakened the system in its early days During the last year Sir AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN has, we are sorry to say been engaged in what can only be called a frontal attack on the system For the system depends on the power of the Mandates Commission to do its work of investigation thoroughly and effectively and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the Mandates. The present Government appears to be chiefly anxious to restrict the rights and power of the Commission, and in pursuit of this object Sir AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN protested at Geneva last year against the questions that the Commission wished to put to the Mandatory Powers. He followed up this protest by a tart memorandum last November in which he accused the Permanent Commission of a misconception of its duties and responsibilities. The nature and range of those duties and responsibilities are now, as our Paris correspondent showed, under active discussion, and if the view of the British Government should unfortunately prevail the power of the League will sooner or later become a mere shadow and any ambitious or unscrupulous State will be able to do what it pleases with its ward. The Permanent Commission is fighting to save the great reform that triumphed on paper when the Covenant was drawn up. When the Power which takes the lead in attacking the Permanent Commission happens to have several wards it occupies a specially invidious position.

UP-TO-DATE

By MARY CHURCH TERRELL

A few days ago a man died in England in whom our group should be very much interested indeed. It was Sir Harry Johnston who spent much of his life in Africa. I do not claim that he was always an angel in dealing with the natives. Some times he seemed to rule with unnecessary severity. But, in the main, he was kindly disposed toward the natives, entered sympathetically into their life, learned their language and tried to fit British administration of their country to their customs, traditions and needs.

I met Sir Harry Johnston when I was in England right after the World War. He was president of the African Society at that time I attended a dinner in London given by that organization at which he presided and I heard him address the National Liberal Club which was the largest club in that big city. Sir Harry Johnston was interested in the colored people of this country and for that reason I had the pleasure of hearing him talk about Africa and the Africans several times. I prize highly a book he gave me with his signature.

If anybody who reads these lines ever happen to receive an invitation to a dinner given by the African Society, when he is in London I hope he will understand better than I did of whom that organization is composed. When Mr. John H. Harris, who for many years has been the secretary of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, which as its name indicates tries to secure justice for the Africans, told me that the African Society would give a dinner the next night and invited me to be present, I was glad to accept. The dinner cost $5.00 a plate, but that seemed very cheap to me, when I thought what a wonderful opportunity I would have to meet face to face all those fine Africans of whom the society was undoubtedly composed. With that great expectation in my mind, imagine my surprise when I reached the hotel to see nothing but Lords and Ladies, the latter displaying themselves in purple and fine linen, so to speak About 250 were present at that dinner and no more than 5 were Africans. The Society numbers among its members many people of high degree, some of whom have doubtless made fortunes in the dark continent. I met Sir Hugh Clifford, who was Governor of the Gold Coast at that dinner and Lady Clifford, were very human and gracious to this African representative from the United States.

Some day I should like to give a short account of the splendid work which the Anti-Slavery Society has done to protect Africans from the brutality of British subjects.

GOLD COAST LETTER.

Cocoa Buying.

An article in the "Gold Coast Times" on "How Cocoa-buyers incur debts," shows how necessary it is that both farmers and purchasers should evolve a system of marketing that eliminates the man of straw who all too often is the sub-sub-agent carrying out the actual purchasing in the cocoa industry. Besides temptation to embezzlement of advances and a tendency to bid beyond the price authorised, the small agent is often tempted to exaggerate his stock in his return to his employer, in the hope of buying later, at a lower price, a form of dealing in "futures" which at the best would be rank gambling, and at the worst becomes fraud. Since all these risks are "considered in the price," it is evident that farmers would gain by any form of co-operative marketing that enabled them to deal direct with buyers of repute, and this without waiting for the introduction of any form of produce inspection.

The Legislative Council.

At the meeting of the Gold Coast Legislative Council on June 14, the Acting Governor, Mr. J. Maxwell, approved without comment the resignation from the Council of the Omanhene of Akwapim, whose people have decided against representation on the Provincial Council and in the Legislative Chamber. The main business completed was the passing of the Municipal Amendment Ordinance, providing for the reorganisation of the Town Councils and for the election of municipal representatives to the Legislative Council. A number of amendments were suggested by the unofficial members, without result, the Bill being passed practically as presented. The principal amendments suggested would have had the effect of making the official majority in the town councils dependent on the casting vote of the chairman, a system which, whatever variety it might offer in the opportunity for surprise votes, would not be conducive to ordered government.

Land Regulation in the Northern Territories.

By an Ordinance which comes into effect from the beginning of next year, the system of land tenure in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast is made very similar to that of Northern Nigeria, for all land, occupied or otherwise, and not already covered by a valid title, is declared public land, and under the control of the Governor, who in exercising his powers is to take notice of local customary law. Rights of occupancy will be limited to 99 years and areas of not more than 5,000 acres (or, in a town, 5 acres), the occupier agreeing to indemnify all whom the Government holds to be injured by his occupancy. With regard to rents collected, half is to be paid to the local chief and half used for the benefit of the town, so that there should be no difficulty in convincing the people that the measure is not a pretext for raising further revenue.

LABOUR AND A NEW ERA IN AFRICA

A FRESH STANDPOINT NECESSARY.

A new era is swiftly entering into existence throughout West and Central Africa. Large rail, dock, and industrial developments are being undertaken, and such development calls for a tremendous amount of labour. In some areas a certain amount of local labour can be recruited (or conscripted) for local requirements, but for large developments labour has to be raked up from any area, and is obtainable only with great difficulty, and practically never without a certain amount of pressure. The races are few and far between who choose to leave their country and proceed to a foreign part, however attractive the monetary inducement.

West Africans have not inherited, and to my opinion never will, adopt the Western and Eastern peoples' tendency to save money for old age retirement. They are too wealthy, naturally, and the only attraction money has for the majority, is to acquire for their offspring education, realised by them, in the march of the times, as essential; acquiring the necessary garments, etc., as steadily introduced with the advancing stages of European civilisation; after these requirements are fulfilled the interest in money ends, for the majority.

Now, at the Gold Coast, the idea of all the younger generation is to become doctors, lawyers, or clerks, and there is a distaste for manual labour, and no particular liking for training as artisans—bricklayers, carpenters, mechanics, etc. This, when I was at the Gold Coast, was obviously due to the lack of interest the Protestant missionaries and the Government Education Department took in such training. It was not so with the Catholic missions, which had a system of compulsory all-round training, which allowed youths to specialise in any branch in which they excelled, and this system applies throughout Togoland, French Dahomey, and Cameroon, to the Belgian Congo. Verb. sap.

At the Gold Coast, unskilled labour is difficult to obtain, and, where obtainable, is expensive compared with other Colonies, which vary, from the inflated prices paid at the Gold Coast, to the pauper wages of the Congo.

As the industrial upheaval throughout West Africa can only be accomplished with the assistance of manual labour, I venture to suggest it is time the question was taken up seriously by a West African Government conference, assisted by the Paramount Chiefs, which could definitely ascertain the amount of labour available, willingness to migrate for temporary employment, and the standard fixed rate of wages to be paid. The report of such conference should be put into book form and be available for purchase for anyone interested, thereby enabling people interested in the development of the Colonies to see how they stand on this important matter. Such a conference would be of untold benefit to the community and intending investors alike, and by such fixed agreements the indigenous population would be protected.

Another important point in the development of West Africa is that labour-saving devices should be introduced wherever possible—every individual Native is a natural farmer, and his recruitment for labour should be saved as much as possible, to enable him to develop his land.

Roads are a first necessity for labour-saving, and whilst big efforts are being made in this direction in the French and British Colonies, there is plenty of room for improvement, and the lack of attention to this important development in the Belgian Congo is appalling.

In regions where there are no roads or navigable waterways, transport of all merchandise and produce has to be undertaken by head-loads—each of a maximum of 60 lb. loads—38 men per ton—and throughout the interior of the Congo, outside waterways, this is the only transport available, and the same system applies in certain regions on the Coast. It is only natural labour for transport is difficult to obtain. Trekking two, three, or four days, carrying a head-load of 60 lbs. weight, is uninteresting work, and is unproductive, and it is making a human being a beast of burden. How distasteful this labour is to an African is easily ascertained. If you inquire at any village for porters or carriers, none are available unless under Government pressure.

How labour is wasted through lack of roads can readily be noted.

Take an agent proceeding on inspection of a station 100 miles from his centre—three days' journey. He requires eight hammock carriers, four provision carriers for eight days' food, two bed and bedding carriers, four tent carriers, and four reserve = 24 daily men for eight days. Assuming a road was in existence suitable for a car or lorry, the journey could be done in three days, without any labour except personal servants, and, possibly, motor driver. Such journeys as the foregoing are of daily occurrence in the Congo, and occur frequently throughout the Coast.

Because labour is comparatively cheap, the introduction of labour-saving devices is not given enough thought, and, the non-development of roads—particularly in the Congo—is because merchants do not give sufficient support to the Government. After all, the roads are primarily for the benefit of the merchant, and, if their construction and maintenance call for increased taxation, the merchant should assist, even to the initial grant of funds, if necessary.

The labour used as carriers and porters could be utilised on road construction.

The French have the lead as far as roads are concerned throughout West Africa, with the British a poor second, and the Belgians well in the rear. The French have a road tax, and, in addition, have a system of remitting a certain amount of head tax for road work done. This system has excellent results.

Labour in West and Central Africa has to be carefully studied, if, as education enlightens the population, manual labour is to be found, and it is time the Government and merchants got down to facts for the improvement of the lot of the manual worker. There is room for improvement in many ways.

OBSERVANDA.

Nigeria, 1927.

GOLD COAST LETTER.

The Sane View of Segregation.

Not unnaturally, the nightly withdrawal of Europeans from certain localities owing to yellow fever has revived the discussion of segregation. Views have progressed since the days where mention of segregation was received as an insult, as may be seen from the following extract from the Gold Coast Times," a doughty opponent of invidious racial distinctions :—

"Our White friends can segregate themselves if they prefer to live apart. It is perhaps better so, as the two races have different characteristics, and the one should not thrust itself upon the other. We must have our dances and other pastimes, and there is that venerable institution, the funeral custom, to maintain, and in all this we should not like to make ourselves a nuisance to our White neighbours. But, while conceding to them the right to live by themselves, we insist upon enjoying equal benefits with them in the matter of sanitary improvements. This is not only elementary justice, but it is desirable in the interests of the White residents themselves.

The Native Administration Ordinance.

The destoolment of the Ohin of Winneba, toward the end of July, has been hailed, like the result of a by-election in England, as "the people speaking, and that with no uncertain voice," against the Native Administration Ordinance. It remains to be seen whether the destoolment will be accepted by Government as carried out in accordance with custom, for it was largely the result of propaganda by educated "young-men," but the event shows that unless the benefits of the new measure are explained clearly by the Chiefs, the people may be easily turned against the whole Constitution. The Ohin was one of the original sponsors of the Ordinance, which greatly weakens any claim the act might have had to be the voice of the people, but if Chiefs can be deposed for disobedience to the commands of their Aman, it is hard to see how they can ride rough-shod over the wishes of their people when they sit in the Provincial or Legislative Councils—positions which they occupy solely by virtue of their other offices. The event at Winneba will best be regarded as a test case as to the responsibility of a Native ruler to his Oman for acts performed in the Provincial and Legislative Councils.

The Board of Education.

At the last meeting of the Gold Coast Board of Education 14 schools were added to and six removed from the assisted list, the net additions being nine Ewe Mission Schools, one Wesleyan, and one Ahmadiyya, and the removals one Roman Catholic and two Presbyterian. The grants earned and approved amounted to £30,887, of which the Presbyterian mission received £11,461, the Wesleyans £8,282, the Catholics £4,106, the Ewe Mission £3,188, and the A.M.E.Z. Mission £1,079. Grants to teachers under various regulations amounted to £7,994. Under the new system the grants to schools will be based on salaries paid to teachers, which is the logical outcome of the view that quality of teaching in a school is more important than numbers. The hardest point of the new system is that a number of scholars have to be turned away to bring the totals down in accordance with teaching capacity, a step which might with more justice be effected by allowing "supernumerary" scholars to finish their course and by limiting the number of younger entrants.

Nigerians at Achimota.

In response to an invitation given by the Rev. A. G. Fraser when he visited Zara, 14 students from the C. M. S. school there visited Achimota in July. The boys inspected the Gold Coast Hospital and the Kibi Trade School, and were present at the arrival of Sir A. R. Slater. They proved themselves expert at hockey, not only winning four out of five matches played at the Gold Coast, but also beating a team of Europeans at Lagos. Special travel facilities were accorded to them by Messrs. Elder Dempster and the Nigerian Railway, and on their way north again they broke their journey to visit the C. M. S. Training College at Oyo. The Rev. W. Bullen, who was in charge of the party, reports that the tour was a most successful one.

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Africa

NOTES AT Random

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(By "P")

The callousness of the Basutoland Administration to public criticism either in the National Council or in the Press, is a by-word. The cause for this is not far to seek. The blame can be traced right back to Downing Street. Owing perhaps to pressure of work and greater and more urgent demands for special attention to affairs in more important Dominions and Dependencies of the Empire, Downing Street has thought the policy of trusting "the man on the spot" a more convenient one for the unimportant and the lesser Dependencies and Native States because it takes away much of the worry that would be theirs did they devote as much attention to the affairs of these lesser Dependencies as they did to those of the greater. Therefore the laxness on the part of Downing Street has bred contempt in "the men on the spot" for public criticism, so much so that they have come to regard that every act they do is above criticism from any one who does not belong to the circle. It is only on very rare occasions that through the kind offices of some unkown well wisher that a paragraph detailing the grievances of inhabitants of some obscure part of the British Native States, appears in one of the big English dailies which draws the attention of one of the Members of Parliament who puts a question to the Dominions Secretary only to find he is either not in possession of full details or that he knows absolutely nothing about it at all. Then and then only as the result of that hint Downing Street wakes up to the fact they had only cursorily glanced over the Annual Report by the Administration of No Man's Land or had only read the covering letter from the Governnor or the High Commissioner as the case may be. Then a tightening of the reins takes place and 'the men on the spot get pulled up a bit and for some time afterwards they carry on warily until they see that Downing Street has again relaxed her vigilance and is trusting in "the men on the spot." This reminds me of the reforms that were passed by the National Council as the result of the protest raised by the Basutoland Progressive Association against the injustice perpetrated at Native Courts and the slavish manner in which the chiefs treated the people. Those reforms lasted for as long as the sky was still overcast and there was a probability of the storm still breaking out. To day we are no further than where we were in 1921. For callousness to public criticism and disregard for grievances the Administration is no better than the chiefs. The Council has come to be regarded as a mere talking-shop and the Press as the organ of agitators and extremists. But we shall see how long this state of affairs shall last when weeding time comes.

It is now time to round up tax defaulters either to seize their stock or to arrest those who have no stock and bring them before the magistrate. Perhaps this year the irregularities which were done last year of seizing stock belonging to labourers who were still at work under contract on the Mines or of those who have deserted their wives and families for many years without supporting them will not be done. For it is altogether unjust and unreasonable to deprive a poor deserted woman of the last means she can resort to when it comes to the pinch to save herself and the children from hunger or cold, and also to seize a man's beast because his son who is on the Mines is in arrear with his tax. Both these defaulters can be laid by the heels if the government will do as they know what to do in such instances instead of making other people to suffer for the faults of others whose whereabouts can easily be found. There is one thing I heard of for the first time the other day. Some old men were brought up before the Assistant Commissioner asking exemption from tax. He looked them over and then started asking each one of them whether he had any stock and how many? Others much younger yet old enough to be exempted said they had none, while others including men much older than the others said they had stock and gave approximate numbers. The Assistant Commissioner then said that those who owned stock could not be exempted as they were in a position to pay. I quite agree with the view taken by the A.C. but unforunately the law does not say that. Had the government wanted to tax wealth they should never have agreed to reduce the number of huts taxable. As it is the chiefs pay by far less tax than the commoners and yet they live on the free labuor of these people. Then there are small stock owners in the mountains who benefit more out of the land than those who own no small stock or own a limited number. At present they are taxed a farthing; why not increase it by another farthing? If a man have got to be taxed because he owns stock even though he is old and not able to work, then in all fairness people should be taxed according to their means, the rich more and the poor less or nothing if he owns nothing and even has no land to cultivate as is usually the case.

Last year there was a general stir in the territory. It was said the Government wanted to know what has become of the young Basuto who have gone through their course at the Industrial School in Maseru. Information was supplied, others were found to have left the country as they could not obtain work here; others had drifted back because they could get no employer for the trade they had learnt; and others had taken to other fields of labour that they could lay their hands on. Masonry and carpentry were the favourite trades that were learnt and there was any number of masons and carpenters turned out every year from the School and these disappear like the morning vapour because they cannot obtain employment. But that is the strangest part of it. Every day in the year there is always some government buildings in the course of erection or some masonry work of some kind being done also carpentry work. The government buildings are given under contract to European contractors from the Union and they invariably bring their boer stone-cutters and dressers with them as well as carpenters. The other smaller erections like sheds, summer houses etc., etc, are done by prison labour even the erection of watercourses. Therefore it will be seen that there is no work for these journeymen with the government. Most of the traders also do not employ them, they prefer employing white labour in preference to Basuto labour. Even in such public works that do not require any special training, the government prefers to relief the Union of her surplus poor whites by providing jobs for them which could easily be performed by intelligent Basuto with credit to themselves and a saving to the government that the government will not want anywhere but labour superviors only because if they would employ the latter they would spare among the intelligent Basuto

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NOTES AT Random

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(By "P")

The callousness of the Basutoland Administration to public criticism either in the National Council or in the Press, is a by-word. The cause for this is not far to seek. The blame can be traced right back to Downing Street. Owing perhaps to the pressure of work and greater and more urgent demands for special attention to affairs in more important Dominions and Dependencies of the Empire, Downing Street has thought the policy of trusting "the man on the spot" a more convenient one for the unimportant and the lesser Dependencies and Native States because it takes away much of the worry that would be theirs did they devote as much attention to the affairs of these lesser Dependencies as they did to those of the greater. Therefore the laxness on the part of Downing Street has bred contempt in "the men on the spot" for public criticism, so much so that they have come to regard that every act they do is above criticism from any one who does not belong to the circle. It is only on very rare occasions that through the kind offices of some unkown well wisher that a paragraph detailing the grievances of inhabitants of some obscure part of the British Native States, appears in one of the big English dailies which draws the attention of one of the Members of Parliament who puts a question to the Dominions Secretary only to find he is either not in possession of full details or that he knows absolutely nothing about it at all. Then and then only as the result of that hint Downing Street wakes up to the fact they had only cursorily glanced over the Annual Report by the Administration of No Man's Land or had only read the covering letter from the Governor or the High Commissioner as the case may be. Then a tightening of the reins takes place and 'the men on the spot get pulled up a bit and for some time afterwards they carry on warily until they see that Downing Street has again relaxed her vigilance and is trusting in "the men on the spot.' This reminds me of the reforms that were passed by the National Council as the result of the protest raised by the Basutoland Progressive Association against the injustice perpetrated at Native Courts and the slavish manner in which the chiefs treated the people. Those reforms lasted for as long as the sky was still overcast and there was a probability of the storm still breaking out. To day we are no further than where we were in 1921. For callousness to public criticism and disregard for grievances the Administration is no better than the chiefs, The Council has come to be regarded as a mere talking-shop and the Press as the organ of agitators and extremists But we shall see how long this state of affairs shall last when weeding time comes.

It is now time to round up tax defaulters either to seize their stock or to arrest those who have no stock and bring them before the magistrate. Perhaps this year the irregularities which were done last year of seizing stock belonging to labourers who were still at work under contract on the Mines or of those who have deserted their wives and families for many years without reporting them will not be done. For it is altogether unjust and unreasonable to deprive a poor deserted woman of the last means she can resort to when it comes to the pinch to save herself and the children from hunger or cold, and also to seize a man's beast because his son who is in the Mines is in arrear with his tax. Both these defaulters can be laid by the heels if the government will do as they know what to do in such instances instead of making other people to suffer for the faults of others whose whereabouts can easily be found. There is one thing I heard of for the first time the other day. Some old men were brought up before the Assistant Commissioner asking for exemption from tax. He looked them over and then started asking each one of them whether he had any cattle and how many? Others much younger yet old enough to be exempted said they had none, while others including men much older than the others said they had stock and gave approximate numbers. The Assistant Commissioner then said that those who owned stock could not be exempted as they were in a position to pay. I quite agree with the view taken by the A.C. but unfortunately the law does not say that. Had the government wanted to tax wealth they should never have agreed to reduce the number of huts taxable. As it is the chiefs pay by far less tax than the commoners and yet they live on the free labour of these people. Then there are small stock owners in the mountains who benefit more out of the land than those who own no small stock or own a limited number. At present they are taxed a farthing; why not increase it by another farthing? If a man have got to be taxed because he owns stock even though he is old and not able to work, then in all fairness people should be taxed according to their means, the rich more and the poor less or nothing if he owns nothing and even has no land to cultivate as is usually the case.

Last year there was a general stir in the territory. It was said the Government wanted to know what has become of the young Basuto who have gone through their course at the Industrial Schools in Maseru. Information was supplied; others were found to have left the country as they could not obtain work here; others had drifted back because they could get no employer for the trade they had learnt; and others had taken to other fields of labour that they could lay their hands on. Masonry and carpentry were the favourite trades that were learnt and there was any number of masons and carpenters turned out every year from the School and these disappear like the morning vapour because they cannot obtain employment. But that is the strangest part of it! Every day in the year there is always some government buildings in the course of erection or some masonry work of some kind being done also carpentry work. The government buildings are given under contract to European contractors from the Union and they invariably bring their boer masons as well as carpenters. The other smaller erections like sheds, summer houses etc., etc; are done by prison labour even the erection of water-courses. Therefore it will be seen that there is no work for these journeymen with the government. Most of the traders also do not employ them, they prefer employing white labour in preference to Basuto labour. Even in such public works that do not require any special training, the government prefers to relief the Union of her surplus poor whites by providing jobs for them which could easily be performed by intelligent Basuto with credit to themselves and a saving to the government as it would appear that the government did not want white men but labour and as masons only because if they were the former they too plenty and spare among the intelligent Basuto

Basutoland Council.

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MESSAGE BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE HIGH COMMISSIONER ON THE OCCASION OF THE OPENING OF THE TWENTY SECOND SESSION OF THE BASUTOLAND NATIONAL COUNCIL.

I greet the Members of the Council on the occasion of the opening of its twenty-second Session.

2. I have seen and carefully read the report of your discussions during the last meeting of the Council.

3. I regret to learn from reports which have been received by me that my message to you of last year dealing with the Administration of Justice in your Courts, has not met with the response I had anticipated. I feel that the time has now arrived for the consideration of such improvements in your methods of dealing with the common people's complaints as are more compatible with the prevailing system of administration in Basutoland and am requesting the Resident Commissioner to prepare and lay before you during the course of next year suggestions for the reorganisation of the existing procedure.

3. I have heard with much pleasure of the good progress which has already been made in the work of eradicating the disease of scab. I understand that the districts near the borders of the Territory are no longer a danger to the neighbouring farms, and it has now become necessary for the Administration to consider the extension of dipping into other parts of Basutoland with a view to the complete eradication of the disease throughout the Territory at an early date and in order that the clear flocks may be kept clean and the danger of re-infection removed. For this work it will be necessary to build more dipping tanks and to provide increased quantities of dipping material in addition to employing more men to carry out the work. As the council is aware, the expense of dipping sheep in Basutoland is met out of funds which the Administration obtains from the wool export duty, and in this respect our practice differs from that followed elsewhere in South Africa where the owner of sheep has to provide dipping tanks and also to pay for the dipping material and the wages of the men who do the work. I know that the Basuto have learned from the experience of the last few years of the value of dipping sheep, how it cleans the wool, thereby adding to its value, and improves the condition of the sheep. In order to provide dipping facilities for those parts of the Territory where they do not now exist the Government proposes to increase the wool export duty from one farthing to one half-penny per pound. I believe that this very small increase will not seriously affect the sheep owner's gains from the sale of his wool, and as you know, clean wool brings a better return than wool which is spoiled by the presence of Scab. The results which have already been achieved must encourage us to renewed diligence and effort. I feel confident that the council and the people of Basutoland will support and help the Resident Commissioner and his officers in this matter and I hope that we may soon be able to say that so far as Scab is concerned Basutoland has put its house in order and that the flocks of sheep and goats throughout the Territory are clean.

3. The progress made in Agriculture by certain of the more progressive Chiefs and people has given me great pleasure but it is my earnest desire to stimulate you to greater efforts in this direction, and hope to hear in the course of next year of wide spread enthusiasm throughout your Nation in the endeavour to learn the most up to date methods of growing and cultivating your crops

6. In conclusion I wish you all prosperity in the coming season and trust that your deliberations in the Council will be carried out with due decorum and for the good of the Nation.

ATHLONE
High Commissioner.

The Basutoland National Council.

(Continued)
12th October 1927.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Chief Sekhonyana, they all admitted that those advices of both Mr. Verney and Mr Wacher where good He did not think they were going to take over a day on that subject. The Resident Commissioner told them that he did not intend to make law. He was giving them advice only. The advice was directed to the Paramount Chief. The Paramount Chief was in their midst through his representative chief Makhaola. He was going to get full report. He was not prepared to advise the Paramount Chief to remove the villages that were already placed on the mountain area. He would advise him to take care that new settlers did not plough on the sides of the mountains.

Chief Makhaola thanked the Resident Commissioner for the advices given them by those government officials. Those chiefs who spoke before him had expressed his thoughts It was true that ploughing on the mountain sides spoiled pasture. There was nothing wrong if those officers made their advices to the council. That council was going to advise the Paramount Chief accordingly. He suggested that members should be deputed by that council at once, to go and convey that advice to the Paramount Chief.

The Resident Commissioner said they were pleased to hear what was said by the members of the council in that matter There were some who saw the danger of ploughing on the mountain slopes, and they added that villages on the mountain areas hould be removed. It was not their object that the Paramount Chief shou l remove those villages. Cr. Lelok said that matter was beyond the council's right. It was the matter for the Paramount Chief alone. Chief Sekhonyana had ably replied to that point, when he said the Paramount Chief was there through his representative. Chief Makhaola spoke wisely when he said messengers should be appointed to go and report that matter to the Paramount Chief. Some said people removed to the mountains because the lower districts were full. That was true, but there should be care how those villages were placed; and that no ploughing should be done on the mountain slopes Then the Resident Commissioner read to the council a letter from chief Jonathane which he had addressed to the Resident Commissioner and the Paramount Chief. He said he was going to keep that letter pending the deliberations on the laws he had proposed to make for the Administration of Justice in Native Courts.

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Africa

LIBERIA'S PRESIDENT IN LONDON.

It is with undisguised pleasure that we can already describe the visit of His Excellency President King during this week to London as being an unqualified success. The cordial and sincere spirit of friendship shown to our distinguished guest by all sections of the community with which he has been brought in touch since his arrival last Tuesday is convincing proof that President King's sincere sentiments of goodwill to Great Britain and her people have been fully appreciated and recognised. From the time the Earl of Ducan bade him welcome on behalf of His Gracious Majesty at Victoria, last Tuesday evening, there has been a hectic week of exciting engagements, all of the greatest interest and most of them under the most influential auspices. The early hours of Wednesday morning were filled by visits to England's greatest Shrine, Westminster Abbey, where at the tomb of the Unknown Warrior and on the Cenotaph near by, Liberia's President laid beautiful wreaths on behalf of his Government and people in remembrance of the dark days of Armageddon. Visits to the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House, to the House of Commons and House of Lords were followed on Wednesday evening by an impressive banquet given by Mr. Hyslop Bell and his colleagues on the board of the Niger Co., when several very important speeches were made, which will be found on another page of this issue. Thursday provided a very full programme in an inspection of the great new arterial road to the east, under the guidance of Sir Wilfred Ashley. A luncheon with the Lord Mayor and Trinity House Members at the Mansion House was succeeded by an afternoon at Imber Park, Thames Ditton, when the great Police Sports and Horse Show were, according to the President's own opinion, a delightful and most unique experience, under the expert guidance of General Horwood and the Earl of Lonsdale, a most interesting afternoon being spent. In the evening the Liberian Minister gave an official banquet at the Legation. Yesterday (Friday) the President was received by His Majesty King Fuad of Egypt, followed by an official visit to Sir Austen Chamberlain at the Foreign Office. The subsequent Government luncheon at Claridge's, at which Sir Austen presided, was a most enjoyable and very informal function. During the afternoon His Majesty the King received His Excellency at Buckingham Palace; and he was taken to the Royal Garden Party, a function which is in full progress as this brief review of the week is going to press. Last evening the directors of the Bank of British West Africa entertained our eminent visitor at the Carlton Hotel to a banquet, at which Lord Selborne presided, with a subsequent visit of the whole party to the Palladium, where the Liberian National Flag and Anthem played an important role. To-day's luncheon by Messrs. Elder Dempster, and to-morrow's AFRICAN WORLD river trip from Windsor to Marlow, with a visit to the beautiful home of Lord Desborough at Taplow Court, will conclude a wonderful week's programme. All that need be said to-day—as we are publishing a complete record of the Presidential visit in next Saturday's West African Supplement—is that everyone who has had the privilege of meeting the President of Liberia is delighted with his genial, cultured personality, and that the excellent personal impression created by His Excellency has created a renewed and warm interest in the metropolis of the British Empire in the progress and future of his country. On the other hand, we are not breaking a confidence when we state that President King has openly expressed a very warm desire to work in much closer contact with his allied friends in Europe and America, so as to accentuate the development of his own land on sound lines—a policy which has considerably impressed the highest official, financial, and commercial circles in London. Truly, there is to-day a bright prospect in store for Liberia, and the gates are wide open to British enterprise in friendly competition with others. The opportunity long desired by us has come. If President King shows that his utterances in London during the week are followed by reciprocative official measures to encourage those who are preparing to invest capital on the largest scale in developing Liberia, his name will be blessed by generations to come in the Republic, which next Tuesday celebrates the 80th anniversary of its independence, and is to-day watched with sympathetic interest by the whole world.

PRESIDENT KING'S VISIT.

IN another column we bring to a close our account of the week's doings in London during the visit of the President of Liberia. Perhaps we should say 'part of the visit," for later in the year his Excellency (accompanied this time, it is hoped, by Mrs. King) is to come among us again, but this time at Liverpool, where among shipowners, merchants and bankers the traditional of hospitality to distinguished people from West Africa is so firmly established that the President is likely to have at least as strenuous a call upon his powers of reception, in every sense, as he had during his visit to the capital of the Empire.

Several points not without importance ought to be made clear by what happened during the visit to London—a visit, from all accounts, without hitch or suggestion of hitch. One point worth careful attention in Liberia, by those who form the backbone of the President's support, is that there is a real desire in this country to see Liberia flourish more and more; and a conviction that, to the profit of both countries, an ever-increasing trade can be carried on between Liberia and Great Britain. President King has shown, not merely in specific utterance, but by the whole tendency of his speeches, his grasp of the basic considerations that no country can hope to improve its position unless it honours external and internal obligations, enacts just laws and administers them faithfully, and produces more than it requires for its own mere subsistence from day to day. The President's acceptance and assertion of such principles reveals part of the secret of his success in dealing with and keeping himself at the head of his people. It follows that those popular leaders upon whom he relies in Liberia share his endorsement of such principles, and, therefore, we may hope for gradual increase in British-Liberian trade.

There are those who make light of such proceedings as those of the past fortnight in which President King has been the central figure; but we are not of that number. The people of all parts of Africa, singularly hospitable themselves, though often with resources of the poorest, have long memories, and President King and those associated with him in Liberia will long retain the pleasantest impressions of the London week, and of the spontaneity and sincerity of the welcome. Banking, shipping and mercantile corporations connected with the West Coast came forward with a programme happily conceived and gracefully carried out. Not only so, but other sections of the community, not directly connected with West Africa, were prompt in seizing and making the happiest use of the opportunity. This applies all round, from their Majesties downwards. A striking illustration was the episode at the Palladium Theatre, when several thousands of Londoners, a sort of cross-section of our population, probably not two per cent. of whom know or care where Liberia is, on the President's visit, without request from anyone, rose and remained standing during the playing of his national anthem. A simple thing; but one of those acts which show that the British have the Imperial instinct. And it was in keeping with all else during the visit. What, for instance, could have been more courteous or more really helpful than what was done by the Ministry of Transport? But indeed the visit was all of a piece.

LAW REPORT.

PRIVY COUNCIL.—A GOLD COAST LAND APPEAL.

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An appeal as to title to land beside the Volta river was opened on July 19 before the Privy Council, consisting of Viscount Haldane, Mr. Justice Duff and Sir Adrian Knox.

On November 7, 1924, the Full Session of the Supreme Court of the Gold Coast Colony dismissed an appeal by Tetteh Animle II, acting Manche of Osudoku, from a non-suiting judgment of the Divisional Court of the Colony in an action, claiming title to these lands, which he brought against Theophilus Kwabla Otibo, of Krobo, representative of the family of Attah Abblah and the Hon. Emmanuel Mate Kole, Konor of Manya Krobo.

In Tetta Animle II's appeal to the Privy Council from the decision of the Full Court, his case was presented by Mr. H. du Parcq, K.C., and Mr. W. T. Monckton, and the respondents were represented by Mr. W. H. Stoker, K.C., and Mr. F. S. Dove. Mr. F. S. Dove is son of Mr. Frans Dove, of Accra, who was counsel for Emmanuel Mate Kole in the courts below. Mr. Frans Dove was also present and heard the proceedings before the Privy Council.

The appellant objected to the conclusion of the courts that the evidence he called did not prove his case that the disputed lands were attached to the Osodoku Stool, and he further complained that Chief Justice Sir Philip Crampton Smyly, who tried the action originally, ruled out judgment and proceedings in two other cases which were tendered, and then let himself be influenced by them. The Full Court had decided that the Chief Justice did nothing of the kind, but acted on the evidence before him. The appellant also suggested that the trial judge was influenced by views formed by Mr. Hull, referee in 1894 in Avuada v. Tibu and others, as to the credibility of individual witnesses.

The plaintiff-appellant's claim, after it had undergone amendment, was in effect to land at Volta district bound by the Volta river on the north, on the south by Tsoyumtso, on the east by Lomé creek and the road by Yo Nwa, or Osudoku to Basaki Valley, where a tree was marked, and on the west by the Okoi stream. The respondents asserted ownership, Mate Kole against both the plaintiff and Otibo. The cases, evidence and judgments, which the trial judge was said to have rejected and then wrongfully applied, were in Avuada v. Tibu, just referred to, and Lassidji v. Attah Abblah.

The appellant said that in the action an old "linguist," or confidential officer, gave the boundaries of the appellant's predecessor's lands, and was corroborated (a) as to the boundary with the Aklades at Okoi stream, by the mother of the Chief of the Aklades who had the Stool of the Aklades in her charge for four years; (b) as to the boundary with the Aperedes at Okoi river by the linguist to the Chief of the Aperedes; (c) as to the boundary with the Shais at and beyond Loloyo Hill by Awah II, Manche of the Shais; (d) as to all the boundaries of Addo, otherwise known as Adotee Kwao, an elder of the original plaintiff.

Mr. du Parcq explained that, of stool land, though some land might be held by private individuals, this land was claimed by the Chief on behalf of his tribe; there was also such a thing as land held by families, and Otibo claimed part of the land was family land. He had, however, dropped

out. The land claimed was marked green on the plan, to the south of the Volka river, and to the east of it was land marked blue, occupied by the Akakposu. The plaintiff's claim against Otu Akakposu was discontinued. The disputed "green" land was about 80 square miles. Procedure by ejectment would not be applicable in such a case. It was usual to bring an application for declaration of title, as here, which would not be good as against the world, but only against one's opponent. A non-suit under the old procedure left everyone free to go back to the court. In 1902 Mate Kole brought an action in which he claimed the greater part of what he was claiming now, with the appellant's predeces-sor as one of the defendants, and in that, Mate Kole failed to make out his case, and the court took the course of non-suiting him. In 1913 the Rules of Court were altered, and it was provided that a judgment of non-suit, unless the court or judge otherwise directed, should have the same effect as a judgment on the merits. So that, Mate Kole, non-suited in 1902, was free to try again, and to claim, while the appellant was for ever estopped by this judgment. Mate Kole was left in undisputed possession, because nobody had claimed against him. Counsel, in the non-suit, now appealed from, asked, as one relief, that the Privy Council should give a direction that the non-suit should not operate as a judgment but should have the same effect as a non-suit under the old procedure. He drew attention to the phrase in the Rule, "unless the court or judge otherwise direct." Failing some Full Court have decided that you brought your action an had full opportunity of establishing your case and evidenc was produced that could not be accepted, and the circun stances of the litigation were such that it would not l proper to give you another opportunity to produce evidenc of the same kind. If that was the view that was taken l these courts would it be right for us to interfere? Sc what Mr. Justice Dalton says:—

"It seems to me, without of course having had th benefit of seeing the witnesses and hearing them giv their stories, that there are few on either side who ar not open to considerable criticism as to the value of wha they say."

Lord Haldane: They say the onus was on the plainti and he has failed to discharge it.

Mr. Justice Duff: Are we to open the matter to furth examination, involving the production of more of th type of evidence?

Sir Adrian Knox: And give the plaintiff an opportuni to amend his hand from what has happened?

Viscount Haldane: No. Mr. Monckton, you have put yo case very moderately and very well and you could not hav put it more impressively.

Lord Haldane intimated the court did not need trouble counsel for the respondents, but would put the decision into writing and set out the reasons, and judgmer was accordingly reserved.

Judgment was delivered on July 25.

Sir Adrian Knox, who delivered the judgment, said: I this action, as now constituted, the appellant claimed again the respondents a declaration of his title to a parcel land in the Volta district of the Gold Coast Colony, mor particularly described in the writ of summons.

On the trial of the action the learned Chief Justice the Colony refused to accept the evidence of the witnesse called on behalf of the appellant and, being of opinion tha the appellant had failed to prove his claim, non-suited th appellant.

Having regard to Order XXXIX of the Rules of th Court in force in the Colony, the effect of this order i the same as a judgment against the appellant so far a either respondent is concerned, but the respective right of the respondents *inter se* are not affected by it.

An appeal from that judgment to a full court of th Supreme Court of the Colony was dismissed, the cour being of opinion that no sufficient reason had been adduce which would justify it in coming to a different conclusio on the question of the appellant having failed to prov his claim. This is an appeal from that decision.

At the hearing of this appeal the only grounds relied o by counsel for the appellant were (1) that the verdict wa against the weight of evidence, and (2) that even if th learned judge was right in non-suiting the appellant, h should have directed that the non-suit should not have th same effect as a judgment on the merits (see Order XXXIX Rule 3, of the Rules above referred to).

With regard to the first ground the questions decided o the trial of the action were questions of fact, the decisio of which turned on the evidence given orally. The onu of proving his title was on the appellant and the learne Chief Justice who had the advantage of seeing the wit nesses and hearing them give their evidence was no favourably impressed by the witnesses called for the appel lant and refused to accept their testimony. On this ground and on this ground only, he held that the appellant ha failed to establish his claim. The Full Court of the Colon saw no reason to differ from the conclusions of the learne Chief Justice on the question whether the evidence wa sufficient to establish the claim of the appellant. There are therefore, concurrent findings of fact by the court of firs instance and the court of appeal in the Colony which, i accepted, dispose of the appellants' claim.

SIERRA LEONE GINGER.

SUBSTITUTES AND SPECIAL MEASURES.

[By a Special Correspondent.]

My attention having been called to activity in Jamaica ginger, due, I was informed, to a rather smaller crop than was originally estimated for this year, I made some inquiries as to the prospects of the Sierra Leone ginger trade, the development of which within the past three or four years has been largely due to the initiative of Mr. M. T. Dawe, the Commissioner of Lands and Forests in Sierra Leone. I sought an interview with Mr. Cyril C. Henriques, of Cyril C. Henriques Co., of 11, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C.4, who is largely interested in all West Indian spices, particularly ginger. Mr. Henriques, who had made the acquaintance of Mr. Dawe during the British Empire Exhibition in 1924, was rather helpful with the valuable suggestions made in respect of the cultivation and the marketing of Sierra Leone ginger. In answer to my first question, asking the cause of the low price for African ginger at the commencement of the present season and continuing until a few weeks ago, Mr. Henriques replied that in one sense the low price was due to over-production, but the real cause was the persistent use in this country of "artificial ginger" instead of the genuine article.

He said the manufacturers of food products in this country did not appear to study the interests and the value to us of the Colonial Dependencies in our food supply and other necessities; there was too much effort in creating food substitutes whilst lands suitable for cultivation of these had to be abandoned, and the labour on whom we depend to purchase from us our manufactured articles was deprived of the means of doing so. This, he said, was rather serious, as it prevented the natural development of the resources of the Colonies to the disadvantage of trade in the Mother Country, and furthermore, the use of chemical substitutes in place of natural food products was encouraged to the detriment of the health of the nation. If, instead of using substitutes, increased production of the real article were encouraged, a lower economic price would be possible, and a stabilised market created, which was preferable to fluctuations, and a speculative market, which seldom benefited the Native grower and was bound to happen when there was decreased production. Mr. Henriques took from his desk a letter from a gentleman describing himself as a chemical consultant, in which the writer said he could find a chemical substitute for almost any food product, that would be cheaper to the manufacturer than the real article. "Now, this is exactly what is happening to Ginger," he said. The public is offered ginger ale and ginger beer that contain very little ginger, if any. No doubt a small percentage of ginger is used, in order to evade prosecution. At the same time, the Board of Trade regulations which provide that the label on the package of an article of food must indicate its composition, is being violated."

Mr. Henriques said he was credibly informed that it was only high-class manufacturers of mineral waters who make ginger ale and ginger beer purely from an extract of ginger; the cheap class, sold by the million bottles to the unsuspecting public, was, in the case of ginger ale, made from an extract flavoured up to imitate ginger.

Mr. Henriques said that it was for the countries interested in production of these articles to make representation to the proper quarter, and, if necessary, proceedings should be instituted to put a stop to what was unfair to the public.

He called attention to a recent case in which a retailer was fined for selling ordinary foreign honey as pure English heather honey, and a jam manufacturer met with the same fate who labelled his jam as raspberry when it contained a percentage of apple pulp. "Something like this should be done in the case of ginger ale, which would help the Colonies producing the raw product, and help in safeguarding the health of the British public," he said.

On the other hand, if artificial substitutes for ginger cannot be restricted, he said, and nothing can be done to ensure the present average annual production of African ginger being absorbed, the only alternative is a much higher price and restriction in cultivation. A scheme could be devised whereby a fixed minimum price could be guaranteed to the grower. For instance, instead of preparing for market a total crop, if large, and being paid 2d. per lb., only one half of the crop should be reaped, the grower receiving 4d. per lb. instead, or double the other price.

If this were done, and the entire shipments during that year absorbed, the market price would advance, and the following year the whole crop could be taken, provided the minimum price agreed upon to be paid to the grower were maintained.

In order that the best results should be obtained, the Sierra Leone Government should have a commercial representative in London, who, among his duties, would watch the market conditions in Sierra Leone Produce, and be in a position to keep the Government informed in order that any scheme adopted might be worked to advantage. It might also be necessary for marketing to be done through a single merchant, or a group of merchants, who would undertake to finance the crop. This method of marketing honey had been adopted by the New Zealand Government, who had placed the whole of the selling of New Zealand honey in the hands of a single London merchant, who financed all shipments, with the result that a fixed minimum price is paid to the New Zealand apiarists from year to year. "The co-operative principle of marketing Australian and New Zealand produce has proved helpful to those Colonies, and the conditions prevailing in West Africa are such to make a similar scheme workable in Sierra Leone," Mr. Henriques observed.

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SLAVERY OR "SACRED TRUST."

WE have had before us for some time that exceedingly interesting volume entitled—Slavery or "Sacred Trust" from the pen of the well-known philanthropist, politician, and publicist Mr. JOHN H. HARRIS whose yeoman efforts for the well-being of the down trodden and oppressed amongst races other than those with a white skin, have become so outstanding as to need no special pleading. During a whole life time Mr. HARRIS has made this self-imposed task a hobby to which he had brought for the accomplishment of a great purpose a soul inflamed with a sense of justice and demanding that every human being should be regarded and treated as having a vested right to the enjoyment of freedom, liberty and the choice to dispose of himself in any way, provided he does not prove a menace to humanity nor a source of injury to himself.

The volume before us is the latest contribution of the active mind of the Author in relation to the subject matter which has formed a consuming passion of his irrepressible soul. It contains a preface from the pen of that liberal minded politician Professor GILBERT MURRAY whose great achievements in connection with the work of the League of Nations have won from him the gratitude and esteem of many outside the European World. The object of the book which is published by Messrs. WILLIAMS and NORGATE Ltd., of 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, W.C. 5, is to register a challenge on behalf of what are described as "Backward Races" in the matter of the unworthy treatment to which they are subjected whether it assumes the rude and crude aspect of Slavery, or whether it is made to take the veiled form of the same thing known as "forced labour" or whether it is made to appear as a legitimate pursuit when described as "Contract Labour" or whether it is further carried out in the latest brand of European diplomacy—"Colour bar." Whatever form it takes, this *foeman* worthy of his steel has endeavoured to state a case reminding all who are concerned that there is no getting out of the "uplifting" lazy nigger, forces itself on our minds as undoubtedly a blot on British administration, and, by no fluke of a chance could it be justified. Whatever may be adduced as the underlying motive "for the youngmen to become wage earners and not to remain idle in the Reserve for a larger part of the year," that cannot in our judgment make a good case so far as the practical application of this intention is concerned. On this score the author has said:—

> "It is all very well for central Governments to frame broad principles—the real difficulty is that an entire different body of men is left to interpret and put those principles into practice locally."

"Too often works of general utility are taken to cover every form of labour undertaken by an administration,—Transport, Communication Buildings, Railways, Sanitation. "Emergencies" Destruction of Pests Carriers and Porters, Telegraph and Telephone works and *ad infinitum*. The question now arises as to whether or not the time has arrived to fix a period for the total abolition of all forms of forced labour for public works, excepting only those required for purposes of actual or threatened Disaster—Epidemics, Earthquakes, Fires or Floods?"

There can be no doubt that the time has come and Government ought to be prepared to make the same sacrifice which it has demanded of the people in the abolishment of domestic salvery without compensation. olemn responsibility of the trust imposed on hem to fulfil their obligations to those over whom they are placed as Trustees, by pursuing the "splendid ideal of the sacred Trust as the relationship of the stronger White races toward the coloured races of the world."

The inflated soul of human conceit has thought it right to discriminate between the races of the world as "higher" and "lower" races or "backward" and "advanced" peoples. This, it would appear has led to a claim from those who by reason of their strength, have assumed the right to dispose of the unfortunate weak ones according to their whim and caprice. To this has been due the origin of that nefarious traffic which has soiled the pages of world history with the shameful blot, which, not all the sacrifice and attempt at restitution the world has seen, could efface. Civilised humanity whose hands have been dyed and stained with the blood of the much wrong and oppressed black slaves will ever live to make atonement for the grievous wrong and discreditable deed of the Slave trade, and it is encouraging that here and there are specially chosen and inspired Emissaries of human freedom who have taken the platform of public Trusteeship to sound the tocsin of alarm, lest the civilised world may be disposed to be complacent and rest on its oars when it has effected the emancipation of those who are grinding their lives in crude slavery or in the milder form of domestic enthralment; they should give themselves no relaxation until every vestige of the inhuman traffic has been removed and the Golden Rule has been recognized as the Magna Charta of the new age; thus shall world affairs be regulated by a sounder and less selfish principle by which service by the strong and not exploitation of the weak would become the order of the day. The volume is replete with very interesting matter within the compass of ten chapters and an appendix, rounding up with a convenient index. Time and space at our disposal will not allow our gratification in dealing in this issue as extensively with the several important aspect of the question the distinguished author has traversed. We will in a series cursorily discant on a few. On the subject of forced labour, we think the time has come when this aspect of exploitation should be abolished. It appears to us as a necessary corollary to the abolishment of domestic slavery. For at the present time this aspect of demand on the time and service of the people in matters of strict public utility could not be very practicable; for as pointed out by the author a good deal of this free labour to the demands of Government had hitherto been made possible through the claim and influence which the chiefs had on the domestic slaves within their territories. It was easy to call them out and place them on such tasks. Those who are free born have always found some pretext to evade the call to such service. Now that Domestic Slavery has been abolished, it should be the duty of Governments to enquire how far this has weakened the hands of the chiefs to carry out the task which they had hitherto performed in the role of free labour on works of public utility. On this head the author has said.:—

> "The incidence of this burden often falls with crushing weight upon the domestic slave class. The Government sends its demands to the chief for a certain number of labourers. This form of labour being uncongenial in all circumstances, at all times and in all places, the chief naturally finds no responsive echo in the hearts of the free men of his tribe and thus he is driven to calling out the domestic slaves. It will be really seen that these constant demands, of falling, as they do, upon a small and ever decreasing section of the community, become in many places a burden well nigh insupportable."

THE CAPE NATIVE FRANCHISE

(By Professor D. D. T. JABAVU,)

I.

The franchise was first granted to the natives of Cape Colony in 1854, without distinction as to white and black. Before this privilege was conferred upon the natives, the evidence of both oral tradition and Cape historical records of the years 1848–1854 enables us to judge that the motive inspiring the officials of the then British Parliament were born of the essential Christian ethic, namely: "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." They were founded on a system of unimpeachable equity to all human beings regardless of colour, race or creed.

Translated into practical politics by Sir George Grey and his contemporaries, who meticulously eschewed all discrimination based on the colour of a man's skin, they were finally crystallised by Cecil Rhodes in his formula of "Equal rights to all civilised men south of the Zambesi." This Rhodesian dictum imposed the criterion of civilisation on everybody alike, excluding both white and black uncivilised men. It was an equitable standard, because it threw the door open for all to qualify for true citizenship and a voice in the counsels of a State in which civilised men were bound for the same destiny.

Under such a scheme it was no disadvantage to wear a black skin, because all men who could prove their civilisation by a recognised educational and property test were eligible for the franchise and Parliamentary membership. Judged from the religious sandpoint, this was perfectly Christian and at the same time, sound economics. The Ministers of Queen Victoria thus made Britons of all civilised black men under the Union Jack on uniform equality of citizenship with all other British subjects elsewhere in the Empire on which the sun never sets. The old Cape

Colony adhered to this policy for nearly half a century, producing a progressive, contented and sane Bantu population.

CHANGE OF SPIRIT.

At the conclusion of the Boer War and pacification of 1902 a compromise was made by which the Britishers yielded to the tradition of the Northern ex-Republics on the principle that a man's black colour should prohibit him from the right to the franchise. A worse compromise was pressed from the same quarter in 1909 when, under the Union Act, the right of membership to Parliament was taken away from the Cape native and coloured voters. We know that in the deliberations of the 1908 Convention it was the Northern members who pressed for the exclusion of non-Europeans from Parliament; and that it was only under inexorable pressure that the Cape delegates were brought to give way to the notorious Colour Bar Clause No. 26 of the Constitution, and to Clause No. 35, which made it a possibility to dispossess the Cape natives of their franchise, and which constitutionally placed it under the jeopardy of election vicissitudes whereby all non-Europeans could some day be disqualified by a two-thirds majority in a Joint Sitting.

[To be continued.]

South Africa Is Exploited Says Max Yergan

NASHVILLE, Tenn., (A N P)—"A tragedy faces Southern Africa today as European and American interests exploit her resources and suppress the efforts of the natives to remove the veil of ignorance and superstition," declared Max Yergan, foreign field secretary of the Y. M. C. A., at chapel hour at Tennessee State College last week.

AFRICAN CIVILISATION.

"African-Negro Civilisation," by Maurice Delafosse, the French writer, well merits attention, writes a reviewer in "The Crisis." Translating the author's words in the preface we find:—

"The object of this book is to establish a sort of synthesis of that which is common to the ensemble of African negro civilisations."

With this object in view Delafosse has set forth in a manner instructive and entertaining both the custom and the culture of the black African. He commences with their religion: "mysticism" and "collectivisme" placed at the basis of all their manifestations, dominates the character of their civilisation. No institution exists, social or political, that has not religion or a religious concept as its basis. This religion, rather than being termed "feticism," is called "animisme." One understands by this term the belief in the existence of souls. To the African everything, living or dead, is endowed with a personality, a thought and a will. But it is a belief in the magic practice (magic being substituted for religion when the latter is in default) and not their true religion that hinders the progress of their mentality and in a great part causes the stagnant state of their civilisation.

Delafosse continues by giving us an insight into the social and political organisations of the African. The basis of both is the family. The life of a child, the clan, the castes of society are vividly portrayed. One learns the funeral and the marriage laws. It is interesting to note that polygamy often results from the demand of a wife who wishes a second wife to relieve her of her strenuous housework.

"The blacks have a conception of ownership similar to our own," writes Delafosse, "except for the land, which is based on a religious belief." One of their proverbs states: "It is not the man who possesses the earth, it is the earth who possesses the man." Hence man is simply "the life" "tenant." Delafosse ends his account by showing to what extent the intellectual and artistic nature of the African is developed. In literature, art, and music the African is classed as a true artist.

Native Reserves.

The first principle of policy therefore was to make native reserves of sufficient area to provide for the natural development of each tribe and to secure them for ever to the natives in the firmest possible way. This had been done in Kenya and the native reserves had been delimited. He hoped them to be ample in area for future native needs and they were now to be vested in independent boards of trustees.

The greatest problem of all, however, when once the native was secured on sufficient lands of his own, was to safeguard the growth and expansion of the white races on lines which would prevent it from becoming too dependent upon African services of every kind. Hitherto the largest crops had been coffee, sisal, and maize. All these required large forces of native labour, although, in the case of maize, mechanical appliances were enormously reducing the number of men employed. He had no doubt that there was a future of great and legitimate expansion still in sight for all these crops, but if they were to prosper it was essential that available labour in the Colony should be economised, and in particular that white settlement should be directed so far as possible towards forms of agricultural industry in which the need for native labour was slight.

In Kenya that could easily be done. Hitherto Kenya had been a country in the main for men with capital. The soldier settlers who had been planted there after the war had, however, brought but little capital, and in the hard times of 1922 about a quarter of them had failed. In spite of that he believed it true to say that no soldier settlement in the Empire could show a greater success than that in Kenya.

AFRICAN NATIVE EDUCATION.

Mr. Oldham's Praise for the Jeanes School.

Appreciative reference to the Jeanes School in Kenya was made by Mr. J. H. Oldham, secretary of the International Missionary Council and member of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa, in the course of his interesting address, entitled "Tendencies in African Native Education," at the Royal Society of Arts on Tuesday.

Mr. Oldham said the notable increase of interest in the problems of education in Africa was the result of a general awakening to the importance of the human factor in the development of the continent. Neither in numbers, physique, nor intelligence were the peoples of Africa at present capable of meeting the demands which the new conditions made on them, and consequently the duties of statesmen lay in the physical, moral, and intellectual development of the Africans. A new and powerful civilisation was invading the life of peoples in a backward stage of development, and deprived of his accustomed supports, the individual was exposed to new and fierce temptations. He found himself in unfamiliar and perplexing situations, for dealing with which tradition, custom, and past experience afforded no adequate guidance. The first step must be to improve what was sound in indigenous tradition, followed by an education closely and systematically related to the real interests and needs of the community and progressively adapted to the changes in its life.

Education Commissions.

Mr. Oldham paid a tribute to Dr. Jesse Jones, apropos of the latter's Education Commission to West and East Africa. This visit took place in 1920-1. In 1924 the survey of education in Africa was completed by a second Commission which visited East Africa. The reports of these two Commissions appearing, as they did at the right moment, have given a definite direction to thought about African education. Educators, whether in Government or in missionary service, and administrators, have been quick to recognise the value of the ideas contributed by these reports.

One of the most interesting attempts to carry out the type of education indicated is being made at the Jeanes School in Kenya. The school, which has been established for the purpose of training visiting or supervisory teachers for village schools, is an outcome of the visit of the Phelps-Stokes Commission to East Africa. American experience in negro education in the Southern States and in the Philippines has shown that in the education of a backward race, where the only teachers to be had have themselves had only a minimum of schooling and are poorly trained, good results can be obtained notwithstanding these drawbacks on the one condition that the teachers are not left entirely dependent on their own resources. The plan has consequently been evolved of selecting teachers who have shown special capacity, giving them a further period of training and then putting them in charge of a little group of a dozen or twenty schools, which they visit at frequent intervals, remaining for half a day or three or four days, as circumstances may require, showing the teacher how he may do his work better, and returning again after a few weeks to see whether the improvement has been maintained and to help him forward another stage. The Jeanes School is an experiment in Africa on similar lines.

The second distinctive feature of the Jeanes School is the attempt which is being made in it to evolve a new type of curriculum adapted to the primary needs of African village life. In the two years' course the teachers receive further instruction in the teaching of the conventional subjects, but in addition to this much time is devoted to simple health education and to practical instruction in the growing of crops, the building of better houses, and the general improvement of village life.

Sir Michael Sadler, who presided, said we must realise that where education was most successful it had drawn much of its power from a social background in which lay beliefs, tradition, wisdom, habits of judgment, colour of thought, and control of character.

Sideley Puma engines. The route lay through Bulawayo, Livingstone, N'dola, Abercorn, and Tabora.

A fifth machine accompanied the flight as far as N'dola. Colonel Hoare, Equipment Officer of the South African Air Force, who was on board this machine, is proceeding to Northern Rhodesia to study the air survey work now being carried out by Major Kennedy-Cochran-Patrick, on behalf of the Rhodesian Congo Border Concessions.

As Sir Sefton Brancker, Director of the British Civil Air Service, has pointed out, from Kenya's point of view, perhaps the most important aspect of the air mail route from Cairo was that South Africa was one of the most enthusiastic of all the Dominions, as they had promised to establish a heavier air line to their northern frontier.

The general policy of the home Government in regard to civil aviation is that the cost of establishing communications with the different parts of the Empire should be partly borne by the Imperial Treasury and partly financed locally. Sir Sefton came from Khartoum in 18½ flying hours, the journey usually taking three weeks, and the travellers often contracting malaria.

The Khartoum-Kisumu air experiment was a very bold one owing to financial stringency. However, in two or three years' time flying from Cairo will, in Sir Sefton's opinion, be as easy as falling off a log, and within five years there is no reason why Nairobi should not be five days from London or Karachi.

Race Problem - 1927

Africa

"CAN AFRICANS SAVE AFRICA?" DISCUSSED BY NOTED NEGROES

Amsterdam News

Tete-Ansa, Native of That Country, Says "Yes"—Favors Peaceful Adjustment—Scored as Pacifist.

8/24/27

By CLIFFORD L. MILLER

Can Africans save Africa? Tete-Ansa, a native of Africa, said "Yes" at yesterday afternoon's session of the Pan-African Congress at Moravian Church in West 136th street. He was pleading for Africa while the Elks' parade was at its height. The audience seemed unmindful of the parade taking place as they considered soberly the future of Africa. Clement Morgan of Boston presided.

Ansa had many suggestions for the redemption of his native land. What he said that impressed the audience more than anything else was that Africa didn't want and wouldn't have arms to save herself. In the general discussion there were those who took exception to his pacifist attitude, believing that the African needs to use what all other races use to protect themselves against aggression.

Prof. W. R. Hansberry of Howard stressed the value of study of anthropology to give the race pride so necessary to do things. He predicted that this study may yet reveal the Negro the mother of all races.

WARM DISCUSSIONS.

The discussion waxed warm and went far beyond the limits of time. George Frazier Miller, George E. Haynes, Mrs. Barrow and William Pickens took part. Pickens flashed several epigrams, one of which provoked applause: "It is not so important where the African came from as where he is going to land."

The chair introduced Loren Thomas, white, of the Industrial League, who said that no race is ever sufficient unto itself. The chair had to show firmness to bring all discussion to an end. The Congress then visited the 135th street branch of the New York Public Library to see the Schomburg collection of books and art dealing with the Negro.

At last night's session Chief Amoh, in his native costume, made one of the principal addresses at the Salem Methodist Church.

The chief is in America studying its economic life. He has already lived in England, where he was a close student of its economic life. His country, the Gold Coast, controls 50 per cent of the cocoa of the world, which is cultivated by the natives. Two hundred thousand tons of cocoa are shipped annually from this land, and the natives are rapidly learning to market it to their own advantage.

It is his deep conviction that Africa has limitless possibilities for development, provided there is sufficient capital and skilled workers. Africa's great need is black America's opportunity to serve. He would have the Negro first save himself and then seek to serve his motherland beyond the sea.

The second address was given by Principal Leslie Pickney Hill of the Cheyney Normal and Industrial School of Cheyney, Pa. He said that one of the great needs of the world today is for Africans to interpret Africa to the nations of the world. The continent of mystery may become the one of light. All nations now covet Africa for her inexhaustible riches. Africa has more to give than material things, when rightly understood. He believes that "Africa for Africans" is a misleading slogan. With the co-operation of all parties interested in this great continent, a new day will dawn.

He thought the Pan-American Congress could find the common platform of right human relationships and work for a newer Africa in the spirit of patience and optimism.

8-24-27

Tonight the closing session will be held at the Abyssinian Baptist Church. Dr. William Mensching, Mr. John Vandercook, Mr. Arthur Schomburg and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois will be the speakers. The subject for this closing session is "Education in Africa."

CAN NEGROES UNITE?

Can the Negroes under every flag in the western world come together for their own common needs? Tuesday morning's session answered this question. W. E. B. DuBois led the exposition on the problems of the Caribbean Sea. The economic disabilities in these fertile isles were shown.

Thoughtful students of conditions from the West Indian Islands in the discussion period gave first-hand information on conditions. Messrs. Brooks, Phillips, Bellegarde, Corty and Iceward spoke.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION NEEDED.

They all agreed that the political and social systems of the different islands were the same—it matters not what the government may be. This is also true of Dutch Guiana of South America. They were all one in condemning the present economic order of things; they all would change the antiquated educational systems, and introduce vocational education to these needy peoples.

They were equally one in thinking that the governments were too paternalistic, and the subjects too much inclined to depend on them for everything. Scientific development of the farm lands would go a long way in adding to production.

WEST INDIAN-AMERICAN NEGRO PROBLEM.

The consummation of union between West Indians and Americans of African descent could only come about by the West Indians first dropping their own prejudices against the different islanders other than their own island, the abolition of color prejudice, and readiness to get rid of any thought of superiority over the American Negro.

A frank recognition of the American Negro's part was admitted in bringing about this cohesion of common interests. "Extermination and bondage will overtake a race too stupid to consolidate to move onward and upward," one speaker said.

Messages from all parts of the world were announced by Rayford Logan. Notable among them was one from the Governor of Oregon, Morefield Storey, the Boston champion of the legal rights of the black man, and Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University.

DR. CHAS. WESLEY SPEAKER AT MONDAY EVENING SESSION

"No nation can play its part without a belief in a great past," so said Dr. Charles H. Wesley at the evening session on Monday. This session was held at the St. James Presbyterian Church.

The speaker's subject was the history of Africa. He said that there is no future for Africa without a worthwhile past like Greece and Rome, France and Spain. The Africa of popular conception is a continent without a history — a dark continent

Dr Wesley then gave the early history of Africa, which made the audience swell with pride. The Negro culture of this ancient Africa equalled in government, industry and social life any of the tribes of Europe of the same period

The glory which was Africa's passed away when her kings condoned and carried on the slave trade. "From empire building they fell to slave hunters," he said. His conclusion was that Africa has a background comparable to that of early Europe.

PROF. HERSKOWITZ ADDRESSES DELEGATES.

Prof. Melville Herskowitz of Columbia University had as his theme "The African and His American Half-Brother." As a result of his investigation of seven thousand Negroes of America he has been led to believe that a new physical type is being evolved. This he explains as due to social selection on the basis of color. "The African is half-cousin to the American Negro," was his conclusion.

BELLEGARDE SPEAKS.

In a dramatic, impassioned plea, M. Dantes Bellegarde of Port au Prince, Haiti, told the story of the "dispersed children of Africa" in the new world. He showed that he is thoroughly conversant with the inequalities of the American Negro.

He told the dramatic story of the rise of the Haitian Republic and its contribution to our American freedom. He exposed with great eloquence the injustice of the United States Government's policy of meddling in the affairs of their government. He saw no justification for the intervention. He called President Coolidge the real sovereign of Haiti and he devoutly hoped the Pan-African Congress would protest for the freedom and right of this nation to run its own affairs without supervision. "If this experiment of self-government fails," he said "it is a blow to all Negroes of the world."

In this lengthy address, the resources of Rayford Logan as interpreter came to the forefront.

Equal Rights

FOR ALL CIVILISED MEN.

(By O'prig)

If there is a genius whose likeness should be cast in deathless bronze it is the one who penned the clause 'Equal Rights For All Civilised Men.' The sublimest essay and the most stirring oration breathed no sounder philosophy than is embodied in the clause 'Equal Rights For All Civilised Men.'

What is it that distinguishes a civilised from an uncivilised society? Security of life and limb, personal and political liberty, a just government, equal laws? Yes, certainly all that, but something else too—the wise enjoyment of leisure and the power to create and appreciate beautiful things.

What is beauty?

We call anything beautiful which gives us pleasure, and that depends as much upon ourselves as upon what is outside us. Perhaps the majority of people find the sea, for instance, most beautiful when it is blue, and especially love the blue Mediterranean, where the skies are clear and intensely blue, and so the sea is blue, too. If someone has lived in Italy as a child, and has to live beside our grey sea when he is grown up, he will think that the grey sea is ugly, and that nothing can be as beautiful as the blue sea. But suppose a Scotsman who loved Scotland had to go and live in Italy. He might find the blue sea after a little while very uninteresting and with too much of a glare in it, and only when he went home and saw the grey sea again would he find the sea beautiful.

We are made in different ways, and grey may be just as beautiful as blue if you find the right persons to look at it, just as the cry of a baby may be found more sweet in someone's ears than the finest note of the finest singer that ever lived. Nothing is beautiful or ugly in itself, but "thinking makes it so."

This fact of the relativity of truth is a most useful foundation for all your thinking. Suppose somebody brought you a very bad and ugly picture, and said to you: "This is a most beautiful picture, and you must admire it"; What would you say? It would be foolish merely to assert that in your opinion it was a bad picture The man might be stronger than you, and he might say: "I will fight you to prove I am right" That is how all the wars of the world have been made; as if force could prove what is true! No; your true answer would be to hang the ugly picture beside a picture which all the intelligent people of the world declare to be beautiful, and to make its champion compare his idea of beauty with this other idea of beauty.

We call this way arriving at truth, judging by standards. It is the best way we know for protecting ourselves against the dangers of wrong thinking. "Imagination is thus the basic element, the foundation of the great social virtue of sympathy (derived from the two Greek words *syn*—with and—*pathos*—suffering or charity. We are enabled to put ourselves into the place of others or to slip as it were, into their skins and thus get a look into their life and it helps us to do to others as we like to be done to us"

Native Opinion

OF SOUTH AFRICA

PUBLISHED :: :: WEEKLY.

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KINGWILLIAMSTOWN, JULY 19, '27

The Hofmeyr Act.

By fifty-six votes to twenty-one the House of Assembly on the 24th June last voted in favour of the repeal of Act 39 of 1887, The Native Registered Voters' Relief Act, otherwise known as the Hofmeyr Act. This was a black day for the progressive Natives because this vote symbolized the attitude of the majority of that House as being opposed to all that was good in the Cape tradition. Among the noble minority we note the names of A. O. B. Payn, W. W. Rider, Sir Thos. Smartt, R. Ballantine, D. Reitz, C. Sephton and R. Struben who represent constituencies with many Native voters, also M. Alexander, P. Duncan, C. J. Krige, General Smuts and Dr. A. J. Stals who, not being in any way indebted to the Native vote, nevertheless voted for justice—especially Dr. Stals, who is a strong Nationalist leader. While all made excellent fighting speeches in behalf of the retention of the Act, the brunt of the battle fell to Sir Thomas Smartt, powerfully supported by Mr. Payn and Mr. Alexander. The intelligent Natives owe a deep debt of gratitude to these gentlemen even though they were outnumbered in the final vote.

When the measure came before the Senate, the battle began anew, the leader now being Senator Sir W. E. Stanford, who moved that this Act be allowed to remain intact because it was the magna charta of the Natives, it had stood the test of time, and that the Natives had not been consulted over its repeal. He was ably supported by Senators F. S. Malan, Dr. Roberts, and Mr. Ginsberg, with the result that the Prime Minister gave way and saved the Act. The Senate has justified its existence in a remarkable manner by thus defending the liberties of the Bantu, and its good service can never be measured, because it has saved many of our best people from desperation—and Bolshevism. We may here correct the erroneous idea that this Act is "obsolete," and that its sole use is the purchase of liquor. Far from being obsolete it is the sole protection the Cape Native voter has against the multifarious pinpricks of humiliating laws like the Pass Law, Curfew Bell, Colour bar in trams, post offices, public places, buildings, pavements and hotels. It protected these Natives against the Urban Areas Act that drove black business men out of towns; it rendered the cruel Lands Act of 1913 inoperative in the Cape Province; it needs no application for exemption, for one need not carry the voters' certificate about one's person, as is the case with the Natal and Transvaal Exemptions. Liquor buying is the least important argument, though the Premier and the Minister of Justice made much of it. There is far more liquor traffic with Natives in the areas of the Rand where prohibition obtains, than in the Cape, where the black voter is free to buy it, and in most cases it is not the black voter but the illicit white seller that conducts this trade. Finally, the very name of this Act perpetuates the happy memory of one of the noblest Dutchmen in the political history of South Africa, Jan Hendrick Hofmeyr, a man whose magnanimity is regarded by the Bantu with almost superstitious reverence. If for nothing else but that, the Hofmeyr Act deserves to stand intact as a memorial of justice and goodwill.

SIX MILES OF AFRICAN FILM.

With six miles of film, showing wonderful pictures of primitive and modern native life in South, Central, and East Africa, Mr. T. H. Baxter, secretary of the Missionary Film Committee, has just reached London after a 20,000-mile journey performed since February last. He travelled with Mr. Best, a well-known cinema operator, from the Cape to Kenya.

"Though I went out on behalf of seven of the leading English and Scottish missionary societies," said Mr. Baxter, "I did not just film mission schools, but particularly tried to get the best scenes we could of primitive life. We got the best pictures in Swaziland and Nyasaland. Our chief adventure was when we lost our way near Arusha, in Tanganyika, at the foot of Mount Meru. We got completely off the road, and at night the grunts and growls of a lion could be heard round the car in which I slept." Unhappily, the party was unable to shoot it in the cinema or any other sense.

The best roads Mr. Baxter travelled over were in Uganda. "Here there are cars, motor-cycles, and push-bikes everywhere. The African women, in their native dress, are ardent pillion riders. There are a terrific lot of motor and cycle accidents."

Mr. Baxter was present at the Uganda Jubilee Pageant a month ago, celebrating the arrival of the first white missionaries of the C.M.S. in that land. The pageant lasted a week, and showed life in old Uganda, the visit of Sir H. M. Stanley, and the persecution of the early Christians.

The film, which will include incidents in the pageant, will be shown in London (at the Polytechnic Theatre) at the end of October, before it is shown in the provinces.

Race Problem—1927

Africa

CURFEW REGULATIONS.

(FROM THE S.A. OUTLOOK.)

A judgment of considerable public interest was recently given by Judge President Graham on an appeal brought before him from a decision of the Magistrate at Kokstad. In the Magistrate's court an educated Native sued three members of the South African Police for damages on account of alleged false imprisonment under the Curfew Regulations. Plaintiff declared that on 29th May 1926, he was returning shortly after 9 p.m. from a lecture given by Dr. Landes in Kokstad when he was accosted by a European and a Native constable, the former of whom demanded his pass. The plaintiff informed him that he had not got one since he was a registered voter. To this the European constable answered. "That is no excuse," and instructed the Native policeman to take plaintiff to the charge office. On arriving at the office the plaintiff came upon a head constable, who enquired if the arrest had been made because plaintiff was out after 9 p.m., and being answered in the affirmative he ordered plaintiff to be charged. A friend of the plaintiff later offered bail, but this was refused as it was alleged it could not be accepted in the absence of the prosecutor, that the bail book was locked up, and that it was not customary to accept bail after 5 p.m.

Plaintiff declared that after his friend's failure to obtain bail he was taken to the lock up cells with six others. They were locked up seven in one cell, supplied with a blanket each and had to sleep on a boarded floor. "It was very cold," declared plaintiff, "and I could not sleep." The next morning he and others were taken before the charge office and later to the gaol yard and being given gaol clothing, plaintiff learned that had been bailed out, payment of £5 having been made on his behalf. On the following Tuesday he was tried and acquitted.

The Judge President drew attention to the fact that plaintiff was arrested under the Curfew Regulations which do not apply to him in any respect, and any constable who arrests him after the Native has informed him that he is a registered voter, does so at his peril. The constable has no legal right to arrest such belonging to a class of persons who required to possess a pass, was found in the streets of Kokstad without a pass after 9 p.m. and this being suggested that if this is so, it would follow that if a Native, so much as the plaintiff, a Native, and who requires him or to interfere with or restrict his liberty in any way. It was

Native Farmers.

The Native Farmers' Association of the Keiskama River district held its forty-first quarterly meeting at Madubela's location on the 27th August last on a severely wintry day that was characterised by a blizzard and snow on the mountains. The attendance was fair and indicative of the keenness of the Native people in the movement. In his opening remarks, the chairman dwelt on the importance of Native housing in rural locations, urging his hearers to study the question from the view of health and moral environment for the family. He deprecated the system of separate rondavels because it gave no control over the nocturnal movements of the bigger children by the parents and advocated one main dwelling the egress from which would be governed by the key in the possession of the parents. He mentioned also that the franchise qualification demanded a substantial dwelling house with an iron roof in place of mere wattle and daub.

Several subjects were discussed. Headman D. Dwanya said that drought was not without its use and value because it compelled men to think harder and gave greater value to the produce of those who employed scientific methods of agriculture. Useful work like the construction of dams, manuring of fields and building or repairing of dwellings and stores was always available for the farmer during drought. The Secretary then gave a report on the non-European conference of last June at Kimberley and the Association decided to subscribe a sovereign towards its funds. He also reported on the S.A. Native Farmers' Congress that met at Cala of which he was a delegate. Mr. Stanford Sonjica and Mr. Douglas Ross gave hints on the exhibits of the last Fort Hare Agricultural Show and answered several questions. Mr. Jabavu urged those who were members of local councils to move for grants towards the Fort Hare Show as the College Governing Council had for years defrayed its expense single handed. Mr. Ross reported he had heard flattering opinions from prominent commercial Europeans on the mealies and beans of the Fort Hare Show and exhorted the members to enter the ploughing competition which was being again held this year under the auspices of the King Williamstown Chamber of Commerce.

The roll was called and three new members were registered, bringing the total to 137, and the subscriptions raised the Bank Fund to £63-1-9. Next meeting was fixed for the 26th November at Emnqaba Location.

After the customary refreshments were served the meeting terminated early in the afternoon.

Indians in South Africa.

Extract from Manchester Guardian, 5th July, 1927.

The arrival in South Africa of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri as Agent General for India has happily been made to synchronise with the passing of the bills giving effect to the agreement which is designed to settle the long-vexed question of the Indians in the Union. The combination of political and personal factors here makes altogether a far more hopeful prospect than had seemed possible so recently as a year ago.

The agreement makes an end of the Areas Reservation Bill. It provides the means of returning to South Africa for Indians who have accepted an assisted passage home, and it commits the Indian community in South Africa to a recognition of white economic standards. It involves, therefore, the most important step so far attempted towards an adjustment between the social levels of Asia and Europe.

Beyond all doubt Mr. Sastri is the right man to inaugurate the office of Agent General for India in Cape Town. His experience in Imperial counsels is greater than that of any other Indian. He has been a member of the Imperial Conference and on the Indian Delegation to the League of Nations. He has great knowledge, intellectual distinction, and a fine manner. Some good judges go so far as to say that his gift of oratory is unsurpassed in the English-speaking world.

SLAVERY ALLEGATIONS DENIED.

A Grave Injustice to the Colony.

In a special article in THE AFRICAN WORLD some weeks ago it was shown that the allegations concerning the existence of slavery in Rhodesia made by the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society and featured by the "Westminster Gazette," were entirely without foundation. If further proof of this were required it is to be found in the following article in the "Rhodesia Herald":—

"A grave injustice is being done to Rhodesia by the resuscitation of the fantastic chimera which the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs has already disposed of," states our contemporary. "In the House of Commons this year he showed very definitely that he was satisfied that there was nothing in the allegations then made and now revived. It would appear that the attack is directed towards the Native Juveniles Employment Act of 1926, passed in the November session last year and receiving Royal approval. This is an Act designed to remedy what was a steadily growing evil. The white employer of the irresponsible piccanin who was here to-day and gone to-morrow suffered to a certain extent, but the piccanin himself was by far the greater sufferer. Leaving his home in the kraal, he was gravitating to the towns and big industrial centres in yearly increasing numbers, and there, in the absence of some such law as has now come into being, he was only too apt to come under the demoralising influence of loafers, gamblers, and criminals. Inevitably the youthful native himself often became a loafer, gambler, or criminal, and in one case at least the downward path led three of them direct to the gallows."

The paper points out that the scheme was advocated by native superintendents years ago, and that the late Premier emphasised in the House that they did so entirely in the interests of the natives themselves.

"How to prevent the degeneration of the native juvenile is one of the pressing problems of the day, and now that the Bill has been passed he comes under the greater guardianship of the Native Commissioner who has full powers to safeguard his interests with his employer, but just because the Native Commissioner has also the power to carry his guardianship to its logical conclusion, and punish piccanins in the event of proved misdemeanour, we get this terrible 'whip for piccanins.'

"The facts are that the Native Commissioner may order a native male juvenile when misconduct is clearly shown after fair investigation, to receive a moderate whipping not exceeding ten strokes with a light cane, under which even the English schoolboy has borne up wonderfully well for many generations. Furthermore, the whipping has to be given in the Native Commissioner's own presence, and he has immediately to report that and all the other facts of the matter to the Colony's Attorney-General. The loop-hole for abuse, therefore, even if it were desired to use it, is very small indeed. Further, there is the important point that such whippings for piccanins are far better than terms of imprisonment, however short. The 'indenture' referred to is simply the ordinary native contract applied to juveniles."

Nigeria.

RIOTS IN WARRI PROVINCE.

Police Fire on Crowd.

LAGOS, October 22.

Trouble has occurred in the Warri province of Southern Nigeria in connection with the recent enactment of direct taxation. An official communiqué has been issued with regard to the disturbances. It appears that a recent meeting of chiefs with the Acting Governor, Mr. C. M. Baddeley, at Warri town, was followed by considerable uproar.

At Sapele Mr. Baddeley addressed the chiefs and people explaining the purpose of the new taxation, but the meeting was followed by disorder, and a subsequent attempt to liberate an arrested ringleader nearly resulted in the overpowering of the small available police force. The police were eventually compelled to fire into the crowd. One man was killed and a few persons were wounded. The crowd then dispersed.

The trouble was mainly engineered by political agitators from Lagos. Quiet now prevails.

The Governor, Sir Graeme Thomson arrived here yesterday, and was welcomed by leading officials and representative unofficial members of the community.—"The Times."

Acting Governor's Return.

H.E. the Acting Governor returned to Lagos via Port Harcourt from his extended tour of the Southern Provinces and the British Cameroons on October 3.

Plague Mortality.

There were six fresh cases of plague and six deaths at Lagos during the week ended October 15, and four fresh cases, with three deaths, at Ijebu Ode during the week ended October 8. No further cases were reported at the latter place during the week ended October 15.

Alake Releases Prisoners.

On the occasion of the seventh anniversary of his accession H.H. the Alake of Abeokuta ordered the release of four men who had recently been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment for conspiracy and fostering disaffection—an act of clemency greatly appreciated throughout Egbaland. The men were received in the Council Chamber at Abeokuta, and were addressed by the Alake and the Resident, who exhorted them to forget the past and work for the good of their country.

Colonial Service Appointments.

The following appointments to the West African Service have been made by the Secretary of State for the Colonies:—

Nigeria.—Mr. J. Dundas, B.Sc., and Mr. G. F. Cameron to be Assistant Conservators of Forests; Lieut. J. G. Reynard to be Superintendent, Agricultural Department; Mr. A. D. Garson, Mr. E. R. Rowse, Mr. H. Spottiswoode, Mr. K. A. Sinker, Mr. C. H. Palmer, Mr. R. E. S. Morgan, Mr. F. R. Kay, Mr. H. Childs, Mr. H. R. E. Browne, Mr. T. E. Boveil-Jones, Mr. Frampton, Mr. B. W. Walter, Mr. M. A. H. Bellhouse, Mr. H. F. Marshall, Mr. W. T. A. Philpot, Mr. C. C. Legge, Mr. A. J. Knott, Mr. H. H. Marshall, Mr. A. E. Cook, Mr. J. B. Baker, Lieut. R. M. Stewart-Peter, Mr. O. R. Arthur, Mr. R. J. M. Curwen, Mr. F. W. Carpenter, Mr. H. Vaux, and Mr. D. G. Stewart to be Cadets, Administrative Service; Lieut. R. Coulthard, M.R.C.V.S., to be Veterinary Officer; Lieut. E. Harling to be Assistant Commissioner of Police; Mr. W. Plant to be Superintendent of Education; Mr. W. E. Holt to be Superintendent of Education, Southern Provinces; Mr. A. J. R. Lucas to be Assistant Auditor.

Gold Coast.—Mr. W. B. Smith, Mr. C. D. Monahan, Mr. J. W. Gittins, Mr. H. A. Blair, Mr. J. Gutch, Mr. C. B. A. Darling, Mr. J. L. Bagshawe, and Mr. J. K. Syme to be Assistant District Commissioners; Capt. W. D. Whammond to be Medical Officer, West African Medical Staff; Miss D. J. B. Blain to be Mistress Achimota College.

Sierra Leone.—Mr. R. S. Hector to be Assistant District Commissioner.

UNION COTTON INQUIRY.

A Commissioner's Optimism.

The Union Board of Trade and Industries, which is pursuing an investigation into the cotton industry, is taking evidence in Zululand.

The future of the cotton industry in South Africa is rosy indeed, it was ascertained in the course of an interview with Mr. Frank Fahey, a member of the Board. The market for the next two years is assured, as owing to floods and "boll worm" in crops America's output this year will only be 12,500,000 instead of the usual 18,000,000 bales.

Despite the setbacks which growers in Natal had suffered, Mr. Fahey emphasised the fact that they were still carrying on with courageous optimism, and, aided by the research pursued by the Government sub-division into the prevention of pests, he personally felt that cotton-growing was on the way to becoming a stabilised industry.

The Board is not only investigating the problems of growing, pests, climatic conditions, and suitable areas, but also inquiring into the feasibility of a stabilisation fund for growers.

Race Problem - 1927

Africa.

KENYA-UGANDA RAILWAYS.

MR. C. L. N. FELLING'S GREAT SPEECH IN THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

(*Special to "The African World."*)

All who know Kenya Colony are aware that the history of the Uganda Railway—as it was known in earlier days—was anything but encouraging. It is true to say that during the period of its decadence there was not so much traffic on the line as the Colony had not then shown the wonderful progress and development which are now marked features.

When Mr. C. L. N. Felling, C.M.G., was loaned by the Union Government, however, an immediate change for the better was inaugurated, for Mr. Felling showed at once his peculiar genius for organisation, his remarkable foresight, and marked financial ability. In a very short period he had revolutionised the system and converted an almost moribund proposition into what it is to-day, a railway system of which any British colony may well be proud.

Mr. Felling's Heavy Task.

It is beyond question that the new general manager was faced with an exceedingly heavy task, for not only had he to get the whole organisation galvanised and taken out of the rut into which it had fallen, but he had to cope with a growing progress and advancement in all branches of the business, to reorganise the system materially and financially and, in addition to all these things, he also assumed general responsibility for the management of a rapidly expanding port, and overcame what might have been regarded as well nigh insuperable difficulties by anyone less gifted than he was, not the least of which might be traced to ineptitude of changing Governments. But Mr. Felling rose superior to such temporary hindrances, and succeeded in placing the Kenya-Uganda Railway in the satisfactory position which it occupies to-day.

In the Legislative Council, sitting at Mombasa on September 15, the general manager was able to give a very comprehensive review of the railway development for which he has been so largely responsible. It is not possible to reproduce the whole of his masterly address on that occasion, but the salient features of his review cannot fail to be of interest to readers of THE AFRICAN WORLD.

The occasion was an important one—no less than the consideration of the Railway and Port Budget—when the general manager formally moved the approval of the draft Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure of the Kenya and Uganda Railways and Harbours (including main and branch lines, lake marine services, motor services, and Mombasa Port administration) for the year 1928. It should be remembered that the lake marine services deal with the three large inland lakes, Victoria, Kioga, and Albert.

Increased Earnings Anticipated.

Mr. Felling said they were estimating, so far as the railway, lake marine, and motor services are concerned, for an increase of £128,660 in earnings as compared with 1927. This increase should be realised unless the Uganda traffic fails to come up to the present anticipations for next year. On the expenditure side they were providing for working an additional 116 miles of open line and increased traffic throughout, but estimated expenditure showed a decrease under most heads. He anticipated that, after providing for depreciation on the scale which had been in operation since the commencement of 1923, they would, at the end of 1928, have a balance for the year to carry from the railway to the combined railway and port net revenue account, of approximately £253,000. These railway estimates had been passed by the Inter-Colonial Railway Council, and did not call for further comment at the moment, but he was ready to answer any questions which might arise in the course of the debate.

With regard to the Mombasa (Kilindini) Port Estimates, Mr. Felling said they had presented more difficulty. As now submitted they could not be described as framed in close consultation with the Port Advisory Board, for the reason that that Board had only recently come into existence and had had no opportunity of making itself fully acquainted with the revenue and expenditure details before these figures were compiled. The figures were prepared wih due regard to the experience in 1927, but in the course of the next twelve months changes might take place at the Port which may seriously disturb these figures. Meanwhile they had done their best to provide a fair basis to work on. They were estimating for a loss at the Port next year of £99,311. The loss estimated for 1927 was £120,700, but there was reason to hope that the final figures for the year would show that the loss did not exceed £90,000. Next year, however, they would have to take into consideration increased interest and redemption charges of approximately £22,300, and that accounts for the increased loss as compared with this year's probable actual figures.

After referring to the settlement arrived at in England in connection with the control of Mombasa Port, which he said was now common property, the General Manager said that the co-operative working spirit at the port was better than it had ever been and that they could rely on the new Port Advisory Board, which is fully representative of all interests really concerned in what is essentially a commercial undertaking, to do its best to evolve and establish soundness in working, finance, and development. The financial side must, of course, receive attention. Unless they were to stop railway development inland, the Port loss must be reduced by changing the system of charges.

Mombasa Port.

He could see no reason why charges in operation at other ports should be taken exception to for Mombasa. He had reason to believe that the thinking section of the community now realised the wisdom of making the Port more self-supporting. It would be observed that in the combined railway and port net revenue account the general balance for 1928 was reduced to £154,590. That was without taking into account the possibility of a charge in connection with the £3,500,000 loan granted them free of interest for five years for Uganda extensions, etc. He took it, however, that any change in connection with that loan would affect the interest accumulated in London rather than their current balances, so that had not been taken into account.

Mr. Felling proceeded to give the Council some information as to the probable actual results for 1927, and to make some remarks on the present position as compared with that of five years ago, but of greater interest were his references to the probabilities of the next years. During the last five years the open mileage of railway had been increased from 685 to 1,275, or by 86 per cent., while lake marine mileage had been considerably extended by new services, and they had taken over and enlarged motor services.

The additional open mileage which they would be working against revenue account by the end of the year, as compared with five years ago, would include the line from Thika to Naro Moru, the Solai line, the Kintale line, the Uasin Gishu Railway, and the extension of the Uasin Gishu Railway from Turbo to Mbulamuti—a total of 510 miles. In addition, they now included the Magadi Railway in their working accounts The cost of the Uasin Gishu Railway itself (i.e., the section from Nakura to Turbo) stood in their books at the unfortunate figure of £16,731 per mile. The other lines to which he had referred had been built under departmental control, and on present estimates they would stand in the books at £5,815 per mile, and the three branch lines were built with second-hand material at an average cost of £5,040 per mile. Continuing, Mr. Felling said that while new construction had been going on, they had proceeded steadily with the relaying of the main line, the strengthening of bridges, building of new stations, additional housing for staff, hygienic housing for natives, extension and reorganisation of the workshops, and other improvements, all along the line, all round the lakes, and in craft on the lakes.

General Financial Position.

Coming to the general financial position, the General Manager said that while it wanted constant attention, there was no need whatever for alarm on account of the steadily increasing loan charges, but, on the contrary, every justification for confidence. Their financial position was sound in every respect, and he laid stress on this because of comments he had seen in other countries on the financial position of Kenya-Uganda Railways. Loan charges on the Railway and Port in 1922 amounted only to £77,964. In 1928 they will amount to £563,516, in 1929, on the basis of present commitments only, they will amount to £743,000, and in 1930 to £814,000. That, he repeated, was based on present commitments. They had not included the probable interest charges on the suggested extension of the railway line to Kampala, or any further branch lines contemplated in Kenya, or on additional rolling stock and equipment. Could the railway face these additional interest charges?

He was quite satisfied that it could, and that it must and could also face what was involved in the extension to Kampala. They must connect the Uganda commercial capital by rail with the main railway system. Certain branch line development in Kenya was also necessary, and should be undertaken, subject to Government guarantees, but further commitments naturally must receive the most careful consideration until the interest burdens to which they were committed, and in which these new lines would involve them, were full digested.

On current accounts their position to and at the end of this year would be this: that for five years they would have contributed to renewals and betterment funds approximately £2,557,000, of which approximately £1,500,000 will have been spent, leaving at the end of the year a balance on renewals and betterment funds of £1,057,000. In addition, they will have a balance of approximately £136,000 on a marine fund invested in England, while they would have a reserve fund against stores of approximately £242,000. This latter reserve might have to be increased, because the value of their necessary store balances now amounted to £485,000. They had no working capital, so must carry stores against reserve funds.

For next year they were submitting to these estimates a betterment and renewals programme amounting to approximately £650,000, but all his proposals were based on the principle that they must always have a large balance on reserve funds to carry them over a bad season in view of their increasing interest charges.

Optimistic About Kenya.

In the course of further remarks Mr. Felling said he was optimistic about Kenya. In Kenya there had been and would continue to be great agricultural development. The European settler could be relied upon for that, and the example of the European was an inspiration to the native who worked for him, and to the native reserves. In his opinion, touching upon the question of co-ordination, Mr. Felling said that the problems facing them could only be dealt with by the institution as soon as possible of a central authority located in East Africa, with a properly constituted advisory board of Government and public representatives of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika, who must be brought to face each other's problems. In this connection he foreshadowed an amalgamation of managements as between the Kenya and Uganda Railway and the Tanganyika Railway.

After a debate the motion was adopted with only one dissentient.

Dusky Zauditu Holds Sway on Throne That Was Once That of the Queen of Sheba

CAIRO, (I-I-N Special)—Two thousand miles down the Red Sea, and then into the mountains, lies Abyssinian—Abyssinia the wild and rugged; Abyssinia, whose days of glory go back to times before Rome.

A nation of dusky herdsmen now trailing scrawny cows, sheep, and goats over volcanic plain and hill—yes, but a nation ruled by a queer descendant from the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon; a nation that paid homage to Christ while pagan emperors ruled Rome.

Travelers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries returned to Europe and told strange stories of a mountain kingdom ruled by Prester John Idle dreams, thought many.

But when European knowledge embraced the tablelands in northwestern Africa they found Abyssinia. Abyssinia, they learned, had been Christian since the [illegible] the fourth century, the royal family having held to the faith in contrast to the Roman emperors who had wavered. Prester John was undoubtedly "Priest John," an emperor turned cleric or a priestly vizer.





Above is Empress Zauditu, of Abyssinia, in her robes of state. At left is Ras Taffiri, her nephew and regent.

Empress Waizeru Zauditu—today one of the two queens in the world—regards the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon as relatives, however distant.

The Bible relates the Queen's visit to the King, although it does not record a marriage with the often-wed King. Abyssinian tradition tells of their children.

Zauditu, however, has none of the force and energy of the Biblical Queen. She lives a retire life, leaving the rule to her nephew, Ras Taffari.

Nor does her energy compare to her more immediate ancestors, the Empress Taitu and the Emperor Menelik. Taitu was born of humble parents. She and her husband became involved in a plot against the King, and as punishment she was given as a slave to a common soldier.

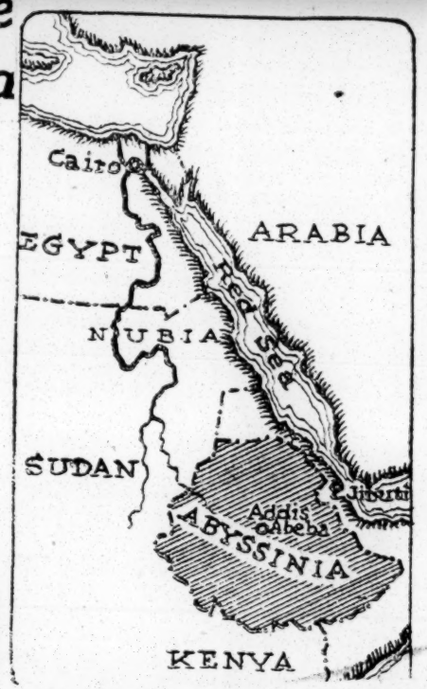
But Taitu was a dusky vamp. Her master died, and she found herself the slave of a petty officer. He in turn died, and for that matter, so did seven succeeding masters. With each death Taitu became the property of a more notable lord, until she came to the eye of Menelik, heir to the throne. He offered marriage, and in due time she became empress. She held sway from 1889 until 1910 when Menelik was forced to name a successor.

He selected Lig Yassu, a boy of twelve, named for Jesus. Yassu was the son of Menelik's second daughter by his first wife. Taitu was annoyed at the forced election, and she encouraged Zauditu to plot for the throne. Zauditu was the first daughter of Menelik's first wife, and was in the eyes of the populace, even more entitled to the throne than her nephew because she was the wife of Prince Area, who was closer to the main stem of the royal family than Menelik.

By 1916 Zauditu had her plans laid, and with a few swift moves to bottle up any armies that might oppose her, she swept into power.

Today, at fifty, she is still a remarkable example of the womanhood of the mountain nation. She is dark, very dark, but she would be offended if one suggested that she owed her color to negro blood. Abyssinians consider themselves distinct from the negro types. There is, and the natives are proud of it, Jewish blood in the race. This is held accountable for the heavy noses and thick lips.

Mud forms the principal construction material in the country; sanitation is almost unknown. One lone railroad makes its way from Jibuti to Addis Ababa, the capital. Agricultural and mineral resources are almost undeveloped.



Northern Natives and the Vote.

The Rev. Z. R. Mahabane in his evidence before the Select Committee on the Natives Bills said, inter alia: "If the Cape franchise is abolished at present there is no hope of the other provinces ever getting rights like these. One of the motives in objecting to the abolition of the Cape franchise is that the Natives hope the Cape franchise might be extended to them at some future time, and the other motive is that they believe it has some influence on the policy of the government. We say that the Bill is abolishing the Cape franchise because it will remove the names of the Native voters from the existing voters' roll, and the Cape Natives will not be able to take part in the election of members of Parliament with European voters. . . . With regard to your suggestion that the Natives on the present register should remain there and that those qualified in future be placed on a separate register for separate registration, that would involve the separation of the Native vote from the European, and we consider there should be no separation, because separation means that our interests are not identical, and we maintain that our interests ought to be and are identical . . . . You ask what moral wrong is there in differential treatment for Natives. I think in the first place it suggests superiority of the one race over the other, or domination. We have no objection to differentiation in social matters. . . .

The Natives in the Transvaal are willing to sacrifice all the benefits they will derive from the Bill rather than that the Cape franchise should be altered, but at the same time the fact must not be lost sight of that the Natives in the North do want the vote; but if the condition under which they will be given the vote involves the abolition of the Cape Native vote, then they do not want it."

The above statements, it must be remembered, were made by a voteless man who was being offered the vote such as it is in the Bill. He had all to gain and nothing to lose by the Premiers' proposal. His case is direct, unequivocal, reasonable and representative not only of the African National Congress but of all articulate Native opinion endowed with a modicum of commonsense.

Race Problem - 1927

Africa.

COLOUR, COURTESY AND EMPIRE.

EVERY sensible person must have rejoiced to learn this week of the marked improvement in the position in China. For this the nation has mainly to thank the policy followed by our Foreign Secretary—courteous while firm, patient, conciliatory, open—indeed, submitted—to the scrutiny of the Opposition leaders all along. It is no belittlement of the work of the Foreign Secretary and his colleagues to add that their handling so far of this great affair is proof that Governments have learnt something by the awful war the effects of which have not died away yet, and probably will not die away in the lifetime of anybody now living. Earl Grey of Fallodon once said that the nations must learn by that war, or perish. Some of them are learning.

In another matter which also affects the relations of widely-differing races and also was charged with the most serious possibilities, there is likewise report of progress. (It is, however, far too early yet to say that the Chinese situation has ceased to be full of such possibilities.) The long-standing trouble between South Africa and India, and therefore between India and the British Government, on account of the treatment of British Indians in the Union, a state of things which so great an authority as the late Lord Morley declared had caused greater unrest in India than anything since the Mutiny, is so far relieved, as a result of the sensible course of mutual counsel and consultation followed by the Indian and South African Governments, that it does not seem dangerously optimistic to say that a solution has been found. The heart of the agreement is this: Indians domiciled in the Union, willing to conform to Western standards of life, may live and work in South Africa like any European, and will not be specially segregated; Indians not prepared to accept such standards will be assisted to migrate to lands where these standards are not prevalent; the Indian Government will appoint an agent in South Africa, so as to secure co-operation. Such conditions, accepted by a Government of South Africa, headed by General Hertzog, amount to a change of attitude, in matters of race and colour, the revolutionary (beneficially revolutionary) character of which can be rightly estimated only by those who know how completely bad racial relationships in the Union have become during the last 20 years or so.

A South Africa-India settlement on these lines cannot fail to be without good effects upon relations between British and Africans also, in Africa generally, by no means excluding the West Coast Colonies. This provision about Western standards is of great significance. Indian leaders such as Mr. Gandhi, and African leaders, have always said, in effect, on proposals for social or other segregation: "You, the Europeans, have a perfect right to assert your standard of life, and to see that it is not endangered. If our people compete unfairly, or are nuisances by living insanitarily, prosecute the offenders again and again—what are your police and sanitary forces for?—until they conform. But there is all the difference between doing this and saying, '*because you are Africans, or Indians,* you shall not live here or trade there.' Try the first course, and we will work with you. Try the second and we will put up all the difficulty we can." By sheer force of facts and reason India-colour has established its case. By the same force Africa-colour will do so too. The only alternative is growing ill-will and disaffection on the one side, and national unsuccess on the other.

What is needed is simply the old British principle of treating people on their merits, shunning injurious generalising. We may all rejoice in the fact that outside the Union, hitherto, and outside parts of East Africa (where the conditions are wholly artificial and plainly foredoomed), British-African relations very largely conform to this sound principle. There are lapses, of course. Those of our European readers, including, we hope, the two gentlemen chiefly concerned, who read to-day the further reference to the "Coast Lawyers" incident, which we publish in the shape of a letter from the Nigeria Bar Association, and who reflect upon the episode fair-mindedly, may feel with us that it would have been better if Mr. Ormsby-Gore or Mr. Rhys had fully probed one case of touting and brought home the guilt of the offender, if any, rather than use language taken, not unnaturally, as a reflection upon a whole set of men, to the worth and usefulness of most of whom so good an authority as General Grey has testified in our columns. The Under-Secretary and his colleague have done much to earn respect and liking in West Africa. They would not weaken, but strengthen their position by frank withdrawal of certain of those very few of their remarks which seem not quite fair as they stand.

The plain fact is that in Africa as in Asia non-European sections become every day more conscious of the share they contribute to the success and standing of the Empire as a whole, and the day has long gone by when their right to political and personal consideration could be disregarded. With that right duly honoured they will have continued pride in the Empire and will contribute yet more substantially to its strength and prosperity—a consideration which, it is to be hoped, will be as prominent as any, at the forthcoming conference of Crown Colony representatives announced to-day.

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Race Problem - 1927

Africa.

COLOUR, COURTESY AND EMPIRE.

EVERY sensible person must have rejoiced to learn this week of the marked improvement in the position in China. For this the nation has mainly to thank the policy followed by our Foreign Secretary—courteous while firm, patient, conciliatory, open—indeed, submitted—to the scrutiny of the Opposition leaders all along. It is no belittlement of the work of the Foreign Secretary and his colleagues to add that their handling so far of this great affair is proof that Governments have learnt something by the awful war the effects of which have not died away yet, and probably will not die away in the lifetime of anybody now living. Earl Grey of Fallodon once said that the nations must learn by that war, or perish. Some of them are learning.

In another matter which also affects the relations of widely-differing races and also was charged with the most serious possibilities, there is likewise report of progress. (It is, however, far too early yet to say that the Chinese situation has ceased to be full of such possibilities.) The long-standing trouble between South Africa and India, and therefore between India and the British Government, on account of the treatment of British Indians in the Union, a state of things which so great an authority as the late Lord Morley declared had caused greater unrest in India than anything since the Mutiny, is so far relieved, as a result of the sensible course of mutual counsel and consultation followed by the Indian and South African Governments, that it does not seem dangerously optimistic to say that a solution has been found. The heart of the agreement is this: Indians domiciled in the Union, willing to conform to Western standards of life, may live and work in South Africa like any European, and will not be specially segregated; Indians not prepared to accept such standards will be assisted to migrate to lands where these standards are not prevalent; the Indian Government will appoint an agent in South Africa, so as to secure co-operation. Such conditions, accepted by a Government of South Africa, headed by General Hertzog, amount to a change of attitude, in matters of race and colour, the revolutionary (beneficially revolutionary) character of which can be rightly estimated only by those who know how completely bad racial relationships in the Union have become during the last 20 years or so.

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Native Labour Treated Well.

Labour here has been completely upset by the methods adopted by the Labour Department, and it is said that Sir Wm. Gowers is not at all in favour of fantastic results which came over the whole Protectorate when the Labour Department was established. That is one thing we can say in Uganda: the native is treated well. His tasks are never opposed, and the pay always has been fair for the task worked. In former days the chiefs had full control over the ordinary labourer or worker of any kind, but now all that is changed, and with the introduction of the fantastic legislation to which I have referred it was an impossibility to carry on, and finally the near-by labour had to be passed by and labour which was more amenable to working conditions which had the stamp of common sense was imported. The Labour Laws became less of the type of that of the Medes and Persians, and finally when our present Governor came there was a whiff of change, and the failure or reduction in the price of cotton did the rest, and labour once more became something near like what it used to be when it was workable.

There are some other departments which it is strongly rumoured are to have new heads. Many of them would also need new bottoms, too, and middles. The attitude of many of the commercial firms is that with a few exceptions the best plan would be to sack the lot. There is little doubt that changes would be welcomed. Some officials there are who have been too long here, and others there are who should never have been here at all.

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The N. A. A. C. P. has received clippings from magazines and newspapers both South African and English showing the public mind to be aroused over the situation. An editorial in the London Times, entitled "The Greatest African Problem", declares: "What is generally termed the native question is a long series of questions, all arising out of the superior numbers and inferior status of the black man. How is it possible to preserve white civilization without arbitrarily denying economic opportunity and political rights to the native? General Hertzog's answer is embodied in four bills, which are to stand or fall together. Its keynote is segregation."

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Commenting upon the problem the Times editorial continues: "Australian fears of eventual yellow invaders, American mystification at the Negro problem left by the Civil War, are remote or trivial worries by comparison with the question of the white man's future in Africa."

In an analysis of the Hertzog bills by Professor Henry Clay in the "Manchester Guardian" it is pointed out that: "The economic relations of white and colored peoples is perhaps the most important and difficult social problem that the 20th century has to face. It presents itself on the largest scale in the continent of Africa, and in its most urgent form in the Union of South Africa, 'white man's country,' climatically, where blacks outnumber whites by three to one."

Professor Clay points out that the Native Lands Act of 1913, restricted the native's residence to certain areas while promising that new areas would be set aside for native purchases of land. These new areas were never set aside for the natives. The new bill enables the white man to compete with the native in land purchase in the restricted areas. Additional restrictions are placed on native tenants as follows:

Six Months' Labor for Rent

"Labor tenants are to give 180 days' service a year, without pay, by way of rent, instead of the 90 days required under the 1913 Act. They are to be employed only if licensed by a district board; the license will be granted only for a year at a time, and the board has power to ration farmers in the number of labor tenants they may retain. As has been said it is not easy to forecast in detail the effect of these provisions; their general tendency, however, is clear. By destroying his customary security of tenure, by the imposition of heavy labor requirements, by taxation which is heavy in the case of the labor tenant and almost prohibitive in the case of the squatter, and by subordination to a district board, consisting of white farmers, in all probability with an official element, the native is to be shepherded into the ranks of wage-labor."

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CO-OPERATION BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND MISSIONS.

THERE is no doubt that every thoughtful and intelligent lover of his country who desires to see progress will appreciate the attitude evidenced in the spirit of co-operation between the Government and the Religious Protestant Denominations on the live subject of Education. We think that the establishment of a United Christian Conncil is a very excellent idea, affording a medium for carrying out such purposes. But as we have often contended the constitution of that Council has not been satisfactory; it could by no means be said to represent the Churches of the land which have to do with education. The members as far as we know, consist of some of the heads of some of the Protestant Denominations and with only two Africans. How they are appointed, and what constitutes their fitness for appointment, we cannot say. Without laying ourselves open to a charge of censoriousness, we venture to say this is far from being satisfactory, and such steps are urgently required to make this Council not only representative of all Denominations as far as possible, but those who are members must really be chosen by some authoritative body from the Denominations they belong; for only then could they be said to represent the people and be qualified for the work that lies before them. In dealing with that portion of the address of His Excellency the Governor on Education, we have had to comment adversely on opinions entertained and resolutions passed by this Council. We hope these matters will not fail to be brought forth in the Synods and District Meetings which are being held in the course of this month.

The importance which Government appears to attach to the Council and the attention it has hitherto given to it, have been praiseworthy. On the matter of supervising the work of the teachers, His Excellency the Governor in his address states:—

> "In the estimates for this year, provision was made for a somewhat novel experiment i.e., a subsidy to the United Christian Council to enable that body to engage two "supervising teachers" charged with the duty of visiting mission schools for the express purpose of helping the teachers by practical demonstration."

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We have long wondered why that Council has not up to the present been able to speed up the work of the Education Department in the matter of the amalgamation of the schools in the villages. If the Council is truly what it ought to be, this should be nothing difficult. We trust that the fact will be realised that the term co-operation implies work; and for the matter of it, there is great work to be done not only in the matter of disbursing monies the Government has generously placed at its disposal, but also in thinking out what may be the most economical and efficient way of using the opportunities which are offering themselves.

Now there has been a good deal said about the teaching of Science in schools and last week this subject was dealt with by one of the local journals. Perhaps there is a fascination in advocating the teaching of Science in the schools. But if the teaching of science in our schools is to take the same form and produce the same results as has been the case with the teaching of Latin and Greek in our schools, it were better if it had not been done altogether. We hope we are not shocking the feelings of our Principals and Teachers of our Mission secondary schools when we say, however efficient and skilful the teachers of science may be that each school will be able to appoint, **not one of them can teach Science to profit.** They are too poor to be able to procure what is necessary. **Only Government can do it.**

We are open to correction. But maintaining the point we have now advanced, we think in the face of a United Christian Council, it would be a serious waste, we go further and say, a criminal waste of every

in every practical way. That Fourah Bay College be the channel through which all students for the science school pass to receive the technical training they would require. That all the secondary schools worked with a view of supplying Fourah Bay College with sufficient students. Thus not only the continuity of Fourah College would be wholly and solely be more assured than ever, but there will then be provided an avenue for technical development the absence of which all the years

the statement, none of our Secondary schools is able to do it. And ago was determined to do something great in therefore the following proposal becomes this direction; but perhaps Principal JOHN worthy of attention. That the may tell us what the expenses were to have of Wales School be made a followed up the project to a real and practical a school for the teaching of science, issue. In view therefore of the fact that the branches of it that will help the students difficulty is not so much in the procuring of a in Agriculture, Medicine, Engineering, etc.

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> "In the estimates for this year, provision was made for a somewhat novel experiment i.e., a subsidy to the United Christian Council to enable that body to engage two "supervising teachers" charged with the duty of visiting mission schools for the express purpose of helping the teachers by practical demonstration."

There is no doubt that the possibilities of the educational development of this Colony are never so bright and propitious; it behoves therefore those who are the leading Africans, ministers and laymen, of the various denominations to see that the best advantages are made out of the situation. The Christian Council will in our opinion be only able to justify its right to exist by what it will be able to do.

We have long wondered why that Council has not up to the present been able to speed up the work of the Education Department in the matter of the amalgamation of the schools in the villages. If the Council is truly what it ought to be, this should be nothing difficult. We trust that the fact will be realised that the term co-operation implies work; and for the matter of it, there is great work to be done not only in the matter of disbursing monies the Government has generously placed at its disposal, but also in thinking out what may be the most economical and efficient way of using the opportunities which are offering themselves.

Now there has been a good deal said about the teaching of Science in schools and last week this subject was dealt with by one of the local journals. Perhaps there is a fascination in advocating the teaching of Science in the schools. But if the teaching of science in our schools is to take the same form and produce the same results as has been the case with the teaching of Latin and Greek in our schools, it were better if it had not been done altogether. We hope we are not shocking the feelings of our Principals and Teachers of our Mission secondary schools when we say, however efficient and skilful the teachers of science may be that each school will be able to appoint, **not one of them can teach Science to profit.** They are too poor to be able to procure what is necessary. **Only Government can do it.**

We are open to correction. But maintaining the point we have now advanced, we think in the face of a United Christian Council, it would be a serious waste, we go further and say, a criminal waste of every

in every practical way. That Fourah Bay College be the channel through which all students for the science school pass to receive the technical training they would require. That all the secondary schools worked with a view of supplying Fourah Bay College with sufficient students. Thus not only the continuity of Fourah College would be more assured than ever, but there will then be provided an avenue for technical science, and such as will help the students development the absence of which all the years ago was determined to do something great in therefore the following proposal becomes thing that is valuable—time, energy, money, laboratory but in the providing of the and the rest of it, for any individual school requisites for practical application of the to make the pretence of teaching science. the statement, none of our Secondary

The C.M.S. Grammar School some years run by Missions will be able to do it. And may tell us what the expenses were to have of Wales School be made wholly and solely followed up the project to a real and practical a school for the teaching of science, and issue. In view therefore of the fact that the branches of it that will help the difficulty is not so much in the procuring of a in Agriculture, Medicine, Engineering, etc.

Race Problem - 1927

Africa

African Paper (White) Sounds Warning Against Any Policy Which Would Ignore Welfare of Black Majority in Africa

Dubs Talk of "Civilized Labor," "White Civilization" and "White Man's Country" a Tyranny of Phrases—What It Really Wants to Say Is That Africa's Virile Millions, Now Awakened, Will Never Allow Themselves to Be Trampled Under Foot Indefinitely

(From The Johannesburg Star)

WHITE AND BLACK

Certain stock phrases are so much to the fore in South Africa at the present time that we are in some danger of coming under a tyranny of words—often enough meaningless words—and any form of tyranny is objectionable. We hear a great deal about "civilized labor" and a "white man's country" and "white civilization." Even Mr. Amery succumbed to the temptation to talk in this strain. "You have got here," he said, "from the point of view of climate and physical conditions, an ideal base from which white civilization can work."

In one sense this is perfectly true, but a point which should be remembered and which is so often ignored is that the total population of South Africa is larger than that of Australia and almost as large as that of Canada. It is true that the great majority of this population is non-European and uncivilized or comparatively uncivilized, but we cannot afford to disregard their existence on that account. On the contrary, their very backwardness is a danger and a handicap. In all our schemes for adding to the numbers of the white population by reinforcements from outside we must never for a moment overlook the presence, as the most permanent element in our population, of the essential kafir. He is here. He must provide himself and those dependent on him with the necessities of life, either by producing them himself or buying them with the wages he earns. The native, whether in himself or in his relations with the white man, is a national factor of the greatest importance, and anybody who forgets that or shuts his eyes to it, is not going to be very helpful in the solution of our national problems.

Mr. Amery did not, of course, overlook this factor nor did he suggest that the natives should be driven out of the fields of employment stil lopen to them by further legislative discrimination or penalization. He recognized that short cuts are not possible—they are least of all possible in a country like this. Mr. Amery's view was that "you have to bring in the type who are already capable of doing the work; whether it is the work of the farmer with capital or the skilled artisan, to fill the kind of places which are already occupied by white people, and trust to the steady and rapid development of the country, with its increased demand for native labor and the consequential rise in the scale of pay for native labor, to enable the spheres of white men's labor to extend." That is a very fair statement of the position. The fact remains, however, that where the scale of pay for native labor is lowest—as, for instance, on the land, which in the other Dominions absorbs a large proportion of the white population and from which the white man, save in a supervisory capacity, is here virtually excluded—there is in many quarters the strongest opposition to any attempt on the part of the laborer to improve his economic position. Legislation, applicable to other industries, specifically excludes the farming industries. The farmers in certain parts of the country are protesting against the activities of the I. C. U. In so far as these activities are improperly and mischievously exercised, the farmers are perfectly entitled to protest and to make their protest as effective as possible. But we hope that they will take to heart the very wise words spoken by Major Hunt in referring to this matter at the congress of the Transvaal Agricultural Union. Attempts to stamp out forcibly any kind of organization among the natives without consideration of legitimate grievances or any effort to remedy them will end in failure, and ultimately land the farmers and the country in serious loss and trouble. Several regrettable and disquieting incidents have recently occurred in Natal. We hope that the government departments concerned, and especially the Native Affairs Department, are fully informed of the facts. The Bergville incident in particular had a very ugly look, and we have heard nothing further about it.

Reverting to the tyranny of phrases it is merely emphasising the obvious to keep repeating that South Africa is a white man's country" in the sense that white men can live and work here under healthful conditions. We have a white population which, as Senator Roberts has reminded us, is relatively increasing more rapidly than the natives. From this point of view South Africa is far more of a white man's country today than it was 30 or 40 years ago, thanks to the industrial and mineral developments made economically practicable by the availability of native labor. But those who, when they talk of making this a white man's country, have in view the gradual elimination of non-whites from all or nearly all the "fields of activity" they now fill and their replacement by whites, are adventuring upon very doubtful lines, and cultivating illusions rather than realities. In visualizing and trying to build up an elaborate and imposing superstructure let them be careful lest they undermine the foundations upon which the whole edifice rests. Defending what is called—not very coherently—the civilized labor party, Colonel Creswell, in his speech at Alberton last night, said that "our principal business in our time and generation was to follow lines of policy which would really lead to the building up of a white civilization in this country." Colonel Creswell's record in these matters does not warrant great confidence in any lines of policy he may favor. But what does he really mean by his little bit of platform rhetoric? We do not need to begin "building up" a white civilization in this country. That process began some hundreds of years ago and has been vastly accelerated during the past 40 years. But when he talks of "white civilization" we assume that Colonel Creswell has in mind European civilization and not merely a civilization confined to white people. Undoubtedly, the future of Southern Africa—and not of Southern Africa only—depends upon the supremacy of European civilization, but that in turn surely depends upon the gradual attainment of a higher level of civilization and a higher standard of living for every section of the population, irrespective of their color. Otherwise the tendency would inevitably be for the non-civilized majority—living under conditions of increasing impoverishment and restriction—to drag down the civilized minority. We cannot see that salvation lies that way for any class or section of the South African people.

AFRICA TO GET WILSON'S POLICY OF SELF DETERMINATION, CLAIM

Prof. James L. Sibley, Former Member of Alabama Polytechnic Staff, Gives Resume of Survey of Educational Conditions For Group of Missionary Boards

By HUGH G. GRANT.

AUBURN, ALA., Jan. 1—(Special to The Advertiser.—New international policy of self-determination for all people of the world, the doctrine expounded by Woodrow Wilson and more recently established in the government of the British dominions in Imperial conference, will be extended in part to the great African continent ultimately, according to Prof. James L. Sibley who has just returned from Liberia, West Africa.

Professor Sibley, formerly a member of the staff of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, is advisor for the American Advisory committee on education in Liberia. He represents American educational groups and missionary boards including the Phelps Stokes fund of New York, the foreign mission boards of the Episcopal, Methodist and Lutheran churches, as well as a number of colonization societies which originally founded the Republic of Liberia.

"Acting for these boards, Mr. Sibley made a survey of educational conditions in Liberia with the view of making recommendations for the reorganization of educational policies in Liberia.

"Although engaged in a definite piece of work in Liberia Mr. Sibley participated in conferences at which policies, embracing the future development of practically the entire continent, were formulated. He was a member of a group, consisting of 200 delegates, which convened in Lezonte, Belgium for the purpose of outlining plans for educational and missionary work in Africa.

Plans Developments.

"The keynote of the Belgium conference, Mr. Sibley declared, was that "Africa should be developed for the Africans," a policy in striking contrast to the former plan of exploitation.

The new policy formulated for the development of Africa is two fold as follows:

First, the holding in trust of mandated groups and other colonial areas for the benefit of the native Africans; second, the development of the African countries for the mutual welfare of European countries as well as the African dependencies.

Specifically, according to Mr. Sibley, the Belgium conference, which incidentally was the second international conference of its kind, adopted and recommended a four fold program for all of Africa, namely, Health Industry Homemaking, Religion.

It is significant that the members of the conference agreed that everything that is worthwhile, or that is best, in African traditions, customs, manners, even dialects, should be preserved.

In short, the old idea that the native of Africa should be made over into "imitation white people" has been discarded and thrown on the scrap heap along with many other political theories that prevailed among civilized people prior to the great war.

For example, the International Institute of Africa, established during the Belgium conference, will seek to protect and preserve native African dialects and to develop a real literature in the African language from more than 2,000 dialects. European dialects such as English and French, for instance, will be retained and developed largely for commercial purposes.

Supervises Ceremonies.

Already, as Mr. Sibley discovered in making the survey of Liberia, one imported church group, the Episcopal, has taken over the initiation ceremonies of certain tribes, eliminating objectionable features promulgated in ancient times by the primitive people and at the same time retaining all of the wholesome symbols.

Mr. Sibley declared that the native people of Liberia have splendid characteristics, being industriously clean honest and law abiding. Violators of local customs are severely punished by the tribal chieftains.

Mr. Sibley spent eight months in Liberia, sailing from New York a little more than one year ago. He

traveled 1,000 miles in the interior by hammock ,the chief means of transportation, and by foot. He visited all of the important mission stations as well as the Liberian schools. In fact he observed every phase of native life. He was greeted as a friend and helper by all classes, including Liberian government officials, tribal chiefs in the hinterland, missionaries and natives.

"The Republican Liberia," Mr. Sibley said, "is about the size of Ohio and has a population estimated at between one and two million, including 250 white persons. The country is governed by Americo-Liberians, the descendants of former slaves who left America between 1816 and 1850. Of 20,000 that went over there are about 10,000 descendants living today in the coast country of Liberia. The original settlers from America were sent over in conformity with colonization plans formulated by American leaders, including Thomas Jefferson, Buckrod Washington, nephew of George Washington and Henry Clay.

Imitates Southern Planters.

"The ruling class on the coast has maintained much of the traditions, customs and language as well as religion of the negroes of the old South, and their mode of living is patterned largely after that of the Southern planter. They use the native labor as it is used in the South. The Liberian government is modeled after the American system of government with a president, congress and courts. The capital is Monrovia named after President James Monroe. Monrovia is about the size of Auburn and the architecture of the houses is similar to the architecture of the old South.

"Up country in the hinterland the natives are governed by five district commissioners appointed by the Liberian government at Monrovia. One commissioner may administer the affairs of 200,000 people."

In this connection a point of interest to southerners particularly, is the fact that one of these commissioners, and incidentally one of the most efficient governors, according to Mr. Sibley, is a native of Ocilla, Ga., Captain A. W. Harper. Captain Harper has been in Liberia 20 years, and governs a district with a population of more than 200,000 people. It is said that he rendered splendid service to his country in 1915 in the intra-tribal fighting, which was quelled by the Liberian government with the aid of the United States government.

Polygamy, Mr. Sibley added, is practiced by the chiefs in the hinterland, some of them having as many as 300 wives. However, a majority of the men can afford only one wife. Some of the natives still practice witchcraft and indulge in superstitions and fetish worship. The medicine man is a very important person in the tribe.

Rubber Enterprise

The most significant phase of Liberian development from the commercial standpoint, according to Mr. Sibley, is the recent concession granted to the Firestone Rubber company for the growing of rubber. Mr. Firestone, of Akron, Ohio, has acquired 1,000,000 acres, or approximately one-twentieth of the entire area of the country, for a huge rubber undertaking which will enable America to produce her own rubber. One plantation of 125,000 trees is already producing, the rubber being shipped to the United States.

Mr. Sibley pointed out in this connection that a $5,000,000 loan has been made to Liberia by American bankers for the development of a new harbor and good roads. There are practically no roads in the country outside of the Monrovian community, nor are there railroads.

In his educational survey of the country, Mr. Sibley found 200 schools one-fourth of which are supported by the Liberian government and the remainder by missionary boards. In addition there are three colleges, two supported by the Episcopal and Methodist churches, and one by the government. The instruction in these colleges, he said, is largely classical, more or less artificial and not related to the real needs of the people, the students being trained for political and theological positions.

Cites Development Need

What is needed, Mr. Sibley pointed out, is a type of education that will enable the people to develop their country along agricultural and industrial lines.

Incidentally, the country is very rich agriculturally, the products being tropical fruits, coffee, palm kernels, peassava and rubber.

The board of education, it was stated, has shown a cooperative attitude toward Mr. Sibley's visit, and is working out plans for cooperation to include both government and mission boards. Mr. Sibley will return to Liberia early in March, 1927. He expects to take with him several American teachers, experts in agricultural education and in hygiene. Incidentally a number of missionaries from Liberia have recently visited Alabama in order to study school methods which may be applied in Liberia.

Mr. Sibley has recommended a program with emphasis upon three things, namely, better selection of teachers sent to Liberia by American mission boards; better supervision of the work on the field; adequate support of the institutions selected to be developed. The general policy formulated provides for the building of two or three colleges and normal schools for the higher education of the leaders, as well as high schools; and, second, to provide facilities for the agricultural and industrial education of the masses. This program will include the introduction of home and farm demonstration work similar to that carried on in Alabama.

Mr. Sibley is well known in Alabama where he was engaged in educational work for many years. He was at one time in charge of the educational work for the negroes under the Alabama State Board of Education. Following the war he was head of the work for disabled soldiers in the sixth district under the federal board for vocational education. Later he was in charge of club work in north Alabama under the extension service of the Alabama Polytechnic institute, and was also assistant director of the child welfare department of Alabama. He is a native of Georgia and alumnus of the University of Georgia. He is widely known throughout the south, as well as northern centers, where foreign mission work is headed up.

ABYSSINIA SEES INDEPENDENCE AT STAKE IN TSANA DISPUTE

Former Explorer Says American Capital Is Most Favored for Building the Dam

THE dam to be built at Lake Tsana in Abyssinia with the aid of American capital is a problem involving not only Abyssinian sovereignty and British treaty rights but American private interests. Side lights upon this problem are furnished by Dr. Jacques Faitlovitch, former Professor of Philology at the University of Geneva and one of the pioneers in the exploration of Abyssinia. Dr. Faitlovitch is now in New York.

Asked for his views on the Lake Tsana question, Dr. Faitlovitch pointed out that it was by no means to be regarded as something new.

"Abyssinia is very jealous of her independence," he said, "and appreHensive of penetration by foreign powers. Although the present Regent is a man of Western education and culture, keenly alive to their benefits, he is not unmindful of the fate of other more or less primitive sections of the Dark Continent under the advance of the white man's civilization. He believes that Abyssinia will be able by her own efforts to continue along the path that was broken for her by her great King, Menelik.

Question of Sovereignty.

"Ras Taffari and the governing class in that country are therefore very sensitive when it comes to questions which they believe to affect the sovereignty of Abyssinia. It is only natural that they should consider the interests of their own country first; all that they may be expected to do is to be willing to reconcile these interests with foreign interests, as long as this does not conflict with the principle of Abyssinian sovereignty and independence.

"In these circumstances there is naturally a feeling at Addis Ababa that America, by virtue of her remoteness, offers no threat; and it may, perhaps, be due in part to this sentiment that the Lake Tsana Dam project has been considered with a view to American participation in preference to any other. The ruling circles in the Abyssinian capital believe that American enterprise has the least 'political' taint and that it threatens no infringement of Abyssinian independence."

Speaking of the importance of Lake Tsana to Abyssinia, Dr. Faitlovitch said that, apart from its obvious advantage to the agricultural interests of that country, it is important also from another standpoint. There are a number of islands in the lake, some of which have famous monasteries. Fearing that the building of the proposed dam will raise the water level of the lake so that these islands will be submerged, the clergy have been opposing the project very strenuously, and they have the backing of the people who are subject to their influence.

Answering a question as to the British claims under the Anglo-Abyssinian treaty of 1902, Dr. Faitlovitch said:

"It is, of course, a fact that this treaty provides that England must first consent if a dam is to be built at Lake Tsana. Abyssinia itself has no need just now of such a dam. In fact, there is some apprehension in that country lest it prove harmful, to some extent at least, to the best interests of Abyssinia."

The Death of Dr. J. E. K. Aggrey

By the overseas mails, the sad news of the death of Dr. JAMES ESUMAN KWEGYIR AGGREY in New York, on the 30th July last, came to hand. His illness, due to meningitis, lasted but one day after which the Grim Reaper claimed him at the comparatively early age of forty-eight. Dr. Aggrey visited this country as a full-blooded African member of the benevolent Phelps-Stokes Commission headed by Dr. Jesse Jones, in 1921 and spent the first six months of that memorable year giving lectures that have made his name not only a household word for deep affection but truly admirable for his work of reconciling black and white everywhere. His erudition and powers of memory were so prodigious that he was universally accepted as an equal of the foremost men of liberal education among the Negroes in the world. We cannot even attempt a bare catalogue of the versatile gifts that he exhibited on and off the platform and pulpit; but two of his supreme qualities we must mention: He possessed a sense of humour that enabled him to laugh into shame many of the colour-bar pin-pricks that he encountered. In that respect he did much to tone down the asperities of racial prejudice that are the bitter lot of the progressive black man in this land. In his scores of fascinating addresses to Native meetings in town and country he disseminated a wealth of commonsense that has left a real impression in many who were privileged to hear him. As a speaker he was a consummate artist ready to adapt himself with equal facility to any type of audience, full always of vivacity, sparkling wit and inexhaustible and effective illustrations. Among his many tangible achievements we may mention the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Bantu. At his death he was Vice-Principal of Achimota University College, Gold Coast. We profoundly sympathise with his widow and six children in a loss which is incalculable not only to West Africa but to South Africa and the entire world of Christendom.

Race Problem - 1927

Africa

EDUCATION IN THE TROPICS.

By J. M. Stuart-Young.

It is high time someone spoke out; and told the bitter truth.

Education as presently applied on the West Coast is spoiling the African.

When I made such a fierce stand for the teaching of English to every coloured child under the control of the Empire I was maligned. The usual label "Negrophile" was tied around my neck; and I was asked scornfully why I impeded the Government's desire to make a lovely dark brown English tongue. I did so because I believe that language is the most glowingly golden link in the chain of International Friendship. When every African under the British Flag speaks English (instead of a thousand-and-one parochial dialects) there will be sound hope of mutual goodwill and tolerance between the two races. 12-25-26

But this desire to have every black child speak and understand English must not be taken to mean that I yearn for a race of pen-pushers, with never a man of the soil among them; never a craftsman, never a man of muscle, and never a mechanic.

The present Government curriculum is ruining the African—it leans far too heavily toward the Clerical, and too little toward the Craftsman side of labour.

A child, let us remember, is born with the same instincts for self-preservation that move all other animals. When he wants a thing, he feels the urge to take it in the easiest way. It is *training*, and only training, that teaches him that there are many ways of acquiring what he needs. Therefore if he is to be an honest, self-respecting, and self-supporting member of the community, *he must be taught and trained in the ways of true morality*!

Are we White Rulers so teaching the African to-day? We are *not*!

The life of every child, black or white, is an eternal and chafing conflict between primitive emotion and social restriction. The African child must, therefore, be fortified not alone by teaching of the literary kind, but by habits of a manual sort, if he is to remain a social ornament. Wise parents know to-day how sadly children are deteriorating because of the laxness of our moral codes. Intelligent teachers who are not out for mere "grants" and "honors," but who love their calling as trainers of the young mind, know it also. Let them boldly speak out, and tell Government to amend the existing code!

I protest that most boys—ay! and most girls!—like to use their hands in the manipulation of matter. Proper training for trades cannot start too soon. But to-day, there are hundreds of thousands of young Africans, of both sexes, attending school, wearing (many of them) clothes that are alien to the climate, and none of them—or next to none of them—willing to do any manual work! They are even too proud to help their parents in the household; and yet they demand to be both fed and well-dressed.

Whose is the fault? Why should we force all children into the one inelastic mould? Why should colored children with next to no taste for literary education be compelled to learn history (and English history forsooth—a screaming absurdity!), geography, mathematics, Shakespeare and the musical glasses, when they are quite, quite clearly not fitted by Nature for any of the learned professions? Why should they be *kept deliberately away from tools*, until the taste for tools is swamped by an abortive desire to be like their more intelligent fellows, and until the chance of non-clerical work has been irretrievably lost?

It is the duty of the Government, it is the duty of the school committees, it is the duty of parents, to provide scope for *living*—and that scope for living is being thrown away, when every Tom, Dick and Harry among the African population is made into an abortive clerk or a sophisticated counter-jumper. Commerce assuredly cannot bear the strain—nor is it desirable that it should! The Colony is literally aching for craftsmen, mechanics, agriculturists, farmers, and tillers of the soil: *but where are they to be found?* Walking about the streets, seeking for jobs of a light "clerical" kind, for which they are not and never can be fitted.

It is the proverb of making silk purses out of sows' ears all over again. The sow's ear has, indubitably, its rightful place, where a piece, of silk would be too fragile a texture. Hence we need not disparage even the toughest of flesh. But let us not *all* seek to be made of gossamer textile material; and "ornament" instead of "serve!"

I look about me here to-day—and what do I find? Just hundreds upon hundreds of adolescents who have already been, or are rapidly being, or soon will be, unfitted for the job of living. And living, mark you, is a job—a very hard job, too! Boys and girls are coming to the adolescent period with only a scant education in books, and *no education whatever in the use of their hands!* They are unfitted for clerical work—and would probably never be really fit, even if they went to one of the Universities. Meanwhile they are unhappy: between Scylla and Charybdis—the Scylla of inadequate literary education, and the Charybdis of ingrained discontent with a manual life. All this, mark you, because they have been left alone *too long to savour the sweets of a manual life.*

Are there sweets in a manual life? Of course there are! And, thank God, they are nobler even than those of the sheltered life of the office or the bureau! There is no more reason why we should not have a population of happy and contented agriculturists, intelligent and educated enough to take their part in the government of themselves and their neighbours, instead of (as now) an ever-increasingly disgruntled population of semi-gentlemen and semi-anarchists! It is seldom indeed that a mechanic or agriculturist (taught at an early age) enters on a career of parasitism or crime. Life is too full of savour for that—he fills each happy moment instead with useful labour. He has formed those habits of self-respecting production that keep him safe!

We must have a change! Catch the children young—and show them how to use their hands a little more in moulding and controling the raw material about them.

The Failure Of Unity.

We should think it is always reasonable that one should study his subject and know it before taking ink and pen to make known his views. Mr. Phasumane's judgment of the Basuto nation is wrongfully based and it is therefore even irrevelant in detail

The history of the Basuto nation is in itself strongest argument against our correspondent. It proves from the outset that the people known to the world as the Basuto are amenable to unity In the early part of their history they have defied all attempts to split their unity. They puzzled even powerful enemies, better equipped with warfare armaments than they were. But because they remained united they have never experienced complete defeat. They are still keeping their unity to-day, and still have a place for themselves in the world to-day. Not very long from now they will be asking the Imperial Government to give them their sovereign independence They will ask to be granted this privilege from a better and nobler platform than the Nationalists of the Union of South Africa who are the remainders of a conquered race.

Star 9/ 12-24-26 Basutoland

The late Great Chief Moshoeshoe, the first leader of the Basuto did not take too long to organise the Basuto into impenetrable united race They still recognize their leaders today and are still solidly united behind them. It is not necessary that you should come to the Basuto nation to preach anew sermon of unity, whatsoundis to introduce improvements in the old gospel. You should preach to the chiefs who are the recognized leaders of the nation from the time it was so designed by its founder, that the white man's civilization has brought new factors which may help to strengthen the old unity. We must build up from the foundation that was laid for us, and strengthen those old ties of unity.

Again it is wrong and not true that "there is not a single movement or association which did work for the upliftment and advancement of our country, nor to make an awakening to the masses of our ignorant fellows as well as the illiterate to pull them out from their primitive doings and action." Will our correspondent not try to be so ungrateful: He should learn to say what he means and mean what he says Why should he make this wholesale denial while there are so many movements and associations, which he himself is the outcome of them? Have not the missionaries been working and striving hard to uplift and advance the Basuto and have not the people advanced considerably through their endless efforts? What of the "Progressive Association" which has done so much to find employment for our youth in the territory, and what of the Basutoland Press which have shed so much light upon the people and that continue to stir up feelings for self reliance and improvement, and that give courage to the bodies that exist in Basutoland to strife farther and farther, and that brings victory within their view.

Mr. Phasumane, the way is clear for you. You have been saved much work, we may say, impossible work by those that you find in the field that have the pride of having seen you through the cradle.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

The Negro Problem.

When, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the advocates of the Rights of Man began to apply their general principles to the particular case of the negro slave, a controversy was aroused as to his human status and mental capacity. The supporters of the slave trade contended that the negro was a being of lower order than the other races of men, a sort halfway between a beast and a human being, with a mind incapable of development beyond a stage equivalent to that of a European child. On the other hand, the advocates of its abolition maintained that the negro was a human being, "a man and a brother," equal to Europeans in body, and mentally capable of rising to an equal height of civilisation and culture by the help of Christianity and education. The noble band of English Abolitionists, led by Granville Sharp, William Wilberforce, and Thomas Clarkson, proved their faith by their works. In 1785 a "Committee for the Black Poor," formed by them laid the foundation of the Colony of Sierra Leone by settling a number of the slaves who had been turned adrift and destitute in the English towns. With time the views of the Committee expanded; the members became convinced that the best means of combating the slave trade was the encouragement of legitimate commerce. They accordingly formed an association, which was incorporated in 1791 by Act of Parliament (31 George III., cap. 55) under the title of the Sierra Leone Company for the purpose of "general trade and commerce from these kingdoms to and with the coasts of Africa, and from thence to the several kingdoms and countries of the continent." For the purpose of promoting communication and commerce with the interior they formed at the same time the African Institution, which in 1795 despatched Mungo Park to the Gambia, and thus began the exploration of Africa, which was one of the most interesting movements of the nineteenth century. The institution was under the presidency of the Duke of Gloucester (son of George III.), who was assiduous in his attendance at the meetings of the board of management; among its active members were five Premiers, many Ministers of both parties, and most of the peers and members of Parliament who supported the Abolition movement; the institution was, therefore, able to exercise extraordinary influence on both British and foreign governments. In 1823 the institution was succeeded by the Anti-Slavery Society, which carried on its work.

SIDELIGHTS ON AFRICAN HISTORY

(The Hamitic League)

Homer's Iliad

The great Iliad of Homer is the epic of peoples of African descent. Never was this dreamed of, not even by scholars, until Sir Arthur Evans made his astonishing discoveries in Crete and Mycennae. Any one who has studied Grecian mythology deeply had much reason to believe that most of the principals of the Iliad were of African descent, but few people study the myths in such a manner.

In the myths Menelaus, Agamemnon and Helen were all the descendants of Epaphos, the black torch-born son of Zeus and Io. Priam, king of Troy, and father of the great hero Hector, was a blood brother of Tithonus, King of Ethiopia. Nearly all of the lesser principals were variously related to African ancestors.

When Sir Arthur Evans, the palace ruins of pre-historic Greece, for the first time in thousands of years, the mural pictures of the peoples of Homer's time stood before the eyes of Europeans. They were not white, but brown-skinned and possessed of the African features of full lips and curling black hair.

Then our modern scholars went back to Homer's epic and studied the translations. It was found that descriptions had been mistranslated and words supposed to mean white, fair, rosy, etc., actually meant brown, chestnut, brunette, etc. So after untold centuries Africa comes again into her own. The Iliad is an epic that belongs to her.

John James Audubon

It will come as a great surprise to many students of American history to know that John James Audubon, the great naturalist and author of that magnificent work, The Birds of America, was a Negro. Francis Hobart Herrick's work, Audubon, The Naturalist, gives us the facts in full.

Jean Audubon, father of John James, met at Las Cayas in the West Indies a brown skinned Creole by the name of Mele Rabin. To them was born some daughters, referred to in early documents as "Jean Rabin, Creole de Sainte Dominique." Later a daughter was born. When their father later left the Indies and returned to his wife at Nantes, France, he took his children with him. Mme. Audubon had no children and adopted the illegitimate children of her husband. Later they came to Louisiana. At the death of the father, the property was left to his two children, but his neices, Mme. Vageon, of Nantes, and Mmes. Lissabai and Domenecia of Bayonne, tried to have the will set aside on the ground that the children were illegitimate and of Negro blood. Because of this John James broke with his family and moved north to settle in Pennsylvania.

The chief reason why the United States did not hail Audubon as a genius was because his was of Negro blood, but later after Europe received him with open arms and went wild over his great work, naturally the United States fell into line and tried to hide the fact of his Negro ancestry.

DARKER RACES PEACE PARLEY

India And South Africa Establish A Friendly Contact Between Nations

CAPE TOWN, Jan. 19.—C. F. Andrews, in the course of an interview, stated that the round-table conference between India and South Africa was proceeding satisfatorily. A mutually friendly atmosphere was now firmly established which would prove of the utmost importance in future relations. A settlement of the Indian-South African problem would have a repercussion in America, where the parallel problem of California and Japan had also to be settled in a similar friendly manner.

When these two outstanding difficulties of Asiatic immigration to the western countries had been reconciled, mutal tolerance between the white nations encircling Asia and the older civilization of India, China and Japan was assured. World peace it is felt here, could only be preserved for future generations by a careful and far-sighted facing of difficulties at the present time.

—Christian Science Monitor.

ABYSSINIAN DYNASTY IS TRACED TO SOLOMON

NEW YORK, Jan. 27 —(Special release) —The Abyssinian dynasty of today claims direct descent from the romantic but unauthenticated union of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.

"And when she was come to Solomon, she communed with him of all that was in her heart. And Solomon told her all her questions; and there was nothing hid from Solomon which he told her not."

To the western reader the terse but picturesque Bible narrative is only vaguely suggestive, but the Abyssinian historians have read between the lines. To them there is a sign of feminine surrender in the chronicler's bald comment. "There was no more spirit in her."

They have crowned the strange union of two remarkable persons with a son, the legendary Menelik I. who founded the national dynasty and, as by right of birth, gave his country the emblem of the Lion of Judah, holding in his paw a sceptre surmounted by a cross.— Captain Owen Tweedy, in the Atlantic Monthly.

Race Problem - 1927

Africa.

"SLAVE DESCENDANTS" WHO DEFEND SLAVERY.

HEAR THE OTHER SIDE.

To the Editor of the WEEKLY NEWS.

Sir,—I forward you herewith copy of a letter I have posted to the Editor of the London *Daily Mail* and will be glad if you can publish it.—I am, Yours faithfully,

A. E. TUBOKU-METZGER.

Kissy,
9th November, 1927.

To the Editor of the *Daily Mail*.

Sir,—Mr. G. C. Dixon, your Special Correspondent, headed the second of his series of articles in your issue of the 10th October last, "Slaves' Descendants who defend Slavery."

Either from defective culture or at the expense of judgment, Mr. Dixon could not perceive that the very reference to the ignoble traffic of Negro Slavery reflects adversely on the descendants of those European races who had ingloriously participated in the ignoble and inhuman traffic in man-stealing and man-selling, and who had greater shame to bear than the descendants of the victims of European cupidity and inhumanity as I had mentioned in my first communication. Mr. Dixon does not seem to be aware that it was to wipe out the disgrace, that the champions of the abolition of Negro slavery, moved the British Parliament to vote a large amount of money for compensation, and to sacrifice many precious lives in Negro education and civilization to atone for their wrong to the Negro race.

With the increase of education and civilization amongst Negroes in West Africa since the abolition of Negro slavery, there has been a mutual attitude of growing goodwill and friendship between Europeans and Africans, in such a manner that the Europeans, especially the English, on the one hand, have been doing all in their power to assist the Africans in education and development as if to atone for the wrongs and injuries with which the Nations of Europe had soiled their hands in the inhuman traffic, whilst the Africans, on the other hand, have been receiving with much appreciation, loyalty and gratitude, all the kind and good services which are being bestowed upon them by Europeans in a spirit of forgiveness of the injuries and iniquities they had suffered.

In March, 1926, during the discussion in the Legislative Council for the *gradual* abolition of domestic slavery in the Protectorate of the Colony, I pressed for the total abolition of all kinds of domestic slavery against the proposal of the Government, and I then submitted that in connexion with the total abolition, compensation should be paid to the slave-owners, as the Government had recognised the legal status of slavery. The Government's view against my submission was that as the abolition would be by gradual and natural process, namely, births and deaths, in that all children born by slaves after a certain date were free, and all slaves were free on the death of their owners after that date, the question of compensation would not be entertained.

On the 22nd September last when the question of total abolition was brought up by the Government, I submitted that every race and people however now advanced in civilization had had its slave days from the earliest stage of the human race; that it had taken the civilized world centuries to see the evil of slavery; that the recent revulsion of feelings in England against slavery was the result of education, civilization and Christian morality which grew with man's advancement by a series of progressive evolution; that the British Government having realised that all parts of the world could not be treated on the same level, having in its sense of justice and fairness recognized the legal status of slavery in a mild form amongst a primitive people, it would be equitable to pay compensation to the owners of slaves who would be suddenly deprived of certain legal rights, to enable them to engage free labour to work their farms. I further asked that definite provisions be made to secure lands for the freed slaves so that there might be no landless class, as all lands in the Protectorate were vested in the Chiefs for the use of free born. That this last is a most vital point, the Honourable Paramount Chief Bai Comber emphatically stated in reference to my submission that there was no inch of land in the Protectorate whithout an owner, though they had no power to prevent the Government taking lands, and he then interrogated, "If the emancipated slaves were allowed to go and occupy lands where will the owner and occupier go?"

If Mr. Dixon is an Englishman, and if he had studied the social history of his country, he should know that domestic slavery is quite distinct from the trans-Atlantic Negro slavery to which he has referred. Under the manorial system in the feudal days in England, slavery was recognized amongst the Anglo-Saxon after the withdrawal of the Romans. In the Doomsday Book, 25,000 slaves formed 9 per cent. of the enumerated population at the Conquest. And up to the thirteenth century slaves were considered as part of the Lords' estates just as the oxen and cattle of the demesne. The Norman lawyers described them as "members of a class held by unfree tenure." It was in the fourteenth century, when money value began to be attached to certain kinds of labour services that manorial lords began to realize that free labour was more economical, and more productive than slave labour, and they began to allow their slaves a certain amount of private property with which they could buy their freedom. These slaves were not Negroes but Anglo-Saxons, and the present race of men in the Protectorate could not be said to be more civilized than the Anglo-Saxons of the fourteenth century.

Europeans of culture admire and rejoice at the progress of the people of the Colony with such slender resources, and they are contributing their efforts to direct and assist Africans to develop in the right direction. But Mr. Dixon has been needlessly troubled and angry at the style of the dress of the people which he described as "European," and after using such adjectives and substantives as he had in stock to express his vituperations, he mischievously turned and maligned the people who have been known and held up for their inborn loyalty and remarked that the argument for compensation, which he has attributed to Sierra Leoneans generally, is a design to embarrass the British Government. He further maligned cultured and good men of his own race who were not in sympathy with his view, in his expression of surprise that there is a section of the English population who are completely out of touch with British sentiments and the broad British principles on which British civilization is based.

Mr. Dixon has censured a large section of the whites for their unaccountable indifference in not chanting a *Jubilee* over the abolition of the legal status of slavery in the Protectorate, and has named about half-a-dozen officials whom he has commended as high-minded and distinguished and with whom he had discussed the question, for their zeal in the matter of the abolition. Mr. Dixon writes that he had discussed the slavery question in all its aspects "with hundreds of people of all classes in the Colony and Protectorate," including the Acting Governor, Provincial Commissioner, Military Officers, Merchants, Native Chiefs and slaves. Mr. Dixon is a wonderful man to have held discussions with hundreds of people in the Protectorate and in the Colony within less than a fortnight which he spent in Sierra Leone. Of the Provincial Commissioners he named, however, one of them, Mr. Bowden, was out of the Colony at the time.

Mr. Dixon left Freetown on a Saturday morning for Makene where he arrived late in the evening. On Sunday, the next day, he had interview with Paramount Chief Bai Sebura of Makene the only chief with whom he had interview and returned to Freetown the next day, Monday. Whilst at Makene he stayed at the barracks with the Medical Officer in the officers quarters. What opportunity had Mr. Dixon to have discussed with "hundreds of people of all classes"? He was a stranger in the Colony; Who introduced him to these people? What other Chiefs besides Bai Sebura did he interview? Mr. Dixon would have done credit to himself and his mission, having been in the Legislative Council during the discussion, to have asked the Unofficial Members of Council for an interview, when he could have got all he wanted from the representatives of the people who could have spoken with him with some authority. I was present when Mr. Dixon asked to be introduced to the Paramount Chiefs who are members of Council whom he asked after the sitting of Council to take a snap-shot photograph of them and they agreed. He spoke not a word with them on the question, nor did he speak a word with any of the other Unofficial Members whom he grossly misrepresented. It would be interesting if Mr. Dixon could name half-a dozen Europeans or Africans of any class, with-whom he discussed the question besides the officials whom he mentioned or those who entertained him at Makene barracks.

Sierra Leone and Sierra Leoneans have over and again been abused and subjected to misrepresentations from persons disappointed at the appearance of the people. There have been those who, imbued with prejudice, are ever ready to avail themselves of the opportunity to furnish contemptuous epithets to strangers, and like Balak to Balaam say "Come curse me this people." But it is significant that those who act thus either from defective training or mentality, are men who do not hold or can never hold or rise to any prominent position. Though it has been the practice never to take the abuses and prattlings of such men seriously, it is occasionally necessary to deal with a fool according to his folly lest he glory in his conceit.

Mr. Dixon on his arrival in the Colony and admission as a visitor into the Legislative Council, found himself and all he represented dwindle into comparative insignificance. He became oppressed by the circumstances of his environments and felt disappointed. He felt a revulsion of feeling, and in a spirit of revenge he relieved himself by misrepresentation, and retaliated by contemptuous utterances and the use of terms which he picked up from some Balaks, but the origin of which he did not bother to consult his dictionary to find out how or whether he could use them appropriately.

It is extremely unfortunate that at the very

time when noble minded men of broad views in all parts of Europe and specially in England are doing their best to foster a universal spirit of unity between white and black, Mr. Dixon had been deputed to come to this part of the Empire to rouse bitter feelings. It was the very same time that the heads of departments in England were doing honour to President King of the Negro Republic, whose grandsires were benefited by the emancipation of the Negro, inspired by the noble example of His Majesty King George, who had received the President in Buckingham Palace, following the example of his illustrious father King Edward, who had received into the same Palace Dr. Blyden, Archdeacon Wilson and daughter, descendants of Negro recaptives of West Africa. The illustrious King Edward, followed the traditions of his mother, Good Queen Victoria who had received at Windsor, Sarah Forbes Bonetta, whom Her Majesty sponsored, Bishop Crowther, Mrs. Ricks, and Dr. Blyden, who in the case of the first two were recaptives, and in the case of the latter two were descendants of recaptives, all Negroes of West Africa. These kind acts of Royalty were received by all West Africa as acts of condescension, kindness, and goodwill, which tended to inpsire loyalty and devotion in the hearts of Negroes and assisted to accelerate their progress. It is therefore to be regretted that when good men and highly placed personalities are doing all they could to correct the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, and to facilitate the progress of Negroes on right lines, a great London paper as the *Daily Mail* without due inquiry, consideration, and proper information, should have permitted its column to contain such one-sided criticisms, mostly exaggerated, wholly misleading, certainly inaccurate, and sadly unreliable, from its Special Correspondent, contrary to the policy of its great and illustrious founder.

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Rural Representative in the Legislative Council of Sierra Leone.

Providence Cottage,
Kissy, Sierra Leone,
8th November, 1927.

"JUSTICE IN WEST AFRICA."

To the Editor of WEST AFRICA.

Sir,—I have transcribed that title because in your issue of October 29 it heads the article taken from "Truth," which followed your own article of October 1, and Dr. Bankole-Bright's address, upon which your article was based, but for the purposes of what I am now writing the truer title would be, "Is there justice in Sierra Leone?"

West Africa

Some of us begin to think there is not.

Dr. Bankole-Bright, who is known and honoured in London as well as in Freetown, courageously put into words what many have been thinking, that the time has now come for a change in the present method in Sierra Leone of administering justice. By that I mean that the time has come when the jury system should be re-established there, or the assessor system should be honoured in the way intended when it was created.

Of the jury system in Freetown I have my own opinion. I should like to see it re-established. The system did a great deal in the higher education of the Sierra Leoneans and—although there were many absurd and some malicious verdicts—on the whole it was upheld with dignity and common-sense. But the jury system is not now my theme.

12-17-27

For more than 30 years the Assessors Ordinance has been supreme in Sierra Leone. All who have studied it have had doubts about it. Its law is feeble and its justice clouded. And when those who study it know how it was manufactured, they feel their doubts strengthened.

"In August (1895) the Legislative Council," says Crooks (who was to begin to draw his pension the next month), "passed an Ordinance to amend the law with reference to trial by jury. By this Ordinance, trial by the Court with the aid of assessors in certain cases, became law, and in cases not punishable by death a return was made to the old system of a majority verdict. The property qualification of jurors was raised, and the Governor in Council has the power of ordering a trial by assessors in the case of public officers charged with certain criminal offences affecting Government property."

That is the historian's way (and a good way, too, from his point of view) of summing up two turbulent months in Freetown: eight weeks of Bull-of-Bashan bellowings from Fort Thornton that lashed into nervous and blundering activity his law officers. For then the Colony was ruled by a soldier of the old school (who was Tyrant of Sierra for three years, while the country was without a Governor), who thought he was Divinely ordained to "keep the dash'd niggers in their dash'd place," and who went to extraordinary lengths to do what he thought was his duty.

The "reason" for the Ordinance is now well-known. A Sierra Leonean who had reached high position in the Colony was accused of embezzlement of public money, was tried, and was acquitted. And all who knew him were satisfied that the jury had not erred. But that old-time Colonel was being furiously active in the Post Office, of which Mr. Spain, the accused, had been in charge, and in the midst of blasting all who came within sound of his voice he issued command for the re-arrest of the Postmaster-General. Then, because a jury had held Spain innocent and the old-time Colonel held him guilty, this Ordinance was hastily passed, and by its aid poor Spain was damned for life, by the sentence of seven years' imprisonment!

I have no desire to say more about that, save to assert that in no other country except the Sierra Leone of that day would it have been allowed.

The Ordinance remains to this day—a monument to racial animosity. Of its making there are those who say that Sir Samuel Lewis, C.M.G., one of the greatest of the sons of Sierra Leone, was responsible. That is not true. What little law there is in the Ordinance he was responsible for, but its *spirit* was dictated before it passed into his hands.

Having stated its begetting, I pass on to tell something of the history of the Ordinance as a law of the land. After being put upon the statute-book in so dramatic a fashion it became almost forgotten. For 15 years if it was used at all it was used in so unimportant cases that little interest concerning it was aroused in the Colony. Sir W. H. Quayle Jones seemed a little shy of it.

Then came the riots against the Syrian traders (in Governor Wilkinson's time, but whilst he was on leave), who were increasing in number rapidly and obtaining business as shop-keepers in what seemed, to the African Sierra Leonean, amazing fashion. Amongst the many results of those riots was the prosecution of an African store-clerk, and his imprisonment, and his death in prison.

For that store-clerk's conviction the 1895 Assessors Ordinance was applied, and because it was so applied we can mention how it worked. The Assessors (all three British, by the way), after thoroughly sifting the evidence, declared Johnson (the store-keeper) not guilty. They sat there to judge facts, and that was their verdict. The Chief Justice, who sat with them to aid them by his knowledge of law, and only so to do, refused to accept their verdict. He not only refused to accept it, he treated it as if it had not been made and spoken, and on his own responsibility found Johnson guilty and sentenced him.

Reading the above paragraph over makes one wonder if it is correctly stated. It is. Therefore the conclusion is forced upon us that something is terribly wrong in the way justice is meted out in the Colony. Either the Ordinance should not be applied, or if it is applied, it should be honoured as the law of the land.

There followed the case of Bright, an African clerk in the Post Office at Freetown, who was prosecuted for some missing stamps. Bright demanded trial by jury, but the Chief Justice applied the Assessors Ordinance. Because Bright was refused what he considered his right, he declined to plead or to call evidence, thus leaving nothing for the chosen assessors to do, and the sequel was that the Chief Justice alone conducted the trial, announced a verdict, and apportioned the punishment.

And there followed the case of Cornelius May, M.L.C., J.P., proprietor and editor of a paper known far beyond West Africa, and Mayor of Freetown. Mr. May, a rich man and a man honoured by White and Black alike in the Colony, was accused of conspiring with others to make away with old iron of about £20 value and convert the money to his own use. He was tried under the Assessors Ordinance, and the Assessors found him not guilty. Two of the assessors were British and one African.

Though the accused had been found not guilty of the *fact,* Chief Justice Sir Gilbert Purcell refused to accept the assessors' verdict, and himself sentenced Mr. May to nine months' imprisonment. I know all the principals concerned in that trial. The two British assessors have been in the Colony for many years, and are known as honourable men. The African, a political opponent of Mr. May's, is also known and respected as an honourable man. These three acquitted Mr. May. The Chief Justice, as he did in the case of Johnson, alone condemned him.

Cornelius May asked leave to appeal. It was not allowed. His friends in England sought counsel's opinion as to bringing the case directly before the Privy Council, and were told that "if the assessors had been a jury, the defendants would have succeeded in winning an acquittal." They were told that the grievance of the defendants was "against the law" and not against "the pure question of fact," therefore against the Chief Justice as opposed to the assessors. And they were also told that the assessors "were as well able to form a view as the Chief Justice." Yet Cornelius May went to prison.

When I think of that gentle, beautiful-spirited man in prison, I see *red!* For there is not one of his multitude of friends who is not sure he is an innocent and wronged man.

He was tried under an Ordinance that should never have been made part of the law of the land of Sierra Leone, and even that law was but nominal, for when it had functioned its result was deliberately thrust aside, and the personal opinion of the judge put in the place of the unanimous judicial opinion of the assessors.

"Therefore I again ask, "Is there justice in Sierra Leone?" And if, as I think it does, this article proves (in the cases mentioned, at all events) there is not, then I ask, "When is the mal-administration to cease?"

Whose task is it?

Surely all who rejoice in being British, whatever else divides them, will join in a demand that this matter be at once examined impartially, and justice done (*real* justice, the heritage of us all) both to the victims and to those who are responsible for their being victims.

F. W. BURT-THOMPSON, Captain.

Ventnor, November, 1927.

time when noble minded men of broad views in all parts of Europe and specially in England are doing their best to foster a universal spirit of unity between white and black, Mr. Dixon had been deputed to come to this part of the Empire to rouse bitter feelings. It was the very same time that the heads of departments in England were doing honour to President King of the Negro Republic, whose grandsires were benefited by the emancipation of the Negro, inspired by the noble example of His Majesty King George, who had received the President in Buckingham Palace, following the example of his illustrious father King Edward, who had received into the same Palace Dr. Blyden, Archdeacon Wilson and daughter descendants of Negro recaptives of West Africa. The illustrious King Edward, followed the traditions of his mother, Good Queen Victoria who had received at Windsor, Sarah Forbes Bonetta, whom Her Majesty sponsored, Bishop Crowther, Mrs. Ricks, and Dr. Blyden, who in the case of the first two were recaptives, and in the case of the latter two were descendants of recaptives, all Negroes of West Africa. These kind acts of Royalty were received by all West Africa as acts of condescension, kindness, and goodwill, which tended to inpsire loyalty and devotion in the hearts of Negroes and assisted to accelerate their progress. It is therefore to be regretted that when good men and highly placed personalities are doing all they could to correct the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, and to facilitate the progress of Negroes on right lines, a great London paper as the *Daily Mail* without due inquiry, consideration, and proper information, should have permitted its column to contain such one-sided criticisms, mostly exaggerated, wholly misleading, certainly inaccurate, and sadly unreliable, from its Special Correspondent, contrary to the policy of its great and illustrious founder.

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Though the accused had been found not guilty of the *fact*, Chief Justice Sir Gilbert Purcell refused to accept the assessors' verdict, and himself sentenced Mr. May to nine months' imprisonment. I know all the principals concerned in that trial. The two British assessors have been in the Colony for many years, and are known as honourable men. The African, a political opponent of Mr. May's, is also known and respected as an honourable man. These three acquitted Mr. May. The Chief Justice, as he did in the case of Johnson, alone condemned him.

Cornelius May asked leave to appeal. It was not allowed. His friends in England sought counsel's opinion as to bringing the case directly before the Privy Council, and were told that "if the assessors had been a jury, the defendants would have succeeded in winning an acquittal." They were told that the grievance of the defendants was "against the law" and not against "the pure question of fact," therefore against the Chief Justice as opposed to the assessors. And they were also told that the assessors "were as well able to form a view as the Chief Justice." Yet Cornelius May went to prison.

When I think of that gentle, beautiful-spirited man in prison, I see *red!* For there is not one of his multitude of friends who is not sure he is an innocent and wronged man.

He was tried under an Ordinance that should never have been made part of the law of the land of Sierra Leone, and even that law was but nominal, for when it had functioned its result was deliberately thrust aside, and the personal opinion of the judge put in the place of the unanimous judicial opinion of the assessors.

Therefore I again ask, "Is there justice in Sierra Leone?" And if, as I think it does, this article proves (in the cases mentioned, at all events) there is not, then I ask, "When is the mal-administration to cease?"

Whose task is it?

Surely all who rejoice in being British, whatever else divides them, will join in a demand that this matter be at once examined impartially, and justice done (*real* justice, the heritage of us all) both to the victims and to those who are responsible for their being victims.

F. W. BUTT-THOMPSON, Captain.

Ventnor, November, 1927.

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Africa

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

SLAVERY ALLEGATIONS.

Governor's Indignant Repudiation.

SALISBURY, December 12.

Speaking before the Conference of Native Commissioners today, the Governor, Lieut.-Colonel Sir John Chancellor, said:—

"I have observed with surprise and pain the hostile propaganda regarding our treatment of natives that has recently been organised in the Press and Parliament of Great Britain. I resent no less strongly than you do the unwarranted charges that have been made in connection with the Juvenile Employment Act, which was passed mainly at your instance, and solely in the interests of native juveniles, and with the approval of their parents.

"The charge that the Act has in effect introduced slavery into Southern Rhodesia is too monstrous to need repudiation. I have been in correspondence with the Secretary of State on the subject, and I have repudiated the charge and explained to him the true position. I have no doubt that he will deal faithfully with the slander when the matter is discussed in the House of Commons."

Much satisfaction, states a later Reuter message, is felt at the speeches of Sir John Chancellor, the Governor, and Sir H. J. Taylor, the Chief Native Commissioner, at the Conference of Native Commissioners, and particularly with what is felt to be the vindication of the Government's native policy and the emphatic repudiation of allegations of slavery.

Sir Herbert Taylor said:—

"We are in a great measure responsible for the legislation which has been effected, and I put it to you: Is it conceivable that we who in a real sense are the trustees of the natives could become so inhuman as to abandon our principles of justice?"

TRIBUTES TO FATHER OF EDUCATION.

The Governor (Sir John Chancellor) and the Hon. J. W. Downie (Minister of Public Works) paid warm tributes to the memory of Mr. George Duthie, at the foundation stone-laying ceremony of the Duthie Memorial Hall at Salisbury.

The late Mr. Duthie, who arrived in the Colony in 1900 to fill the office of Superintending Inspector of Education, devoted his life to the education of the youth of Rhodesia. As a final act of generosity Mr. Duthie bequeathed the sum of £5,000 to the Caledonian Society in Salisbury for the purchase of a site suitable for the erection of a hall in the town, the size of which could well be seen from the walls already in process of construction. Mr. Duthie was an Aberdonian and a man of brilliant scholastic attainments.

His Excellency described the late Mr. Duthie as the Father of Education in Rhodesia and a man whose name would ever be treasured as one who deserved well of his country.

FAMOUS MARATHON RUNNER IN ENGLAND.

Mr. Arthur Newton, the famous long-distance runner and holder of many world's records, has arrived in England, the object of his trip being to achieve further fame on the running track. He was given a wonderful send-off at Bulawayo, being presented with a large cake highly decorated with the ribbons and other regalia of the Harriers' Club and surmounted by a sugared figure of Mr. Newton in running attitude.

Mr. Newton, whose association with Rhodesia has been of the happiest, is now proud to call himself a Rhodesian, and intends to return some day to that colony. He is at present on a visit to his father in Devonshire.

WHAT THE GOVERNMENT HAS DONE.

No Excuses Necessary Says Mrs. Tawse Jollie.

Though the present Government, which was returned to power in 1924 for a period of five years, is entitled to remain in office till 1929, it is certain that a General Election will be held next year, probably in October.

Statements to this effect have been made by a number of responsible authorities, including the Attorney-General and Mrs. Tawse Jollie. Speaking at Inyazura, Mrs. Tawse Jollie defended the Government's record and had something trenchant to say about the Government's critics. In comparing the manifestoes of the Rhodesian Party and the newly formed Progressive Party, Mrs. Jollie said that there was very little difference, if any, in the main points of their manifestoes, although she admitted that there had been complaints made in the House, and elsewhere, that sectional interests had received preference by the Rhodesian Party, most of which complaints had been fostered and encouraged by the propaganda of what was today known as the official Opposition of the Government.

It was necessary that the electors should be enlightened in view of the approaching General Election, and for that reason there was a great need for a fillip to be given to organising work throughout the country.

Before Self-Government.

Prior to 1924 the country had been governed by a great commercial company, whose method of government had not been progressive enough for the needs of the country. There had been a shortage of staff in many of the departments of public works, and it had been a hard task for the new Government to find the best men for these departments. Naturally, some time had elapsed before matters had been put in order, and this delay had been the cause of much of the criticism levelled at the Government.

However, as most people would admit, the delay had been justified in view of the completion of the many public works, and of the many still in hand. Time had to be taken to get the best men possible for the responsible positions of executing these works, and she felt justified in saying that they had obtained those men.

It had been said that the Rhodesian Party did not encourage immigration by bringing in large numbers of people and placing them in small areas, but had favoured the man or company with large capital at his disposal. In that connection she would like to point out to her audience that when the present Government came into power the population was somewhere in the region of 36,000, whereas it was now getting on for 50,000. All this additional population had been absorbed in the industries of the country. There were very few unemployed: in fact, one might say that unemployment in Rhodesia was non existent. Surely it was the best and the sanest policy to progress at a nominal rate and see that new arrivals in the country had a job to go to, than to bring large numbers of people into a country where no means of employing them existed.

Increased Revenue.

During the period of the present Government the revenue of the country had increased from under one and a-half millions to well over two millions annually. Possibly this had also been the result of a lucky Government. Large amounts of money had been spent on education, something like £300,000 having been spent, mostly, she would admit, in the towns. She would like to see more attention paid to rural requirements, and she assured her hearers that this would certainly be done.

She offered no excuse for the Government, as she considered no excuse was necessary. Hard work on behalf of his country had killed Sir Charles Coghlan, and she felt sure that if any man had really and truly died for his country Sir Charles Coghlan had. The strain had proved too much for him.

PEACE!

WHAT OF THE BLACKS?

(By R. V. Selope Thema in "Umteteli").

The flag controversy has been amicably settled. To-day, we are told, South Africa is entering upon a new era of peace and prosperity, and that the Government will be in a position to deal efficiently with the economic problems with which the country is confronted. A settlement of the racial feud between Boer and Briton will enable them to devote their time and energy to the higher things of life. It is not an exaggeration to say that since Slachter's Nek these two sections of the white population have never been at peace. The Treaty of Vereeniging which brought the Anglo-Boer War to an end did not at all settle the differences between them. It ended the war but the differences remained, for they were differences not only of race but also of ideals and traditions. And these differences are clearly shown in the attitude which they have each adopted towards the non-Europeans of this country. The traditional attitude of the Dutch people towards the black man was that of regarding him as the natural servant of the white race. The slogan: 'Keep the Kafir in his place,' which is still maintained by the majority of Europeans, is of Dutch origin. The place of the black man, of course, "is that sort of serf, who, as a rule is to be treated kindly and sympathetically so long as he remains entirely subordinate to the will of his master, but who will not get even bare justice, outside a court of law, if he tries to claim it as a right." This traditional attitude of the Dutch people towards the blacks is revealed in the constitution of the late South African Republic. There it was laid down that "the people shall admit of no equality between white and black in either Church or State."

The British, on the other hand, maintained that the black man as a British subject was entitled to British justice and freedom. "There shall not be in the eye of the law any distinction or disqualification whatever, founded on mere distinction of colour, origin, language or creed, but the protection of the law shall be extended impartially to all alike." It was these warring ideals which brought about the Great Trek after the abolition of slavery. Indeed the Great Trek was the parting of the ways. The emigrant Boers left the Cape in order to establish a state of their own where they could be at liberty to deal with the black man in their own way. Their grievance was against a policy which laid it down that: "in the eye of the law there shall be no discrimination among British subjects based solely on colour, race or creed." The struggle between these antagonistic policies has not yet been settled, and the so called Native question has become insoluble on account of them. When at Vereeniging in 1902 the Dutch leaders pressed for the postponement of the settlement of the Native franchise until after the granting of responsible government it

was obviously with a view to delay the discussion of this question until the atmosphere was more favourable to their views; and, judging by the attitude which the majority of Englishmen have to-day adopted towards the Bantu people, one cannot but come to the conclusion that they have now secured the object of their desire. For, since the Treaty of Vereeniging we have witnessed a tragic scene—the decline and fall of British traditions of justice and liberty, and the triumph of the Dutch policy. As Mrs Millin says in her book, "The South Africans": "The Boer's prejudices against Indians and Natives are spreading to the Englishman." As a result the liberal policy of the Cape is being replaced by the policy of "keeping the kafir in his place."

It is true that there are men of the Dutch race who have outgrown colour and race prejudice, and have learnt to look upon the black man as a member of the human family equally entitled to the enjoyment of the fruits of his labour and to the exercise of his human rights. But it cannot be denied that the majority of the Dutch people are still slaves to the ideals of their forefathers. It is because of this fact that South Africa is to-day the only British dominion that has allowed its constitution to be stained by colour bars.

It is plain to see that South Africa, under the Pact Government, is determined to maintain barriers against the progress of the coloured races. Thus the settlement of the flag controversy does not in any way settle South Africa's race problems. From the Native standpoint it is not peace, for a real peace must be the outcome of the contentment of all sections of the people. To-day, while Boer and Briton are eating the Cake of Peace, there is violent unrest among the non-European races. Everywhere throughout the coloured world South Africa is regarded as the arch enemy of the black man's freedom and liberty. This is not surprising. South Africa is a leading state of the African continent; it is the only part where the white man has established himself permanently. As such, its policy towards the non-European races is being vigilantly watched by intelligent coloured men throughout the world.

The Bantu are pleased with the settlement of the flag question, yet they are fearful lest this settlement should mean the sacrifice of British democracy and justice upon the altar of race and colour prejudice. This fear is not groundless. In 1902 and 1909 compromises of this kind between Boer and Briton have proved to be detrimental to the welfare of the Bantu people. Rightly or wrongly it is felt by the Bantu that this compromise on the flag question might affect them adversely.

However, it is to be hoped that in this peaceful settlement of the flag question a new spirit of humanity will emerge, a spirit which will recognise the fact that this country's peace depends not only upon the unity of the two white races, but also upon the contentment and prosperity of the non-European races. It is not upon the poverty, the ignorance and helplessness of the black man that the security of White South Africa depends; but upon his advancement and progress. It is the policy of repression which is engendering Native hatred and hostility against the white man. It is the lack of opportunity and of avenues of advancement that is at the root of Native unrest to-day. The demand now made that for all time persons of African and Asiatic descent shall be relegated by legislation to the position of helots, that colour shall be made the "bar sinister" against employment in the industries of this country, is fostering a spirit of racial antagonism the effect of which will be to retard the country's progress. There is great danger in the situation, which can be averted only by a bold and courageous statesmanship that will rise above colour and race prejudice.

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Africa

A GREAT AFRICAN ADMINISTRATOR.

SIR H. H. JOHNSTON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., DIED JULY 31, 1927.

Special "African World" Memoir.

Among the pioneers who successfully tore aside the veil of mystery which enveloped the African Continent Sir Harry Johnston will rank high, for he possessed the necessary scientific training and the critical faculty which many other brave souls lacked; further he had a facile pen and the gift of lucidly marshalling his facts; he was moreover blest with great artistic ability, and could thus illustrate his work in a unique manner. These gifts, coupled with immense industry, pushed him to the front at an early age and eventually ensured his fame.

Destined to be an artist, he spent his early life at the Academy schools, and was then fortunate in having several years of European travel which quickened his nascent powers of observation, and gave him practice in various European languages. His first chance of African travel soon came, for at the age of twenty-four he joined an expedition, headed by Lord Mayo, which was planned to explore the unknown land behind Mossamedes, in South Angola. On his return journey he landed at the Congo mouth, and came in close contact with the redoubtable Stanley, who was then at the zenith of his prestige as Governor of the Free State. Stanley was evidently impressed by this brilliant young man, for he arranged facilities for him to proceed on a journey up the river.

The experiences of these early journeyings determined the trend of Johnston's future life, for upon his return to England he became involved in the discussions of the mighty, regarding the future of Africa, and he dedicated his life to its service.

The period was one of great dramatic interest, the partition of Africa among the Powers was perhaps the most important matter under consideration in the Foreign Offices of Britain, France, and Germany. King Leopold's great experiment in the Congo basin was well under way, and the Imperial British East African Company was about to be born.

This afforded a unique opportunity for a clever young man, who, moreover, had the then rare distinction of having actually travelled in Africa. Johnston was naturally not slow to take advantage of the chance, and we next hear of him leading a scientific expedition to explore Kilimanjaro, but he incidentally concluded treaties under which the leading chiefs agreed to place their territories under the protection of Britain. The Foreign Office of that day, unfortunately however, did not foresee the importance of upholding these concessions, and allowed the mountain to drift into German hands.

Upon his return from the East Coast, the Foreign Office recognised Sir Harry's ability by appointing him a Vice-Consul in West Africa. He held the post with distinction for 2½ years, and while there came near to death from that fell disease black-water fever. He was then appointed Consul at Mozambique, but his real mission was to establish British control of the region which a little later became the British Central Africa Protectorate, and in due course Nyasaland.

It was his first real experience of administrative work. He had to establish a Government with resources which were ridiculously inadequate; with Portuguese aggression on one side and hostile bands of armed Arab slave traders on the other, his position was very precarious, but with great tenacity and pluck he won through, and when he left Nyasaland its administration was firmly established. Probably the best work of his busy life was done in that country, and he was justly awarded a K.C.B. for his work there. We next find him serving as Consul-General at Tunis, which seems to have been rather a curious appointment for one who had so adequately proved his worth in Tropical Africa.

In 1899, at the age of 41, however, he was offered the post of Special Commissioner in Uganda, and this post afforded him a field congenial to his remarkable gifts. Uganda was just emerging from the throes of a desperate struggle, in which the Sudanese troops had thrown over their allegiance to



THE LATE SIR H. H. JOHNSTON, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.

the Crown and made a bid for the establishment of a Mohammedan kingdom in Central Africa. By the gallantry and tenacity of a devoted band of military and civil officers, aided by assistance from India, this rebellion had been subdued, but the country had naturally been greatly disorganised and impoverished, thus much reorganisation was necessary.

This work was admirably tackled by Sir Harry, and he undoubtedly laid the foundations of the prosperity which Uganda has enjoyed in recent years.

One of his great works there was what is called the Uganda Agreement, by which the great chiefs of that country were secure in title to what they claimed as their lands. This measure has of recent years been the subject of severe criticism, and in the light of fuller knowledge it is probable that he dealt with these claims in too liberal a spirit and failed to foresee the complications which might arise. It must, however, never be forgotten that this agreement ensured the willing co-operation of the great feudal chiefs to our efforts for the progress of the country and without which it was impossible to govern peaceably. The settlement was undoubtedly rough and ready; it carried one back to the story of Crown grants in mediæval times in England, but time and the progress of social evolution have softened the situation in England, and doubtless the same course will ensue in far-off Uganda.

This service in Uganda terminated Sir Harry's official career, and the reason is yet to seek. It is to be regretted, for his experience was by this time mature, and the Government might have benefited by it.

His insatiable passion for work, however, prevented him from disappearing from the public eye, for he turned to the compilation of a momentous work, entitled "A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages," which, with generous financial assistance from Mr. Percy Molteno and others, was published by the Oxford Press, and it will ever remain as a monument of research extending over a period of forty years.

In the last decade, to the surprise of his friends, he embarked on the realm of fiction, and his first novel, "The Gay Dombeys," was a somewhat original conception, for it purported to be a continuation of Dickens's "Dombey and Son." It was a daring project, and may be voted a success, but about that period he fell to some extent under the influence of H. G. Wells; the scientific outlook and attitude of bold speculation common to both formed a link, and it is suspected that the magnetic influence of Wells had more effect in shaping this work than the shadowy personality of Dickens.

It is, however, impossible here to do justice or even refer to the many works which were the product of his prolific pen during his years of retirement.

As a man, his personality affected people in various ways. Some found his meticulous habit of mind trying, and others were antagonised by his high-pitched voice; some even said that he annexed people's ideas without acknowledgment. These views were, however, superficial. The writer knew him well for many years, having served under him and maintained touch with him after his retirement, and is able to testify to many acts of spontaneous kindness. The screen of trivial mannerisms only temporarily veiled great consideration to men who worked. A tireless worker himself, his standard of duty in others was high. He was assiduous in seeking information from all and sundry, but, as far as is known, never failed to acknowledge generously the source of any important observation. Like many men whose brains operate quickly, he could not tolerate stupidity, and unfortunately sometimes did not always disguise his impatience. He was a man of high ideals, great determination, tremendous erudition, and altogether a great figure. The debt Africa owes to him cannot be too highly stated. "Requiescat in pace."

C. W. H.

FUNERAL OF SIR HARRY JOHNSTON.

The funeral of Sir Harry Johnston took place on Thursday at Poling Church Cemetery, near Arundel, Sussex, the service being conducted by the Vicar of Lyminster (Dr. Duval), assisted by the Rev. A. Dry. The chief mourners were the Hon. Lady Johnston (widow), Mr. Alec Johnston and Mr. Phillip Johnston (brothers), Miss Lillian Johnston and Mrs. Henderson (sisters), Mr. Henderson (brother-in-law), Mr. Deedes (nephew), Lord Boston, Mr. and Mrs. Cavendish, and Mr. Bristow. Others present included Col.-Commdr. Jack (representing the Royal Geographical Society), Mrs. Emile Mond, the Earl of Mayo (with whom Sir Harry made his first African expedition), Mr. Blundell (solicitor), Mr. A. J. Swann, Lady Maude Parry, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Braham. A simple and dignified service was held in the old church, the coffin being draped in the cloak of the Order of St. Michael and George, of which the late Sir Harry held the Grand Cross. At the grave the youthful choristers of Poling Church sang a hymn, the proceedings throughout being most affecting. There was a wealth of beautiful floral tributes of sympathy, which, outside those from members of the bereaved family, included one sent by President King of Liberia, the Royal Geographical Society, Mrs. Emile Mond, the Editor of THE AFRICAN WORLD, Mr. and Mrs. Braham, and from many other old friends.

WEST AFRICA'S GREAT LOSS.

THE LATE DR. J. E. K. AGGREY.

(BY A FRIEND—SPECIAL TO "THE AFRICAN WORLD.")

Only a Sunday or two ago we were reading with pleasure in the "Observer" of the progress of Achimota and of Dr. Aggrey's work there, in an interview in London with that great African educator and Christian gentleman. Not only was it a shock, therefore, to receive the news this week that he had been suddenly stricken down by pneumonia in New York after a day's illness, on July 30, but it is difficult fully to appreciate the tragedy that his passing means for the future of that great educational experiment in the Gold Coast and the full and understanding co-operation between the white and the black races in working out the destiny of Africa.

Aggrey believed whole-heartedly in his own race. He believed, too, in the white man, and he made it his business in life, while remaining the most loyal of Africans ("I am glad that I am black, that God knew his business when he made me so," he once said), to seek the fullest co-operation between the two races, and to act as interpreter between them.

Aggrey was born at Anamabu, on the Gold Coast, in 1876, and at fourteen years old he was appointed head teacher at the school at Dunkwa, after he had been a scholar at the Wesleyan Mission School at Cape Coast Castle. He was always extremely proud of his ancestry. On his mother's side (the old lady is still living, and Aggrey a month or two ago told me with pride how Sir Gordon Guggisberg had paid her the honour of a special visit) he was heir to five stools. His father, Egya Kodwo Aggrey, was a great figure and spokesman, who could trace his ancestry back for nine hundred years. Referring to this, he said, "As for me, I prefer the stool, the golden stool of education. I want all my people to be educated in the larger sense, in heart, head, and hand." This is what made him as a youth take up the suggestion of the American bishop, Dr. Johnson, that he should go to the States. There he followed his craft of compositor, and developed by steps into newspaperman, rural church pastor, and professor. Psychology, history, sociology were the subjects in which he won degrees, besides the D.D. and Ph.D. of Columbia University, New York. About eighteen years ago he married an American negro lady, a fellow-professor at Livingstone College, Salisbury, N.C. He leaves a family of four. The youngest, a boy of nine months, was born since his wife returned to America from a visit to Achimota.

Dr. Aggrey was little known to the British public till he took part, under Dr. Jesse Jones, his great friend and admirer, in the first Phelps-Stokes Fund Educational Commission to West Africa. His contribution to its success was so outstanding that he was unhesitatingly invited to join the second commission to East and South Africa. This drew a warm invitation to join the staff of Fort Hare College, Cape Province, but plans for the starting of Achimota in his own West Africa, in which he was invited to join, proved the stronger attraction. At considerable financial sacrifice—for he had also tempting invitations from America—he accepted. It is hardly a secret that it was Aggrey who persuaded Rev. Alec G. Fraser, then Principal of Trinity College, Kandy, to accept the post of Chief of Achimota and that Mr. Fraser only did so on condition that Aggrey should be his colleague.

How ideal has been the partnership is shown in a tribute to Aggrey, which Mr. Fraser, now in London, sends me. In the course of this he says: "He was a delightful man to live with, full of humour, never taking offence, always looking on the bright side of things. Men said at times he was conceited. He had conceit, but it was never offensive; it never was at the expense of others. There was no egotism in Aggrey.

When he enjoyed himself he brought all others into his enjoyment. He shared himself. The humour with which he took rebuffs was quite deliberate, and meant great self-mastery. He was almost an ascetic, and was the purest man I have ever met. Never had a man a more loyal fellow-worker."

I wish I had room to give at length a feeling tribute sent me by Sir Gordon Guggisberg, the late Governor of the Gold Coast.



The late DR. AGGREY with MR. H. W. PEET, the writer of the accompanying special memoir.

"In the passing over of Aggrey," he says, "Africa has lost one of her greatest sons. Many there are, both white and black, who will mourn personally for a loyal friend, but those who knew the ideals of the man and his practical way of carrying them out will realise, as the vast majority may not, what a blow has been dealt to the progress of the African races."

Referring to his work at Achimota, Sir Gordon says "his task was in his mind night and day. No trouble was too great for him. No help that he could give was ever refused. Only a real faith that lifted him above himself could have sustained him during the past three years: and he had that faith—the real faith of a real Christian. . . . And so, old friend, rest in peace. You have laid the foundations for the road along which your beloved Africans are marching."

One more brief tribute from a high authority who was brought into close touch with Aggrey's work. After referring to his services for true education, he writes:—"But what will be remembered by his friends will be his most lovable personality. Endowed with great gifts, he was of all men most humble. He possessed in a particular degree the virtues of that simple Christianity which was the guiding impulse of his life. He was a great optimist, and his optimism was shown in an unvarying cheerfulness and good humour. He will be missed by many in two continents."

H.E. Sir Ransford Slater, Governor of the Gold Coast, in cabling his deep regrets, states that there will be a special memorial service at Achimota on Sunday afternoon (August 7).

H. W. P.



THE LATE DR. J. E. K. AGGREY AND MRS. AGGREY.

Great Work for the Empire.

A correspondent writes to the "Times": In Dr. Aggrey there passes the African who it is believed had no equal as an interpreter between the two races, black and white. . . . Determined to do his best to serve his fellow Africans, Aggrey went to the United States. His chance came when he was invited to become a member of the Phelps Stokes Fund Education Commission to West Africa soon after the war. He was the outstanding member of the Commission, said its chairman, Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, and when the British and United States Governments co-operated in a similar Commission to East Africa in 1923, Dr. Aggrey was pressed again to serve. His knowledge of human nature, black or white, served him in good stead, and he created a remarkable impression among the Africans and the white communities throughout East and, later, South Africa, where he acted as interpreter of all that was best in African aspiration.

He was in consequence asked by the Native Affairs Commissioner in South Africa to join the staff of the Native College at Fort Hare. However, he was also offered the post of Vice-Principal of the Prince of Wales College, Achimota, the great educational experiment on the Gold Coast. "I believed I could serve Africa best," he told me, when in London a few weeks ago, "by assisting in the building up of Achimota in my own part of Africa, to show what my people were capable of," and so he threw his energies into this important work. He had been granted special leave of absence till November, and was engaged on an important book on the history of West Africa.

No man had a higher idea of Dr. Aggrey than Sir Gordon Guggisberg, till recently Governor of the Gold Coast, who in his last report referred to him as "an African who, by the complete sacrifice of his own interests in other countries, will set a fine example to the students of Achimota of a man who has placed the good of his country and people above all personal considerations."

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Africa

SOUTH AFRICA'S NATIVE PROBLEM.

A Reversal of Policy.

The South African Native Lands Bill interests many who do not know South Africa. It is one of four bills in which General Hertzog has embodied his native policy for consideration by the South African electorate. The responsibility for the problems with which these bills deal rests solely on the shoulders of his Government and that electorate; but the citizens of this country have an interest in it. We are still responsible for the four protectorates that belong to the Union geographically, though politically they are still under the Imperial Parliament. The South African natives are a small branch of the great family of Bantus, numbering perhaps 90,000,000 persons and forming a vast majority of the population of British territory in the Rhodesias, Tanganyika, Kenya, and Uganda; the reactions of South African policy will not be confined to South African territory, but will ease or aggravate our problem throughout East and Central Africa. Indeed the interest is even wider. The relations of advanced to backward peoples is the greatest social problem of the present century, and the Government of South Africa, in legislating for the unenfranchised majority of their fellow-countrymen, are in the position of trustees for Western civilisation and will have the eyes of Western civilisation upon them. We do not feel, therefore, that we are interfering in the internal affairs of another nation if we respond to General Hertzog's invitation to discuss and criticise his Bills.

The Lands Bill is undoubtedly the most important of the four measures in its immediate economic effects; it is not the measure that has excited native opinion most. That is the Representation of Natives Bill. At present in the Cape Province the franchise is based on a combined property and educational qualification under which a small minority of natives—about 15,000 in a native population of 1,750,000 and a total electorate of 170,000—have the right to vote. This qualification, in the case of natives alone, is to be swept away: natives as such are to be made ineligible for the ordinary franchise throughout the Union; in substitution they are to be given seven special representatives in Parliament, Europeans, to be chosen by an electorate nominated by the Government; and even these representatives are to be debarred from voting on any proposal affecting native representation and on any resolution of confidence in the Government of the day. The other two bills, the one to constitute a consultative native council, the other to extend, under strict limitations, the franchise enjoyed at present in the Cape by coloured persons (half-castes) to the other provinces, are of minor importance. The four bills have a common characteristic: all alike they give the impression of liberal intentions frustrated by the pressure of reactionary interests. The indirect representation of natives living under tribal conditions would be an advance if it were not accompanied by the disfranchisement of the few natives in the Cape who have emerged from tribal conditions and who have honourably discharged the responsibilities of citizenship for three generations. The opening of new areas to native purchase and the establishment of a fund to assist native land purchase would be an important reform if the fund were not to be supplied by taxes which, with other regulations, will have the inevitable effect of depriving hundreds of thousands of natives of the opportunity of farming on their own account and of forcing them into service with white employers, among whom they will not be even free to choose. A consultative native council would be an acceptable gift if the grace of it were not destroyed by conditions of subordination to the Department of Native Affairs that are insulting. The extension of the coloured franchise is overdue; to make it depend on the extinction of the Cape native franchise is to insult the native as well as to injure him. It is not surprising that the articulate leaders of native opinion, the friends of the natives in the white community, and the Churches, so far as these have already spoken, are unanimous in condemning the bills as reactionary and unjust. The real test of Christian opinion, however, will come at the end of the month, when the Dutch Reformed Church holds a conference to consider the bills, at which natives will be heard.

The position of a Government like that of South Africa, responsible to a white minority and responsible for a large native majority in the community, is one of peculiar difficulty. Where the natives are still living in their own communities under tribal conditions the task is hard enough; where, as in South Africa, the natives have been affected by a century of contact with white civilisation, and range all the way from primitive tribalism to highly cultured professional men of the type of Professor Jabavu, the task is infinitely more complicated. Any policy that treats all natives alike is certain to involve injustice; if the injustice be ignored, as affecting only an insignificant minority, the policy will nevertheless be bad if it endeavours to stereotype conditions that economic and spiritual forces are combining to sweep away. The only principle that offers any guidance in a case like this is the principle of trusteeship, the principle that the white ruler must aim at the welfare of the unenfranchised black subject. Does the Government of South Africa regard the natives as South Africans, incapable as yet of full participation in the rights and obligations of citizenship but entitled to as much consideration as other members of the community? Or does it regard them as an alien element in the community, to be kept permanently in a state of political and economic subjection- The bills now under consideration suggest the latter view; they suggest, moreover, like the Colour Bar Act of last year, that their motive is fear of the native. The report of the Economic and Wage Commission of 1925 was an argument, which has never been answered, that such fears were groundless in the economic sphere; in the political sphere there is even less ground for them. Much more to be feared is a policy of repression, which, by disappointing the legitimate aspirations of the civilised natives and obstructing the economic development of the uncivilised, will arouse inter-racial animosity, of which there is little sign at present.

International Conference in Belgium.

[*continued*]

IMPRESSIONS

By the Rev. Z. R. Mahabane
(South Africa)

The International Missionary Conference on the Christian Mission in Africa, held under the auspices of the International Missionary Council, London, at Le Zoute, on the North-west coast of Belgium, on the 14th day of September, 1926, should go down to history as the second Edinburgh Conference on Missions. What will always be referred to as the Africa Conference at Le Zoute has rightly been described as a wonderful Conference.

The object for which the Conference was called was to consider the Christian Mission in Africa, and the two main questions to which the Assembly addressed itself were: Firstly, "How may the Christian forces most effectively fulfil their specifically Christian task with deepened understanding, enlarged vision, increased hope and renewed energies"; Secondly, "what should be the relations between the organized activities of the Christian Church and those other powerful forces, political, economic and cultural, that are making their impact on the life of the African peoples and influencing and re-shaping it in a thousand ways?"

Consequently the thought uppermost in the mind of the Conference as reflected in the prayers, conversations and utterances of the members was "Africa and the Africans" The quest of the august assembly, international, inter-racial, inter-denominational and inter-continental as it was in its personnel, being composed of members of the Teutonic and Latin races of the Old and New Continents as well as the Negro or Black races of the New Continent and the Dark Continent, was to explore methods that would be appropriate to the new task of winning Africa for Christ.

The promoters of the Conference are to be congratulated upon the remarkarble skill and foresight they displayed in securing for the Conference some of the best brains and leading lights in missionary, educational and official circles of the world, Doctors in Divinity, Philosophy, Literature, Laws and Medicines, Masters and Bachelors in Arts, and those of us who had received only an elementary education felt that we were like the proverbial "fly in the milk" or out of proportion in a company of intellectual superiors.

By reason of the limited time at the disposal of the Conference it was found advisable to divide the assembly into Sectional Conferences to facilitate some exhaustive examination of each of the five main groups of subjects of discussion, viz, Evangelism, Education, Languages and Literature, Economics and Health and Welfare

Plenary sessions of the Conference were held in the mornings and evenings, and at each of these the given discussions were introduced by one, two or three addresses given by men, who, from the literary material value of their deliverances, appeared to have devoted a great deal of their time to the study of their respective subjects. The inaugural address of the Chairman of the Conference, the Reverend Donald Fraser, D.D., formerly Presbyterian Missionary in Nyasaland, was a masterly exposition of a "Century of Missionary Effort in Africa," although some of us thought that it made serious omission in failing to give even a slight recognition to the great missionary exploits of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, which is numerically the strongest Missionary Church in Southern Africa at least.

Among the addresses of outstanding merit from the point of view of

Race Problem - 1927

Africa

SOUTH AFRICA'S NATIVE PROBLEM.

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MAGISTRATES IN NATIVE AREAS.

It has for a long time been the desire among the Natives of the Ciskei that the resident magistrates should be men governed by the Native Affairs Department instead of the Department of Justice because most of the cases in such preponderantly native districts demand considerable knowledge of native life, sympathy with backward people, and a certain degree of missionary zeal for the uplift of the Bantu.

Perhaps there are difficulties in the way and one of them is that the minority of Europeans carries great weight in Government circles. Also, the civil service scale of pay for officials under the Native Affairs office is so much lower than that of justice that the ablest men cannot afford to be content with their lot and must always aspire to being transferred to some more lucrative department, hence the inevitable loss of all our most popular officials. The evil is so great that we almost dread to praise the successful magistrates lest they be at once transferred to some other department, as in the case of Lieut-Col. E. H. W. Muller whose financial ability got him out of the Umtata office into the Labour Department which is concerned mostly with Europeans.

The type of men we admire in Native districts is that of Mr. Whitfield in Cala, Mr. Bell in Elliot, Mr. Harries in Glen Grey, Mr. Berry in Butterworth, Mr. Schorn in Alice, and so forth.

Keiskama Hoek is highly fortunate in having a man like Mr. A. D. Beale who has earned the popular sobriquet of "Maduna," which indicates a Native clan of good and helpful people. We doubt if any living magisterial officer has done for the Natives of his district what he has achieved for his area during his six years of office. He has encouraged the agricultue of the Natives through the local Native Farmers' Association just as the late Col. Levey ("Pakamisa") did at Xalanga many years ago. He has been instrumental in securing the Fort Merriman Farm as compensation for the loss of Native pasture lands to the Forest Department; he has multiplied the number of agricultural demonstrators; and has now persuaded the Government to establish a Ciskei Native School of Agriculture in the Temlett Farm at Fort Cox, opposite to Burnshill, where under the able management of Mr. R. G. Ross the Natives are to be trained experimentally in better methods of stock raising and cultivation. The Prime Minister, General Hertzog, has heartily co-operated with him in this scheme which will usher a new era for the congested area where our people number a hundred and twenty eight souls to the square mile plus three hundred head of stock on the same mile!

In our areas the supreme official must have sympathy with the Bantu as a premier qualification, for just as unsympathetic magistrates do much to kindle unrest, so do men of the calibre indicated contribute greatly to the attainment of goodwill and loyalty to the Goverment.

SOUTH AFRICAN NATIVE POLICY.

To the Editor of "The Times"

Sir,—There appeared in "The Times" of January 21 a letter signed by several well-known persons protesting to the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa against his policy in regard to the passing of the Colour Bar Bill, his proposal to disenfranchise certain of the natives of Cape Colony, and his reported desire to repatriate all Indians now domiciled in South Africa. Will you allow me to say, Sir, that public opinion in South Africa is slowly settling against the incidence of the first-named measure? If left to herself, South Africa will be true to the highest ideals of justice. Of that fact a residence in the Union of over twenty years and some small opportunity of judging the trend of opinion have convinced me.

The proposed disenfranchisement of native voters in Cape Colony, while appearing to be violently anti-democratic, is part of a wider scheme to enfranchise large numbers of the Bantu of South Africa in a manner which many think to be better suited to their race and present standard of education than that at present exercised only by some portions of the black people of Cape Colony. It is therefore a matter in which opinion may honestly be divided, and the epithets applied to it in the letter published by you do not appear to be merited.

The Indian question was, when I left South Africa last month, to be the subject of discussions between representatives of the Indian and the South African Governments. Any criticisms therefore which the signatories of the letter felt obliged to make upon this matter would have carried more weight if they had appeared after the results of these discussions had been made public.

It is inconceivable that a protest such as that under discussion can do any good in South Africa. We South Africans are trying to face up to these enormously difficult questions as honestly as we can. The great Dutch Reformed Church is throwing all its weight upon the side of constructive Christian statesmanship in these matters. There is a large body of South African opinion which is seeking earnestly and labouring valiantly to find solutions of our racial perplexities which will stand any test of time or of justice. Upon the side of this body of opinion I feel sure that we may rank General Hertzog. In the face of these facts how is it possible for protests from outside sources to do anything other than to reharden slowly softening prejudices in South Africa?

Such protests tend to destroy the very cause they aim to support. The signatories have the satisfaction of having delivered their souls. But we in South Africa will have to pay the price.

A. W. LEE.

Cockington Vicarage, Torquay, Jan. 26.

JOINT EUROPEAN AND NATIVE CONFERENCE.

Pros and Cons of Segregation.

CAPE TOWN, January 31.

The joint European and native conference summoned by the Dutch Reformed Church to consider the proposed native legislation opened at Cape Town this morning. The subject discussed was the land question, which was referred at the end of the day to a committee appointed to draft an appropriate resolution. Speeches were made alternately by European and native speakers, and included an elaborate paper by Mr. Rheinhalt Jones, the secretary of the Johannesburg Joint Native Council, on land tenure.

Mr. Jones sought to demonstrate that the land problem was the same for Europeans and for natives, the essential need being to check the drift of both to the towns. He proposed a complicated leasehold system combined with the payment of adequate wages for agricultural labour in place of the *Bijwoner* system for Europeans and of squatting for natives. *Bijwoners* and squatters alike receive payment in kind, not in wages, as a general rule. Mr. Jones traced the drift to the towns largely to the inadequacy of payment in kind to meet the increasing pressure of modern life, the needs of which cannot be satisfied unless adequate wages are paid both to European and to native farm labour.

Another feature of the paper was its demonstration of the inadequacy of the native areas to accommodate the native population if it increases normally, as the saturation point was reached last year, and no provision has been made for the future.

The whole tendency of Mr. Jones's paper was to prove segregation impossible in practice, a point which was maintained by the various native speakers also. Mr. C. F. Stallard, K.C., on the contrary, vigorously championed segregation as a practicable policy and the only workable one. He insisted on the evils of the native drift to the towns, which all admit, and maintained that sufficient land must be allocated to the natives. Unfortunately, successive Governments, in trying to make the land available for the natives, have repeatedly encountered formidable opposition from Europeans in the areas affected, and no Government seems likely to be able to face this opposition. But the conference, which aims at making "constructive suggestions" on native policy, will do good by bringing the whole question into the arena of free discussion and providing a forum for the expression of native as well as European views.

Africa.

BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

INDIAN GRIEVANCES IN KENYA.

Hostility to the Government.

NAIROBI, December 23.

Some anxiety has been caused to those who fear a revival of the Indian question in Kenya by the proceedings of the East African Indian National Congress, which has just been held here. The Congress was attended by 200 delegates from African territories and also by two representatives of the Government of India, who were appointed to assist the community in the preparation of their case before the Federation Commission. A section of the Congress was in favour of boycotting the Commission, but more responsible opinion prevailed, the Congress agreeing to submit a memorandum to the Commission.

The Congress also invited the Government of India to depute an officer to inquire into the availability and utility of land for Indians in Kenya and Tanganyika, to prepare a scheme for family settlement assisted by the Government of India, and to investigate other matters affecting permanent settlement. The Congress asks for the adequate representation of Indians on all public bodies. Acceptance of the communal franchise is abandoned, and the demand for a common roll of voters reiterated, while those voters who are on the communal roll are asked to withdraw their names. The Government of India is also invited to ask its educational expert, Mr. Kichlu, who is now in South Africa, to investigate conditions in East Africa and report to India. The Congress further protested against the exclusion of Indians from the Defence Force, the niggardly Government contributions to education in Kenya, and the continuation of the segregation principle in the sale of township plots, and requested the extension of the system of trial by jury.

The Governor Blamed.

Following strongly worded references in the presidential address to Sir Edward Grigg (the Governor), who was blamed for prematurely raising the federation issue, in order, it was asserted, to satisfy personal ambition and for "entering into an unholy alliance with Lord Delamere and his henchman" whereby, it was charged, he agreed to support the elected majority in the Legislature if the Europeans promised to advocate him (Sir Edward Grigg) as High Commissioner of a Federated East Africa, the Congress passed a resolution recording an emphatic protest "against the generally hostile attitude of Sir Edward Grigg towards Indian interests and aspirations," and declared that the Governor had thereby forfeited the confidence of the Indian community. It is noteworthy that this resolution was introduced by Mr. V. V. Phadke, a member of the Executive Council, and generally accepted as the soundest and most moderate Indian representative.

The opinion was expressed in the President's address that by appointing the Feetham Local Government Commission, and publicly adopting its racial representation recommendations before referring the report to the country, Sir Edward Grigg had introduced controversial issues which revived racial hatred and bitterness, and had done a great disservice to the peace and progress of Kenya. The Congress resolved that in the event of the Feetham Commission recommendations resulting in unacceptable constitutional changes the policy of non-co-operation should be adopted.

The general atmosphere and tone of the Congress was scarcely distinguishable from that which marked the discussion of Indian problems in 1922, though at present Indian grievances seem to be more against the Government than the white community. The situation, however, should be susceptible of improvement if wisdom and tact are shown —"The Times"

OUR UGANDA LETTER.

A Fish Inquiry Good Tin Prospects—Costly Native Labour — One-Crop Danger.

("African World" Resident.) Correspondent.)

KAMPALA, November 22.

An expert on fish has been sent out here from home to inquire what our big freshwater lakes contain. He has started on Lake Victoria, a lake about the size of Scotland, but though everyone admits Mr. Graham is a worker and knows his job, we natives of the soil, as we might call ourselves, recognise the big difficulties which he has to contend with, and are patient in our judgments. Mr. Graham has no time for anything but the work he has been sent out to do, and many things have been brought to light as the result of the examination he is engaged on.

For one thing, there is no close season in these lakes here. The native is practically the only fisherman, and there is no law which compels him to observe the breeding season. As a result of this, in many parts of the lake there are scarcely any fish. The small fry and even the roe of the fish are kept by the fisherman in his dug-out, and this fisherman never thinks of returning these useless fry to their home or doing anything which might tend to keep the supply of fish up to what it might be.

It is likely, therefore, that as a result of this expert's advice there may be a close season in the future.

Millions in Fish.

It has been computed by a local authority on fishing that if the Government of Uganda got right down to this fishing business as they do, say, in America, a revenue of between one million and two million sterling could be made from it. Of course the lake would have to be stocked with suitable fish first, but if this were done and a proper curb put upon the activities of the native fishermen a big change would be observable.

But, strange to say, the most destructive element to the fish that we have is the darter bird. There is another bird termed the local cormorant. I can vouch for what I say when I state that each of these birds destroys 15 lb. of fish daily, and there are thousands upon thousands of these birds at it from morn till night. The fish eagle also takes his toll, but it sounds remarkable to state that the crocodile is not half so destructive as are the birds, and the crocodile can put a good few away—estimated at 60 lb. per day.

Need we say we are looking forward to that two million to help us out?

We are right down to tin tacks in the mineral line. The Kagera Tinfields is, I hear from those who make no mistakes, a real good property. I haven't a cent in it, so I can't be accused of boosting it. But I am told they have eight square miles of a good thing, and we all wish them luck.

Ankole Tinfields have also, I hear from an excellent authority, got a stroke of luck recently, and although they have been gathering the tin ore from the surface, which was bound to give out sooner or later, they have been fortunate in the valleys, and up to the time of writing no one can forecast what this may bring forth.

Strange to say, we hear very little of the find of copper in the Mountains of the Moon. There was a great splash made in the Kenya papers about it, but I fear the correspondent thereof must have been seeing red—and I don't think it was red copper.

Busy Prospectors.

Other prospectors are engaged in different parts of the Protectorate. But the native-owned land is tabuo amongst all white men. They won't touch it simply because the native is so avaricious. His cupidity is beyond all understanding, and as no prospecting on his land is allowed by law unless he consents, not a single white man endeavours to go near it. In any case, it looks as if all the mineral belts were Crown property, and all the finds up to the present have been made on Crown lands. The Government are amenable to reason, and terms are not without signs of encouragement.

There will be other finds here afterwards which will be an eye-opener. I am not permitted to say anything for the present, and so must leave it at that.

We are in a very bad way at the moment of writing. We have not enough cotton: we have little or no Indian corn: we have little if any ground nuts: we have little if any caster seed trees. This soil will grow anything. Our trade for this year amounted to two months' activity: usually it amounts to three or four. But this year beats all previous records.

Mr. Dauncey Tongue, a deservedly popular D.C. of the old sort, has gone home on leave after a very strenuous time. Mr. Tongue, more than anyone else that we know, has been responsible for the interest, long and continued, which has been taken in cotton. He is only one man, however, but we all agree that he did a man's share therein. If other officials could be induced to get their backs into the work as friend Tongue does, there would be little to complain of. He takes a six months' holiday only, and we in this district hope to see him here again in June when the cotton planting season commences. May he and his wife have a good time at home.

ABYSSINIAN ENVOY VISITS U.S. PRESIDENT

Government to Send Charge d'Affaires

Washington, D. C., Sept. 30.—The department of state expects to send a diplomatic representative to Abyssina within the present fiscal year. This statement was issued by the department last Saturday following the call of Dr. C. Martin, legal adviser to Prince Regent Ras Taffari of Abyssina and personal representative of the regent. The envoy stated that the regent of Abyssinia is very anxious to have the United States take an interest in his country, since he feels that the United States has no selfish political interest.

Last year a request was made to congress for an appropriation to open a legation at Addis Ababa, the capital, but it was not approved by the house committee on foreign relations. This year, if no appropriation is made, the department will send a member of the foreign service to Abyssinia as charge d'affaires, since the president is empowered to do this without a special appropriation.

The United States maintained a commissioner and plenipotentiary in Addis Ababa, according to department files, from 1903 to 1906. From 1906 to 1909 the United States was represented by a vice consul, while from 1908 to 1910 the present minister to Persia, Hoffman Philip, acted as minister. Since 1913 there has been no American representative in the country and all American affairs have been in the hands of the British minister, although the American consulate in Aden, Arabia, handles trade matters with the empire.

During his interview with President Coolidge Dr. Martin presented the president with a gold shield, the handiwork of Abyssinian craftsmanship, and addressed to the president a message in behalf of the prince regent. The president was unable to accept the gift. The law prohibits the president or any other government officers from accepting gifts from foreign countries. The elaborate shield, which was incased in a bright red covering, was left on Mr. Coolidge's desk for his disposition.

GREAT BRITAIN TO FREE 300,000 AFRICAN SLAVES

(Preston News Service)

LONDON.—According to Milton Bronner, on the first of January 300,000 slaves held in bondage in an African protectorate controlled by the State of Sierra Leone will be freed from their shackles.

It is claimed that the holders of these slaves are Negro chieftains. It is also claimed that educated Negroes have been among those who have opposed this wholesale liberation of the slaves. It is also claimed that these opponents to the freedom of the African slaves are many of them the descendants of Negroes who were held in slavery in the United States.

Sierra Leone was founded in 1788 as the home for emancipated slaves from America. In that regard it was like Liberia and on the same coast. Liberia was under American protection, while Sierra Leone is under British. But Liberia has remained a free, independent country. Great Britain now owns Sierra Leone and can boast truthfully that no slavery exists in any country over which the Union Jack waves.

Tamacha Local Council.

An esteemed Native correspondent in the "Cape Mercury" in a general review of the work of the new Tsolo Williamstown Bunga reveals the extraordinary situation that the Chairman has been endowed with the supreme power of managing and controlling all the servants of the Council.

This is exactly the reverse of what the 1920 Act intended, for it takes away from the Councillors just the small measure of self-government which General Smuts meant to put in the hands of the Natives. The irony is that this has been done by a resolution of the Council itself! Were these gentlemen taken unawares, or were they tricked by somebody into cutting off their own hands?

We trust the other Councils will not follow the example of the Tamara Council in this respect, without at least qualifying this power by some reference and report subject to the approval of the Council in every case.

From the letter concerned we excerpt the following:—

"I was almost paralysed to hear a resolution passed at the Council meeting of the 16th November to the effect that "the control and management of the officials of the Council be vested in the Chairman." Probably the members of the Bunga did not at the moment realise what this resolution would mean in effect; and I sincerely hope that the earliest opportunity will be taken to have it rescinded. Failure to effect this will mean that the entire control of all public works (which works claim the heaviest expenditure from the Council's treasury), is vested in the Chairman alone, and the Bunga will savour of a one-man show divorcing the rest of the Councillors of their legitimate authority, and totally eliminating their opportunities of training in governmental work. To illustrate this I will take the matter of the Field Officer, who receives a salary of £25 per month. This official supervises all public works, as a Road Inspector does for the Divisional Council or a Town Clerk for a municipality. It is only right and proper that this man's activities be reported at every Council meeting by him personally, to enable the councillors to condone or pass a vote of censure on the nature of his work. If the Chairman is charged with making a report on all works, then the responsibility for such falls on him, and this at once puts the Chairman in a false position. It would seem, then, that the appointment of a Field Officer is merely a multiplicity of officials that is apt to cause confusion and inefficiency in the machinery of control. The Chairman as a member of the Council (whether paid or not) could act in an executive capacity for direction of urgent works, but this should not necessarily mean assuming full responsibility and control over officials in his person. With this position obtaining the other councillors will remain figure-heads and deteriorate to mere voting machines, hence my suggestion that the resolution passed be rescinded at the earliest opportunity. Apart from this, the Chairman as magistrate may have scores of cases awaiting his presence at the Native Court bench, and he could not reasonably be expected to control works with plenty of time at his disposal."

Native Witnesses.

Among other Natives who gave evidence before the Select Committee on the Native Bills we note that the Rev. E. Mdolomba supported Mr. Mahabane at every stage and added a word for the encouragement of better agriculture. Chief Kumalo also supported them. The last witnesses summoned in June were two chiefs from Zululand, Chiefs Kula and Swayimana, obviously to represent the inarticulate and illiterate section of the people. As these bills tax the best brains of white and black it is difficult to understand the motive that prompted the Select Committee to search for illiterate opinion on complicated legislation from men summoned by telephone message and who, on their own confession, had never read the Bills and "did not know what it was about." Probably they were brought either to provide amusement for the Committee, or to be deliberately played off against the advanced Natives, or as an excuse for a wanton waste of public money, a not unusual thing in government circles.

In sum, these men wisely preferred to be let alone in their tribal form of life. Chief Kula said: "My feeling is that we much prefer being governed as we are to-day. We have no fault to find with the present method, but if the Government wishes to govern us in a different way we have to accept it and cannot stand in the way of the Government. Speaking on behalf of the tribal Natives in Natal we wish to say that there is no desire by them for the vote, but there is a certain element among the Natives who are becoming educated and they want the vote."

This is the key to the whole situation. Uniformity in South Africa is a physical impossibility in politics. The Natives must be governed according to the degree of their intellectual development. That is the clear deduction that inevitably follows from Chief Kula's evidence. Tribal Natives will prefer tribalism. Therefore give them their system. Educated Natives will follow the lead of their rulers and aspire to modern institutions. No power can dam them back to tribalism nor "to develop according to their own lines," a popular but unthinking statement and preposterous principle.

General Notes.

New Books:

We have received the following new and useful books: (1) *Zulu Grammar* an excellent text book for advanced Zulu students, by Prof. C. M. Doke, M.A., D. Litt., of the Johannesburg University, 342 pp., 6/6, postage 4d extra, any bookseller. (2) *Psychology of Everyday Life, for African Students* by the Rev. Bernard Huss, B.A., price 2/6 post free from the author at P.O. Mariannhill, Natal—160 pp. (3) *U Cdkijana Bogcololo*, a collection of Zulu folk tales by Mbata and Mdladla, 92 pages, price 1/9, published by Simpkin Marshall & Co., P.O. Box 77, London E.C.4. England. (4) *A First Swahili Book* by A. & M. Werner, 133 pp. 5/3 post free, Sheldon Press, London. (5) *Imihobe Nemibongo* by S. E. Mqayi, Sheldon Press, 116 pp. 1/2 post free, of all booksellers. We hope to review them in due course.

The Drought.

The present almost unprecedented drought has severely hit the Native reserves. Stock, large and small, is dying at the rate of being totally exterminated. What then will be the economic position of the Natives, their stock exterminated by the drought, and the government on the other hand indulging in whosale dismissals from public service, making room for so-called civilised labour, and the closing of almost all available avenues for their employment? Their care is that of being between the devil and the blue sea. The result of the drought in these reserves only proves, if any proof was needed, the short sighted policy of the whites in placing Natives on small reserves with no provision for their increase, the policy deliberately aiming at producing cheap farm labour. Principal Kerr of Fort Hare, in an able and searching review of the evidence before the Parliamentary Select Committee on the Prime Minister's Land Bill, has discovered that the Land Bill aims not as much at giving Natives more land than at limiting the grant of more land to them for fear of disturbing the present farm labour conditions; and that view was expressed by members of the Native Affairs Commission. It has been said that visitations of the nature of the present drought may be blessings in disguise if only they could be the means of setting people seriously to think of combating droughts in future. It is gratifying to notice that among riparian owners on the Kat River Valley and also at Keiskama Hoek there is a movement afoot for the conservation of the water in those streams for irrigation purposes.

Luckily for our people, the present drought has synchronised providentially with the introduction of the Bunga system in the Cis-Kei; which it is hoped, may devise means for combating the evil of overstocking and of breeding scrub cattle and inferior sheep whose wool is of small commercial value, and also the great and urgent question of water conservation for the watering of stock and irrigation schemes where practicable. Will our Councils be equal to these pressing questions needing immediate attention?

UGANDA COTTON MARKETS.

The Eastern African Dependencies' Trade and Information Office has received a cable from H.M. Trade Commissioner in East Africa to the effect that cotton markets will open in Uganda on the following dates:—

In the Lango district, January 16: Masaka, January 25; Busoga, Mengo, Kyebbe, Toro, February.

The cable also states that the Governor of Uganda decided to make no change in the existing system of marketing cotton in the Buganda Province during the 1928 season, that is, the system of centre markets adopted in the Eastern Province of Uganda during the past few years will not be extended to the Buganda Province, in any rate during the next season.

Cotton Brokers' present quotations are on the basis of Busoga Lint 96 cents of a shilling without advances delivery 15 days from the opening of markets. Cotton Seed quotations are ranged from 101s. per ton at Jinja to 102s. per ton all Buganda Province Lake Ports.

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Africa

BRITISH WEST AFRICA

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Gambian Ground-Nuts.

Like the Gold Coast, the Gambia is a single-crop country, ground-nuts playing an even more important part in its economy than does cocoa on the Gold Coast. It is a case of ground-nuts first and the rest nowhere; as will be seen by the following table for the year 1926-27, they supply 98.4 per cent of the colony's exports:—

Ground-nuts:	61,072 tons	£862,578
Palm-kernels:	676 tons	£11,293
Hides and skins:	113,083 lbs.	£2,795
		£876,666

It is, therefore, not surprising that the Director of Agriculture allots only one page of the "Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture (Colony of the Gambia) for the period January 1, 1926, to March 31, 1927" (Crown Agents for the Colonies; 5s.) to "Progress in Minor Industries," and devotes the rest of his space to the colony's staple. The plant is one of the many boons which the West Coast owes to Brazil, where it was called "amendum." It is supposed to have been brought by repatriated slaves to Sierra Leone, whence it was carried to the Gambia at the beginning of the last century. For years it was cultivated solely for food. In 1830 10 basketfuls, valued at 20s., were shipped to the West Indies, but it was not till 1832 that it attracted attention commercially. In 1835 the export was 47¼ tons, valued at £199 13s. In 1840 the export had increased to 1,211 tons, valued at £15,209, and rose steadily to 8,637 tons, valued at £103,778, in 1848. Since that time the nuts have been the staple of the colony's industry and trade. Then, as now, most of the nuts were shipped to France, where the oil expressed from them was much used for lighting under the name of colza oil, and fetched £15 per ton on the European market till 1864, when the price fell to £10 per ton owing to the competition of the American petroleum oils, which were then coming into general use for lighting. In 1858 the value of the nuts exported was £188,000, and the trade continued to grow steadily in spite of low prices until 1900, when 36,000 tons were exported.

Progress of the Trade.

Owing to the carelessness of the farmers who, in their eagerness to realise their crops, were in the habit of pulling up the plants before the nuts were fully matured, the quality of Gambian ground-nuts had deteriorated so much that in 1903 the Government and merchants imported about 200 tons of seed from Rufisque, and distributed it among the farmers gratuitously at the beginning of the planting season. The crop for the year—45,774 tons—was the largest produced up to that time. More seed was introduced in 1905 and 1906, but in the latter year crops of all kinds were greatly damaged by heavy rains in December. The nuts were so poor that they realised 20 per cent. less than usual, and there was such a deficiency of food crops that the Government had to come to the help of the people by isuing 8,500 bags of rice to tide them over till the next crop was gathered. A famine was averted and the whole cost was repaid, with many expressions of gratitude, after the next harvest. This is one of the many kindly acts which endeared Sir George Denton to the people, who cherish his memory as "The Father of the People." The size of the crop depends principally upon three factors: the price obtained in the previous season, the rainfall during its growth, and the influx of "strange farmers." After a season of high prices which has brought them large profits the farmers increase their plantings. The report states that during the season 1926-1927 prices were low and varied daily, but at the close, when practically all the crop had been sold, they suddenly rose by 50 per cent. The Director of Agriculture expects that this will affect the trade during the next buying season "as the farmers will anticipate a similar action on the part of the merchants and will hold their crop as long as possible in the hope of reaping higher prices." The late growing season is reported to have been a very trying one, lack of rain at critical periods preventing the nuts from filling properly; but in spite of low prices, irregular rains, and a drop in the number of strange farmers, the deficiency of 1924 was recouped, and the crop reached the normal figure of 60,000 tons.

Changes and Improvements.

The Gambia, like the rest of West Africa, is feeling the effect of improved transport. The opening up of the adjoining French territory by railways is making the colony less attractive to "strange farmers"—immigrants from the surrounding countries—who come into the protectorate at the beginning of the planting season and return home when they have disposed of their crop. In 1923-1924 it was estimated that one-third of the export (59,000 tons) was grown by Gambians, an equal quantity by strange farmers, and that the balance was grown in French territory. The Director hopes that the fall of nearly one-third in the number of these visitors may be checked, but in the meantime the production is being maintained. Their diminution is being compensated for by a change in the social system which is going on in all West Africa. Under the influence of settled government and the introduction of a money economy the young people are throwing off the communal idea and imbibing the desire for individualism. The Director says:—"The young farmer of to-day appears less inclined to remain in his native town or village during the planting season, but prefers to farm land—if at all—beyond the range of paternal control." He prefers working a new farm for his own benefit to working the old for the benefit of his family, and in this way he replaces a strange farmer and maintains the area under cultivation. In this colony its splendid river takes the place of a trunk railway, with launches and steamers multiplying on its surface, while motors are running on feeder roads. "With lorries tearing about the bush and all manner of craft, from a native canoe to an ocean-going steamer, moving about the river, the Gambia became transformed." The cultivation and quality of the nuts are being improved by the Agricultural Department established four years ago by the late Governor, Sir Cecil Armitage, whose "wholehearted and personal interest in agriculture . . . earned for him the title of 'The Father of the Agriculture of the Gambia.'" The compulsory inspection of produce carried on by the department under the Adulteration of Produce Ordinance of 1924 has resulted in a remarkable improvement in the quality of Gambian ground-nuts. In 1923-1924 adulteration—which term includes "anything not ground-nuts"—averaged 8.175 per cent., which "represented an actual financial loss of £72,774 to the eight firms engaged in the trade." In the season under review the adulteration was reduced to 2.029 per cent. A few firms are complaining that the inspection is too strict, but others, more far-seeing, have established their own systems of control. With the supply of good seed, instruction in cultivation, and inspection on sale by the Agricultural Department the staple industry of the colony is being maintained in a sound and healthy condition.

W. F. H.

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Africa

NATIVE ADMINISTRATION ACT.

NATIVES' REPLY TO MAJOR HERBST.

Major Herbst, Secretary for Native Affairs, fulfilled his promise and met the Native chiefs and representatives at the Drill Hall at 10 a.m. yesterday morning. The crowd had been reduced to about half the number of the previous day. On the platform Major Herbst was supported by the same officials mentioned in the previous report, with a few exceptions, and Mr. T. W. C. Norton threw the meeting open for questions to be asked.

Mr. A. M. Jabavu, on behalf of the Natives, at the outset tendered cordial greetings to the father of the Natives, the Minister of Native Affairs, and asked that the Secretary for Native Affairs convey the message to the Premier. (Applause.) Mr. Jabavu proceeded to deal with the Native viewpoint regarding the Act, and likened it unto a magnate who approached a poor man in dire circumstances — the magnate carried in one hand a bag containing £5,000 in cash, and in the other hand held a rope with a noose which was suspended from a tree. The magnate, he proceeded, offered the money as a free gift to the poor man on condition that the latter went away for a space of 48 hours to provide his family as best he could with it, and return to the tree and allow himself to be hanged. This was the position his people found themselves in regarding the Native Administration Act. He enumerated what he considered

The Privileges

conferred by the Act, mentioning as the first the fact that the Cape Province was considered by the Government as having fallen into line and become uniform in the system of control and administration with the other Provinces. Secondly, the land tenure, the method of transfer of titles of Natives' lands was being made cheaper and much easier to effect than had hitherto been the case. Thirdly, the recognition of Native law and custom for the backward masses. Fourthly, the recognition of marriages by Native custom. All these, Mr. Jabavu said, were genuine temptations. But there was the other side of the question which he said was the

Price Paid for Privileges.

He mentioned that Native chiefs had not been given any legal status by law. Even though the chiefs had become registered voters (democratic), the people they rule, who preponderate in numbers, were not voters, and this status should have been granted for the sake of the masses.

Secondly location superintendents were redundant. The work of administration of locations was done principally by chiefs and headmen, who get their instructions from the magistrate. The addition of these officials opened a channel for insubordinate people in the location to despise the authority of a headman and chief, and the disgruntled men took cover behind the superintendent. This, of course, makes administration by headmen more difficult. His (Mr. Jabavu's) people, he said, ventured to opine that if General Hertzog had not removed the Native Court interpreters when he was Minister of Justice, during the regime of the Botha Government, but allowed them to rise in the Civil Service, those interpreters might have become magistrates to-day. In regard to the

Sedition Clause

the opinion was expressed by Mr. Jabavu that this was very vague and apt to be easily used oppressively by hostile officials and governments. If, for instance, a Native preached to a Native audience that European farmers were paying scandalously low wages, and that the farmers treated them with iniquity (and the speaker could prove what he said), he was liable to be arrested for creating animosity against the European. So this clause was quite unsafe, and it really did interfere with the liberty of free speech. The Transkei Natives have practically no oppression from their white neighbours as is the case with Ciskei Natives working on farms. The case of Dr. Wellington did not warrant the penalisation of the entire black race. The Transkei Bunga should teach their Natives not to be so gullible as to follow Dr. Wellington, rather than support the Government in the sedition clause and inconvenience the whole Native population of the Union. Coming to

Pass Laws

the speaker said the system is objectionable in the Cape in any form. It is humiliating to the progressive natives, and no state of affairs has been proved by Government to show the necessity of this system even in European areas.

The Hofmeyr Act.

Mr. Jabavu said his people still clung superstitiously to this Act, in spite of all the advantages held out in the Native Administration Act. The Governor-General in this Act may cancel exemptions when he pleases, but the registered voter has himself to see to it that his name remains on the voters' list for the rest of his life.

After Mr. Jabavu had resumed his seat, amid applause, Mr. W. Siyo came forward, and spoke on what Major Herbst had said the previous day—that the points they were nervous about would not be used, viz., removal of tribes, pass laws, etc., and he asked what guarantee had they of this. Another Government may assume power and use them. Mr. Siyo mentioned the British Kaffrarian Ordinance and the Native Succession Act, both of 1864, and said Natives loved these old statutes; they were wondering why they were being repealed. Further, the speaker touched on the advantage offered by the cheap system of transfer of title deeds; but to use this system they were asked to allow the Hofmeyr Act to be partially repealed. The price was too high. He further proceeded to deal with the Commissioner's rule by regulations. The Natives did not know the nature of the regulations. They could not bind the whole Union to this. Speaking of the

Removal of Tribes,

Mr. Siyo said they have had experiences of this already. They had observed efforts of the removal of tribes in this district; and the same had happened at Ngwenkala, Komgha district; and in the Peddie district certain locations were threatened with removal. An individual, this law laid down, could be removed at any time, and not told where to go, merely being told that he was being removed for the benefit of the tribe. In such cases they would only be relying on the mercy of a sympathetic magistrate. In respect of location superintendents, Mr. Siyo reasserted that these officials have continually been objected to by his people. In the Transkei there were no such officials, and things went on well. Previously, in this district magistrates managed well. Nowadays there was disorganisation in the locations. They were opposed to rule by proclamation. Major Herbst had said legislation could be made in a very short time; and that was just why they were of opinion such laws could be dangerous. The longer it took for a law to be made was so much more to their benefit.

Mr. C. A. Sigila (Fort Beaufort) next held the floor, and said that Natives were not concerned with the changing of Governments. They said all Governments were white, and were the same. The old Cape Government was always good to them, but to-day they found bad laws. The Government was resuscitating Native customs that were discarded years ago. They realised that Government had good intentions; but the Government had made laws for people whose customs they did not know. Government should seek the opinion of the Natives.

Rev. E. G. Npinda (Middle Drift) admitted they saw privileges in the Act, as by instinct Natives knew what was good and where it was to be found. He exemplified that by saying that in a dark room he could take bread out of his pocket and correctly lead it to the right place—the mouth — and eat (Laughter.) Oppression had created a belief that they were not loyal to magistrates, but he exhorted the officials, and the Secretary for Native Affairs, to be patient with them in their time of trial.

Mr. E. G. Mankazana (Keiskama Hoek) requested that the Keiskama Hoek area be turned into a Native area, as at present it was not, and as a reason for this he pointed to the fact that Government had bought Natives recently a farm in that area for the purpose of an agricultural school for Natives.

S. F. Sonjica (Debe Nek) corroborated these remarks and said Government had primarily bought "Fort Merriman" for them and, they (the Government) might as well complete the good work they had started. Natives could appeal to no one else but their father—the Government. (Applause.)

Peter Npondo (King William's Town) said the life of any nation was its chief, and if Government refused to restore their chiefs to a legal status they were as good as a dead race.

MAJOR HERBST

replying, said he was glad to see the spirit of the replies to his address. These replies developed on lines he quite expected, and these have shown two schools of thought. There were the intellectuals, and what he might call the people of the land. Mr. A. M. Jabavu put the case of the people very fairly. His criticism of the Bill was one that would be expected from most of the Natives, but a good deal of that criticism was unfounded. Time would show, because by mere statements of the Government nothing could be shown. It was by practice of the Act that would show it to be beneficial. In this Bill an attempt was made to legislate for the needs of all the Natives, and those members of the Native community who were far advanced could take the form of European government and stand on their own legs as individual white men. This

law provides for that by issuing exemptions, and intellectuals cut themselves off from the benefits the others enjoy. There is no question of compelling these people to methods of the past. Speakers spoke of grouping the Cape Natives with backward Natives in the other provinces. There is no such thing in this Act. This law aimed principally at backward people—to help them. Reverting to

Chiefs

Major Herbst said there was a conflict of opinion regarding the different Provinces. In Parliament it was said in the Cape the people had withdrawn themselves. About the legal status of chiefs, Parliament did not intend going back to personal rule by chiefs—a system of fifty years ago in the Cape. Coming to

Location Superintendents,

the Secretary for Native Affairs remarked that he did not think the Government would go back on that. These superintendents had been working for years, and had proved useful. Headmen could not be given the authority of superintendents, as most of them were not educated and thus could not keep books. That would be so for many years. Government would give the positions to Natives when there were competent ones. He liked Jabavu's speech when pointing out that location superintendents interfered with the headmen in the locations. This point was quite a good one. He would see that magistrates saw to it that this did not happen. It might be a case of one person concerned and not of the officials as a rule. The Transkei was a purely Native country and the magistrate deals only with Natives, there being very few Europeans. Coming to the

Sedition Clause,

Major Herbst pointed out that it was not the Government who was to administer this. If an offence of this nature was created, Government had no power to deal with it. Magistrates are not dictated to by the Government. Courts would give a judgment and the people could appeal if a magistrate was thought to be unfair. Next, the Secretary for Native Affairs broached the subject of

Pass Laws,

and made a definite promise that so far as the Cape was concerned, Government had no intention of enforcing the Pass Law. This enforcement will depend entirely on the people themselves. They had not deserved it so far. A time may come when this may be necessary in the Cape.

The Hofmeyr Act.

This Act is still in full operation, Major Herbst said. It had not been repealed by Parliament. They would have the benefit of it in future. It was only repealed where it comes into conflict with this Act. Mr. Siyo, the Secretary for Native Affairs continued, was more hostile in his criticisms. If the Government wished to carry out the law oppressively Siyo would be the best man to engage for the job. He repeatedly affirmed that they would judge the Government by its actions, and not by its words. Natives mistrusted the Government even in the days of the late Mr. Dower. Government was trying to lift them out of their difficulties, but natives were suspicious. The Department of Native Affairs could find no trace of these old laws of 1864—(Mr. Jabavu: But sir, the attorneys here in King William's Town are using them at the present time)—and great difficulty was created with magistrates. Nothing could be done by way of legislation before—people were always opposing—but to-day they had the law to effect a remedy. If there was no improvement they could readily blame the Native Affairs Department. It all depended upon whether they were prepared to go with the Government on the new lines. Officials were not going to trap them; but to assist them. They would get much time to think over it. He knew they were slow thinkers, though sometimes they were not such slow thinkers as they were made out to be; but he hoped they would get over their suspicions too.

The Overstocking Evil.

Rome was not built in a day Major Herbst said, so the Ciskei would not be built in a short time. Government wanted to see progress among Natives in agricultural matters. Large sums of money had been spent in the Transkei for improvement of agriculture and stock. It was not nice to say to a native he must get rid of most of his stock. He knew the native idea about cattle. Natives liked to see cattle. Cattle could be converted into money. The educated natives could be of assistance to the Government in this respect—(hear, hear) in teaching the backward for the improvement of their economic position. Locations were ruined by overstocking; for example, in Glen Grey, Queenstown, Keiskama Hoek, etc. A good beast ate as much as a bad one. A beast that could be sold for £9 devoured as much as the one that was worth a penny. They must keep fewer cattle and these must be good. Sheep farmers were richer than cattle farmers to-day. A tax on cattle had been suggested and it is argued that this would decrease the number. The matter was discussed by Transkei magistrates, who thought gentle persuasion in a matter of this sort with natives was better than forcing the issue. European ladies wore costly diamond rings, and likewise natives like the show of their cattle for wealth. But European men put £100 in the bank to earn interest.

In bringing his remarks to a close the Secretary for Native Affairs said he hoped that the year would bring abundance of rain and plentiful crops for the natives. (Cheers.)

Mr. Hashe (Middledrift) suitably thanked Major Herbst for his reply with words couched in most loyal terms to the Government, and exhorted that his people be given education. He wished Major Herbst God's blessing and guidance, and the meeting closed at noon with the singing of the National Anthem.

Sierra Leone.

DOMESTIC SLAVERY ABOLISHED.

Legal Recognition Withdrawn.

All Slaves Free Next Year.

Swift Colonial Office action has followed the disclosures regarding domestic slavery in the Sierra Leone Protectorate brought to light by the recent judgment of the Supreme Court, upholding the right of slave-owners to recapture escaped slaves. In response to an urgent request from Downing Street, the Legislative Council, which was to have met in November, held a special session on Thursday, at which an Ordinance abolishing the legal status of slavery throughout the Protectorate was passed. The Ordinance comes into effect on January 1 next.

It will be remembered that at the instance of the Governor of Sierra Leone the Council in March, 1926, passed an Ordinance which, in the words of the Governor, was designed to "remove the last vestige of recognition by local law of the status of slavery." The subsequent action of two slave owners in recapturing runaway slaves led to their prosecution by the Crown and their conviction. On appeal, however, the Supreme Court of Sierra Leone on July 1 last quashed the conviction. This decision was the cause of the action now being taken.

The "Legal Status of Slavery Abolition Ordinance (1927)" provides that from January 1, 1928, the legal status of slavery shall be abolished throughout the Protectorate. No general decree of emancipation will be issued, and the slaves, estimated to number between 200,000 and 300,000 are left to take what action they please. The reform means that the slave-owners will no longer have the support of the law in any attempts to recover runaway slaves.

"The members of the Council include three native chiefs," writes the "Daily Mail" Freetown correspondent, "and it will be interesting to see how they take the reform, which strikes a serious blow at their power, prestige, and wealth.

"One of the most extraordinary features of the whole business is the indifference of the non-official classes towards the question and the positive hostility of a section of the natives of Freetown (the capital of the Sierra Leone Colony). Thus you find slavery defended by the so-called Creoles—who are actually pure Negro descendants of slaves freed in America—in the city whose name, Freetown, was supposed to commemorate a century ago the final emancipation of the black man."

No Compensation to Slave Owners.

The Bill abolishing the legal status of slavery in the Protectorate passed its first reading on September 15, and became law on the 22nd inst. on the completion of its final stages. It will come into operation on January 1, 1928. No provision is made in the act for compensation to slave-owners. The debates on the second and third readings did not provide much discussion, though some minor amendments were made.

The Attorney-General explained during the debates that the Government did not intend that, after the passing of the earlier ordinance known as Ordinance 9 of 1926 dealing with slavery, an owner should still have the right to use force to recapture a runaway slave.

The new Bill, which was carried unanimously, repeals the above ordinance for the gradual abolition of slavery and for the purchase of freedom, and means that on and after January 1 next year all slaves will be free.

Of the three Unofficial Colony Members only the rural member urged, without success, that the Government should grant compensation to owners and provide lands and employment for emancipated slaves. The first urban member urged compensation.

Of the three Paramount Chiefs, one asked that something should be done for the slave-owners. The Government replied that no claim for compensation was made by the representatives of the Protectorate and that the granting of compensation would delay the enactment of the bill.—Reuter.

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Africa.

SOUTH AFRICA'S NATIVE QUESTION DISCUSSED BY A MAN ON THE SPOT

African Journalist Reviews the Political Situation in South Africa as It Affects the Natives—Pernicious White Policy Is Dictated by Fear, but Bantu Progress Cannot Be Checked—How Dummies Are to Be Elected to Parliament

By H. D. TYAMZASHE

Complaints and Research Secretary, I. C. U., and Sub-Editor, "Workers Herald". (Written for The Negro World.)

South Africa's native affairs could unhesitatingly be divided into three groups, viz: Political, economic and social. The most acute of these, to my mind, is the economic position. The three positions above mentioned have, however, branches and sub-branches, with the result that when one attempts to deal with the three major branches separately, the position becomes bewildering because they are inter-dependent. Negro World

There is also a sort of religious problem," but this is largely caused by the natives themselves. Not being a religious fanatic, however, I think very little of it.

The Political Situation

Just a peep into the political situation within the scope of this brief article may be of interest. I am quite aware that American writers and other public men are fairly conversant with the political situation in South Africa, but when the veil is lifted by a South African, who is on the spot, then a different shade of interest may be cast on the matter.

Many prominent politicians, statesmen and educationists of the world still believe that Africa is a "dark continent," and that its people are far behind the times. This may be true to a certain extent in so far as the Central African jungle is concerned, but when the term is applied with the object of including South Africa, then the whole humbug can be exposed.

It is generally held by the white people of South Africa that the native is not qualified yet to have equal political rights with them. This is a half truth, and a half truth is more despicable than a whole lie! South Africa's native population can be divided into three classes, viz: (1) Refined, educated, and as civilized as any white man; (2) semi-educated; (3) raw natives, but not quite as "raw" as you would think, because some of them even do skilled work in the gold and coal mines.

Taxation Without Representation

Now, for the raw natives nobody will perhaps press for equal political rights, although one would like to see them get something else in return for the taxes they pay to the government. For the semi-educated native we claim a certain amount of representation in Parliament, gradually increasing as they fill the ranks of the educated and civilized class. And, lastly, who can object to give an educated and civilized man full political privileges? The whole argument, however, centers round the cold fact that there can be no taxation without representation. This very fact places the South African white man on the horns of a dilemma, hence his shifty, facing-both-ways attitude when dealing with native affairs.

In the Cape Colony alone the native and colored (mulatto) people enjoy the franchise, although General Hertzog's Native bills now seek to take this privilege away from them.

"Free State" a Slave State

The Native Representation bill, dealing with this matter, provides that there shall be seven native constituencies in the Union of South Africa, in which the native will elect white representatives to sit in the House of Assembly; one such constituency will be in the Free State (called "Free State," but is really a "Slave State") and two in every other province. The clauses in the Constitution dealing with the native and colored franchise in the Cape are repealed, and no native would henceforth be put on the voters' list. Those already on it will be disfranchised by a special commission to be appointed by the government. Even should native names be erroneously left on the roll, they will not be allowed to vote with the European and colored (or mulatto) electors. The franchise is left as it is, so far as the Provincial Council elections are concerned. Of course, the Provincial is simply a sort of Divisional Council with nominal powers.

Dummie to be Elected

Now, under the new system, the natives will not be allowed to vote individually for the election of their representatives, but the government will prepare lists of chiefs, headmen or other political stiffs, who will be the voters, and the value of their votes will be based on the quota or number of persons in respect of whom they are elected to vote—irrespective of the views of such persons. The members of Parliament thus elected will be mere dummies. They will not be competent to take part in any proceedings in the House which deal with increased native representation, or the native franchise, nor can they vote upon a matter considered to be of confidence or no confidence in the government of the day. The utter humbug of this is patent. It is intended that once this bill is passed the native should never be in a position again to regain the franchise. It also shows that it is not through the incompetence of the native to become a civilized citizen that he is so gagged, but it is the intention to keep the gag on for all time—whether the native becomes civilized or not.

The qualifications of a registered voter in the Cape under the old system are: (1) He must be able to read and write; (2) He must be in possession of property to the value of £75 or earn a wage of over £50 per annum. This applies to all sections of the population.

It will be seen therefore that natives compete for the franchise on an equal basis with the Europeans. I have not the exact figures on hand at the moment, but it can be safely said that there are many natives in the Cape Colony who have the necessary qualifications, but who have not taken the trouble to get themselves registered. This lethargic spirit is due more or less to the fair treatment the natives have been receiving in the Cape during the regime of the English. In the Transvaal, Free State and Natal, where the treatment is scandalously harsh, the natives would not let such an opportunity go begging. Of course to register now is just as good as closing the stable door after the horse has gone out to see his Lucianna.

SLAVERY IS DEPICTED AS RIFE IN ABYSSINIA

Explorer Says Nation Is Offering Serfs to Foreign Capital to Develop Resources.

THE LEAGUE'S EDICT DEFIED

Black Kingdom's Ruler Eager to End Conditions, but Says Slaves Themselves Are Contented.

Despite the League of Nation's edict that Abyssinia must be purged of the institution of slavery, the Imperial Government is offering unlimited quantities of slaves to American capitalists as an inducement to develop the natural resources of the country, it is charged by James E. Baum of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago.

Mr. Baum's charge, which is based on an actual study of the country, is set forth in his book, "Savage Abyssianis," soon to be published. He describes slave conditions in the black kingdom in the heart of Africa, and says that the chief obstacle in the way of abolishing slavery is that the slaves themselves prefer it.

"Ras Tafari, the Prince Regent, told me with apparent good faith that he was as eager as any one else to get slavery done away with," Mr. Baum says. "He pointed out, however, that the slaves in his kingdom were entirely ignorant and would have no means of support if suddenly freed. With no means of sustenance they would take to the trails and become shifters—brigands. Such a situation might produce a reign of terror and would surely upset orderly government. Even in America, the period directly after the Civil War, when millions of slaves were suddenly loosed in the Southern States, proved disastrous.

"To the Ras the most feasible plan to promote the happiness of the slaves and the prosperity of Abyssinia, is to invite foreign capital to come in. Thirty to fifty year leases upon tracts of land are to be offered. Foreign concessions would be guaranteed large amounts of slave labor. Slaves would be leased to work upon such concessions at a fair wage.

"A tentative plan suggests that half the money paid by the foreign concessions would go to the owners of the slaves and the other half would be retained in a Government fund to purchase the freedom of the slaves. According to this arrangement it is estimated that a slave could earn enough working at a fair wage to purchase his freedom. At the same time his master would receive full value for his human property.

"'I am fully prepared to do this,' stated the Ras. 'If foreign capital will come here and develop the land some such arrangement can be made. I am aware that the rich resources of my country have scarcely been touched. There are rich deposits of gold, silver, platinum and other minerals. If the natural wealth could in part be utilized to free the slaves without throwing the kingdom into a state of chaos and revolution I will be only too glad to help.

"'I am in a position to say that Ethiopia will welcome foreign capital for the development of natural resources and will furnish slave labor to worthy and legitimate concessionaries. We will not allow foreigners to own land, but will grant long time leases to proper parties.'"

Mr. Baum says that Ras Tafari is sincere in his statements, but he believes stubborn difficulties will arise if the Ras tries to make his lords agree to that part of the plan which provides for the purchase of freedom for the slaves.

"Slaves in Abyssinia are perfectly satisfied to be slaves," Mr. Baum says. "They are sure of being housed, clothed and fed. Actually they lead more comfortable lives than many so-called 'free citizens.' The nobles or Rasses of the kingdom of Abyssinia own about fifteen thousand slaves apiece and are responsible for their maintenance. It is from these Rasses that the American capitalists will be allowed to rent their slave labor.

"Much pressure has been brought to bear upon Prince Ras Tagari, called by his people the 'Conquering Lion of Judah,' by the League of Nations to force him to take steps to do away with the institution of slavery in his country. Prompted by their insistence, the Prince has made some changes in the ancient law of Abyssinia. It is now a capital offense to raid slaves—that is to seize unprotected black people and to carry them off.

"In his proposition to the American capitalists the Prince suggests that part of the wage paid by the capitalist for the services of the slaves be turned over to a public fund for the purchase of the slave's freedom, and that possibly some small sum to be paid to the slave yearly to aid him to buy his freedom."

Ras Tafari is one of the world's most picturesque rulers. Though steeped in the ancient traditions of his race, and claiming descent from the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon, this Christian ruler has shown a disposition to welcome progress in his domains.

AFRICAN WOMEN SEEK NEW LIFE

Two Native Teachers, Here to Study Negro Schools, Describe the Needs of Their People —Life in the Villages Is Primitive

THE visit of two native African women to the United States is evidence of a new movement that is slowly making headway in the Dark Continent. Violet Makanya, a Zulu, and Amelia Njongwana, who comes from the neighborhood of Grahamstown, in South Africa, are both teachers and they are here to study educational systems in the hope of acquiring new ideas for the development of African women. They have become convinced that their country cannot go forward while at least one-half the population remains ignorant and untrained.

Ninety per cent. of the Zulus are said still to live under primitive conditions. Miss Makanya, after teaching in the Inanda Seminary, has left the organized schools because she was not willing to devote herself only to the favored 10 per cent. She felt that she could not wait on the slow process of education for the young girls; and that, even now, something can be done to ease the many burdens of the older women. Native women and children know little about the simplest hygienic precautions; while the youth of the country suffers by reason of the temptations that appear when primitive and civilized peoples live side by side.

For this reason Miss Makanya gave up her school position to go from hut to hut, bringing to the women the easiest sort of "home study course" in the facts of daily life of which they most stand in need.

Woman and the Family.

Upon the shoulders of the African woman rests the responsibility for the primary needs of her family. While her husband shares in building the house, the care of it is hers. If she did not cultivate the soil and tend the garden, her family would not have much to eat. She is cook, nurse, agriculturist and seamstress. Her task is difficult, now that civilization has disturbed the traditional ways. Some natives insist on the retention of their old dress; others demand a European costume. Hence the native seamstress has to meet the practical problem of evolving a costume that will be suitable both to the traditions of the past and to the demands of the changing present.

When the drought comes, says Miss Njongwana, and the crops fail, the native mother has to leave her children at home and hire herself out for $2 or $3 a month, running the risk of family disorganization for the sake of keeping the members alive. Each advance in civilization apparently means at present a greater burden for the African woman. Monogamy itself greatly increases her responsibilities as a wife and deprives her of her fellow-workers in field and garden.

Girls' Education Opposed.

In some tribes education of the girls is still opposed—in one place on the ground that women already know too much. Conservative parents, particularly fathers, dread the development of a younger generation with ideas of its own. They fear that education will make their daughters rebel against conditions accepted in the past—the disposal of girls in marriage for a price arranged in their childhood, the continuance of polygamy, the heavy burden of field work, the lack of opportunity for women's self-development and expression.

On the other hand, the younger girls are demanding the right to an education their mothers were denied, and in many cases the younger men also insist that their wives shall keep pace with them. One African school has a compound occupied entirely by prospective brides sent to school by their future husbands. The girls have the whole responsibility for their dwelling, preparing the food, making clothing, taking care of the sleeping quarters, vegetable and flower gardens, and organizing the recreation and religious life of the compound. At the same time they acquire the rudiments of a more formal education to fit them to be wives of the ministers and teachers of the community.

The girls' schools tend to postpone marriage. Under primitive customs the girl is married in early adolescence, but the schools are often able to delay marriage two years or more. One school has girls of 17 and 18 who have been there for seven or eight years.

Mortality Among Children.

Many local chiefs appreciate the need of establishing schools for girls. In some cases a part of the hut taxes is reserved for this purpose. The most striking reason for educating the native women is to be found in the high death rate of young children. In some districts for one child who survives the ignorance and superstition connected with birth and early care three children die. Elsewhere the ratio is lower, but still appallingly high. If Africa is to take its place with the other continents of the earth, labor is of the most vital importance; and it is realized that the raw material of civilization must not be wasted in irresponsible fashion.

Women nurses are greatly needed, especially for maternity work and the care of sick children. Native teachers are finding more and more opportunity to carry to others the little learning they have received from white missionaries. So great is the need of teachers in some sections that almost any girl of good character who can read and write is able to obtain a position.

African schools for women are seeking to relate their teaching to the special needs of the native homes. Miss Njongwana is an instructor in the Lovedale School, which teaches arts and industries after the fashion of the Hampton Institute in this country. She and Miss Makanya are making a special study here of the methods of the Penn School in South Carolina, which is attended by 300 negro women.

The Work of the Schools.

One school in Rhodesia gives an example of what work may be done with the natives. There is a large compound, with ten small one-room houses of sun-dried bricks. There are stores, a missionary's house and a structure of brick containing a large schoolroom, classrooms and kitchen. In the centre of the compound is the nsaka, a circular grass roof supported on poles. Here the girls dine in wet weather and hold all their meetings. In the dry season they eat outside, sitting on mats around the common pot, just as they would do in their native villages. An older girl is in charge of each house, with eight younger children, for whom she must serve as housemother.

As nearly as possible the girls live an ordinary village life, drawing water, collecting firewood and preparing their own food. Each girl takes her turn at preparing flour and each child makes her own garments. For three hours in the morning the girls study and recite their elementary lessons. After this they play, sing, drill and dance. They rise before dawn. The younger children go to bed just after sunset; the older ones are allowed to stay up a little longer. There are prayers at sunrise and sunset. Several nights each month there is dancing in the moonlight. They have, it is said, a natural dramatic gift and the teachers encourage them to dramatize their lessons and religious teaching as much as possible.

Children come to the school quite young and stay until they are married. After they go out into the life of their villages they are encouraged to come back to the school once a week, so that the school may help them in their married life.

SLAVES IN ARABIA.

British Retain Right of Manumission.

The Foreign Office have just issued as No. 25 (1927) of the Treaty Series the text of the treaty with the King of the Hedjaz, and of Nejd signed at Jeddah on May 20 last. The treaty, in addition to the usual undertakings, provides for the protection of pilgrims, and the King of the Hedjaz undertakes to co-operate by all the means at his disposal with his Britannic Majesty in the suppression of the slave trade.

Appended to the treaty is the text of Notes exchanged by Sir G. Clayton, the British Plenipotentiary, and the Hedjaz Government on the subject of the frontier between the Hedjaz and Transjordania, with the Hedjaz Government undertaking to maintain, pending "a final settlement," the frontier as defined by the British Government.

Writing on May 19 to the King of the Hedjaz, Sir G. Clayton says:—

"In continuation of our conversations relating to the question of the slave trade, I have the honour to inform your Majesty that his Britannic Majesty's Government feel it their duty to abstain at present from renouncing the right of manumitting slaves, which has long been practised by his Majesty's consular officers, and which enables them to liberate any slave who presents himself of his own free choice with a request for liberation and repatriation to his country of origin.

"I wish to assure your Majesty that his Britannic Majesty's Government's insistence on this right is not intended to mean any interference in the affairs of your Government or any infringement of your Majesty's sovereignty, but that it is due to his Britannic Majesty's Government's resolve to carry out a duty which they owe to humanity. I would add that his Britannic Majesty's Government will be prepared to consider the abolition of the right of manumission as soon as it becomes clear to both parties that the co-operation stipulated in article 8 of the Treaty of Jeddah has resulted in the enforcement of such practical measures as to render the exercise of the right of manumission no longer necessary.

"I trust that your Majesty will appreciate the attitude of his Britannic Majesty's Government in this matter, and that you will see fit to acquiesce in the procedure which I have described above."

To this letter the reply of the Hedjaz Plenipotentiary, the Emir Feisul, is: "I am confident that the British Agent at Jeddah will always act in accordance with the spirit in which our agreement was arrived at, and that he will not permit any confusion, as this might have undesirable effects on the administrative and economic aspects of this question."

In a letter of May 19 Sir G. Clayton states that the embargo on the export of war material to Arabia has been removed.

END OF SLAVERY IN SIERRA LEONE.

Passing of the New Bill.

The bill abolishing the legal status of slavery in the Protectorate of Sierra Leone, says Reuter, passed its first reading on September 15 and became law on September 22, on the completion of its final stages. It will come into operation on January 1, 1928. No provision is made in the Act for compensation to slaveowners.

The debates on the second and third readings did not provide much discussion, though some minor amendments were made. The bill was passed at a special sitting of the Legislative Council.

The Attorney General explained during the debates that the Government did not intend that after the passing of the earlier ordinance, known as Ordinance 9 of 1926, dealing with slavery an owner should still have the right to use force to recapture a runaway slave.

The new bill, which was carried unanimously, repeals the above ordinance for the gradual abolition of slavery and for the purchase of freedom, and means that on and after January 1 next year all slaves will be free. Of the three unofficial colony members only the Rural Member urged, without success, that the Government should grant compensation to owners and provide lands and employment for emancipated slaves. The first Urban Member urged compensation.

Of the three paramount chiefs, one asked that something should be done for the slaveowners. The Government replied that no claim for compensation was made by the representatives of the Protectorate, and that the granting of compensation would delay the enactment of the bill.

Race Problem - 1927

Africa

SLAVERY'S GOLD COAST LED TO MODERN WAYS

Ex-Governor Guggisberg, Now in This Country, Developed Schools, Railroads and a Harbor, and Permitted the Natives to Share in the Government

By RUSSELL OWEN.

ALONG the Gold Coast of Africa are about twenty castles. They were built to protect the slave trade when the men of half a dozen nations fought over the human freight they dragged from the jungles. These castles still stand, grim reminders of the loathsome traffic they guarded, but their dungeons are empty, their guns abandoned, and on their parapets walk men who are trying a great experiment in colonial administration for the benefit of the natives.

The Gold Coast, of romantic and tragic history, has been the scene for the last few years of a revolution in British colonial policy. The Coast has been fortunate in its Governors ever since the Ashantis put their spears aside years ago. The natives are among the finest in all Africa, brave, intelligent and proud.

Sitting on the balcony of one of the converted castles, a new Governor, Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg, talked with a friend several years ago of what he wished to do for the Gold Coast. He planned a new African State; defined novel principles of colonial administration. He made the decision that the Gold Coast should be ruled for its people, even though the people be black; that education should be practical and adapted to their needs, and that so fast as natives became capable of doing so they should be entrusted with positions of responsibility in the government of their country.

Revenue Vastly Increased.

During Sir Gordon's eight years of office he saw the beginning of the result of his policy. The revenue of the country has vastly increased, railroads and highways have been extended through the tropical jungle, telegraph lines link the widely scattered settlements, a harbor and seaport town have been constructed.

But, more important than all, he built the finest hospital in all Africa for the natives, he gave them a college and an advanced system of education, and he placed Africans in responsible Government positions, in which not one of them betrayed his trust.

So successful was his administration that when the traditional six years of his Governorship came to an end, when British Colonial Governors are usually shifted to another post, he was permitted to stay in the Gold Coast for two more years in order to finish his work. During this time he laid down the principles of his administration in written form so that they would constitute a precedent for his successors and enable the natives to have what amounted to a written guarantee that his policies would be continued. He was succeeded by Sir A. Ransford Slater, formerly Governor of Sierra Leone, and after a sojourn in England Sir Gordon has come to the United States to study negro education here while awaiting another Colonial appointment.

Borrowed $40,000,000.

The ground had been prepared for Sir Gordon by the labors of his two predecessors, who had done a great deal with insufficient funds. But his genius for administration and his adoption of a ten-year program developed the new Gold Coast. He knows the native people. He was born a Canadian, entered the army as an engineer and for many years was in charge of survey work on the Gold Coast.

Sir Gordon is tall and slim, with the keen features that distinguish the British army officer. Despite his more than thirty years in the army, there is little of the soldier about him. It is hard to realize that he spent four years in the trenches of the World War as a Brigadier General. His smile is gentle and his eyes alight with humor and understanding. While it is easy for one to believe that he can be firm as granite if necessary, there is about him the warmth of a great tolerance.

When he reached the Gold Coast he found the country struggling to develop its magnificent resources. The chief export of the country is cocoa, of which it produces half the world's supply. There are other valuable products, but cocoa leads. The problem was to get the cocoa to the sea, and to get it there revenue had to be obtained to build railways and roads. And revenue could only come from larger imports by a prosperous people.

So, Sir Gordon took the bull by the horns and borrowed $40,000,000. It is easier now than it was before the war for a British colony to raise money. But to obtain it he had to lay down a definite program of what he wanted to do. The needs of the country, in the order of their importance, were transportation, education and public health. And when he looked over his budget he found that education and public health alone would take all the revenue he could raise in the colony. The $40,000,000 was needed badly.

Railroad Extensions Built.

It must have taken courage to borrow that much for a country whose total revenue was only $8,000,000 in 1918. And it took more courage to embark on a ten-year building program which called for an expenditure of more than $83,000,000. It is difficult to realize how little there was in the Gold Coast in the way of modern equipment at the beginning of this century. There were 100 miles of poor railway, fifty miles of road, and one motor car in a country of 100,000 square miles, inhabited by 2,000,000 people.

Efforts had been spasmodic and carried on with little cooperation until the ten-year building program was put into effect. The first big item in this was the building of Takoradi harbor and town, where Sir Gordon had sat on the beach as a young surveyor and wondered why the spur of reef which ran out into the water was not used as the base for a breakwater. There are no harbors on the Gold Coast, and all freight has had to be lightered back and forth until this year. It was at first estimated that the work would cost $8,000,000. but it will actually cost about $16,000,000, which made a large hole in the Governor's $40,000,000. Fortunately trade has increased so rapidly owing to better transportation, that the revenues are in a very healthy way.

New Town Laid Out.

Not only was a harbor built but an entirely new town was laid out. There were only a few fishermen's huts along the shore, and these were moved to another point on the coast. Then a modern city began to take form on a bit of rising ground, with quarters for the white people and quarters for the natives; with a golf course and hospital and warehouses and cemetery and everything that a modern city needs. Takoradi promises to be a model tropical city when it is finished.

Incidentally, the natives from whom the land was purchased for the town will some day be in as unique a position as the Indians in the Southwest who have made millions from the oil discovered on their reservations. The native land-owners were paid $150,000 and were also promised 50 per cent. of the rents of houses and warehouses. That large percentage was due to an error, but the promise will be kept. Hence, some day the owners of this former bare stretch of coast will be worth millions of dollars.

In all this long period, however, before the products of the ten-year building program began to take form, there was considerable skepticism on the part of the natives, particularly among the chiefs and the cocoa growers. They began to think that Sir Gordon talked a lot of what he was going to do for them. He went among them and told how he wanted to develop the Gold Coast for them. They listened to him many times and wondered.

Three unusual incidents changed all their suspicion to friendliness. The first was the recovery of the Golden Stool. This was the traditional seat of the King of Ashanti; it had disappeared when the Ashanti uprising was put down nearly thirty years ago. Road builders apparently uncovered it, and soon pieces of the gold began to appear in the market place. Native chiefs went to Charles Harper, the head of the Government in Ashanti, and asked him what he was going to do about it. Mr. Harper had never seen the Golden Stool, and neither had any other European. Its importance rests in the fact that the divine authority of the Kings rests in the Golden Stool rather than in the King himself. Harper told the chiefs that he was not going to do anything, and that they ought to take better care of the stool. The recovery of it was a matter for native jurisdiction, he told them, and the men who stole the stool should be tried in the native courts. The stool was recovered, the thieves were punished with the approval of the English authorities, and the confidence of the Ashanti people was won.

Exiled King Brought Back.

But an even more important event for them was the return of King Prempeh, who had been exiled for twenty-four years. The chiefs asked to have him brought back, and in 1924 he returned, an educated, civilized man, wearing European clothes and anxious to aid Sir Gordon in his work. Later Prempeh was made head chief of the Kumasi in recognition of his loyalty.

These two matters of great importance for the natives were followed by the opening of the Gold Coast Hospital at Akkra, a splendid building, which cost $1,000,000. It is entirely for the natives, and when they saw that they realized finally that Sir Gordon not only talked a lot, but also did a lot. He had no trouble with them afterward. They believed him and helped him when he asked for help. There are eighteen new hospitals now.

Not only is the main hospital for the natives, but as fast as possible natives are being trained as nurses and doctors to take places on the staff. That is a part of the policy that Sir Gordon laid down as fundamental. In most colonies what education a native obtains is usually that which he can memorize, and his only ambition is to be a clerk. There are few clerks coming out of the schools of the Gold Coast. There are professional men and mechanics and skilled workmen who can do in the shops and at home whatever is necessary for the maintenance of their country. The most popular calling is that of engineer, although the native includes in the term any one who can handle a monkey wrench.

This departure from the traditional British colonial schooling, usually conducted by missions, was due to Sir Gordon's observation of its effects in India and Egypt. The Gold Coast native has a remarkable memory. He can read through a book and learn it by heart, and makes a good pupil up to the point where it is necessary for him to think. Right there the old system of education breaks down, so far as Gold Coast

natives are concerned.

When Sir Gordon started his system of education he obtained the help of A. G. Fraser, who had twenty years' experience in Ceylon as head of a college. Fraser would not undertake the work, however, unless he, in turn, had the help of James K. Aggrey, a native who left the Gold Coast when he was 20, came to the United States and acquired an education. Aggrey went to work as interpreter between the whites and the Africans.

Fraser and Aggrey planned and started the construction of the Prince of Wales College. It is built with their peculiar requirements in mind.

Missions an Obstacle.

The greatest obstacle to the educational program of Sir Gordon lay in the missions. Some of them did excellent work, but many did not. There was much of the catechism and not enough general education; the teachers were not of the best, because they were underpaid. So an order was made that no teachers should be allowed to teach anywhere in the country unless they had certificates from the Board of Education, and the missions were ordered to pay the teachers a minimum salary based on the highest salary obtainable in any mission school.

When the missions complained that they would not be able to meet this expense, Sir Gordon told them the State would make good the deficit if the missions conformed to rules laid down by the Government. Forty per cent. of them were eliminated at once, the others being permitted to go on teaching within Government restrictions.

All this constructive educational work is bearing fruit, and was definitely connected with the next step taken by Sir Gordon, which was to put natives into positions of authority whenever possible. In 1919 three Africans held positions usually held by Europeans, and now thirty-eight hold such positions. There have been a few minor disappointments, but those who have held important offices have done well.

The story of the growth of the Gold Coast under Sir Gordon's administration is one of definite plans leading to concrete results. Wealth is flowing from the Gold Coast as it never did before, and its people are more prosperous than they had ever hoped to be. Sufficient revenue is obtained so that the loans may be repaid when they come due.

The old castles of the slave traders look down on changed scenes. Wanton cruelty has given place to kindliness and understanding, and from the Gold Coast, instead of the cargo of despairing human beings, are flowing stores of goods, which the white people of other countries use in the accomplishment of their own destinies.

TWO FLAGS URGED IN SOUTH AFRICA

Parliamentary and Popular Approval of Caucus Agreement Expected to Allay Race Feelings —Union Jack the Official Emblem

AFTER a bitter controversy lasting two years, and threatening at times the disruption of the country, the choice of a national flag for the Union of South Africa has been agreed upon in caucus by both political parties, and when sanctioned by Parliament it is hoped that the racial issue that has disturbed this dominion of the British Empire will have been settled. From early in 1925 until Oct. 19 last South Africa has been divided into two hostile camps, neither wishing to make a concession over the selection of an emblem, involving, as it did, feelings of patriotism toward Great Britain or an ancient loyalty to Dutch beginnings.

Although the present form of the Union of South Africa (consisting of the formerly independent units of the Orange Free State Transvaal, Natal and Cape Colony) was adopted in 1910, no national flag was agreed upon. Up to the present time the Union Jack has flown over all official buildings and the Vierkleur has been displayed wherever Dutch-speaking South Africans were in the majority.

General Hertzog, the Prime Minister, two years ago thought the time ripe to ask Parliament to settle the question of a South African flag. The emblem offered was a red Saint George's cross on a green background—an arbitrary symbol for South Africa and one to which it was thought no one would object, because it had no historical background that might offend any of the various elements of the Union.

But that negative virtue was hardly enough to endear the flag to the hearts of a people. Moreover, for the English-speaking group the omission of the Union Jack as part of the flag was a call to battle.

Dutch and English Divide.

The Government's flag aroused such a storm of protest that General Hertzog withdrew the measure and promised to reintroduce it at a subsequent session. In the meantime a nation-wide discussion was begun, attended by ill-feeling.

The people generally divided in two camps: the Dutch-speaking element and the Labor Party being aligned with Prime Minister Hertzog; General Smuts, former Prime Minister, representing the English-speaking group. The latter faction asserted that all its members contributed to the development of South Africa and asked that these achievements be perpetuated in the emblem that they were asked to call their own. What more fitting and characteristic a symbol can be found, they asked, than the Union Jack? The Dutch-speaking group, on the other hand, saw in the Union Jack a political emblem which, placed in the flag, would be a constant reminder of past bitterness.

With the reintroduction of the Government's Flag bill, after the opening of the last session of Parliament, all other political issues became dwarfed, and the fight promised to take on the proportions of open civil dissension. Reports of bitter, heated and long discussions came from the legislative halls, to be taken up by the press and re-echoed through the land. An impasse was quickly reached, and it was decided to send the bill to a Select Committee of Parliament in the hope that it would evolve a new design more acceptable to both parties.

Throughout, the committee and the nation had before them the example of the other dominions, whose flags are composed of a characteristic design with the Union Jack on a red background—that is, all except Ireland, which did not include the British emblem in its new flag.

A New Design Submitted.

The Select Committee produced a new design—the flag of the old House of Orange, consisting of an orange, a white and a blue stripe, with a small shield containing the Union Jack, the Vierkleur and the Free State flags. Cries of "unsatisfactory" and "impossible" were again heard. The Union Jack had been allotted a "microscopic" portion of the flag; this was acceding to Anglo-Saxon demands in letter but evading them in spirit. What was wanted was a design of which these three flags were "integral and substantial portions," not mere quarterings on a miniature shield. Further, the claim was made that the shield was not an intrinsic part of the flag, but removable at will, and when removed it left only the Dutch colors of 300 years ago.

The removability of the shield was regarded as a step toward republicanism, and the English-speaking faction again objected. Members of this group were accordingly accused by the opposite camp as being more interested in England than in South Africa's past or future, and of coming "to South Africa not to become Afrikanders but to fill their pockets."

The design containing the shield was nevertheless passed in the Assembly and sent on to the Senate. During the long debate in both houses came demands that the matter be dropped. The time, it was urged, had not yet come when this important question could be discussed from the national rather than from the racial point of view.

The Senate did not table the bill, but proposed another design consisting of a cross argent quartering (1) the Union Jock, (2) the old Orange Free State flag, (3) the old Transvaal Vierkleur, and (4) on a field azur four stars argent. The Union Jack was given the place of honor not from any sense of obligation or dominance, but because it was the oldest of the flags.

The Compromise.

This design was rejected by the Assembly and the Flag bill was declared "dead" in the last session of Parliament. However, the bill, by providing that whatever design received Parliamentary approval must also be approved by the people, left opportunity for unending agitation.

When Parliament reassembled on Oct. 14 last the issue overshadowed the session, with both sides showing little desire for compromise. Calmer minds quickly set to work, however, and five days afterward it was announced that negotiations had begun anew. Consequently, debate on the Government bill was adjourned.

Generals Hertzog and Smuts were able to come to a provisional agreement which was submitted to the Nationalist and South African Party caucuses last Tuesday. The Nationalists accepted the compromise but Natal members of the South African Party caused opposition by requiring an understanding that the Union Jack should be flown at such cities as Kimberly, Johannesburg and Grahamstown.

Under the caucus compromise there are to be two flags. The Union Jack will be flown from Government buildings at the seaports and as the South African flag abroad. The other design, for domestic and popular use, has three horizontal stripes of blue, white and orange, with the Union Jack and the Orange Free State symbols in the white stripe.

The omission of a provision for flying the Union Jack in small Dutch-speaking towns is due to General Hertzog's representations that it might cause offense while feeling is still strong.

Race Problem - 1927

Africa.

THE BELGIAN CONGO.

OUR BRUSSELS LETTER.

("African World" Correspondent.)

BRUSSELS, August 30.

Germany and the Mandates Commission.

In mid-February last the Belgian, British, and French Governments declined to let Germany have a seat on the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. Since then, and for unknown reasons, they have evidently altered their mind and decided to let Germany have a representative at the Commission.

In Belgium, this decision was taken by the Cabinet on the suggestion of Mr. Emile Vandervelde, our Foreign Secretary, but it was fought in the Cabinet Council by Mr. Jaspar, who is both our Premier and our Colonial Minister, and by Baron de Broqueville, our War Minister, who was our Premier at the time of the German invasion in 1914.

This decision to let Germany be represented on the Mandates Commission has provoked some vehement protests, and notably in our Colonial Press. Mr. Sinzot, a Mons Catholic M.P., has informed Mr. Jaspar that he will question him on the subject when Parliament meets again. This afternoon the Cabinet is meeting to examine the situation, and it is understood that the meeting will be rather stormy.

Agreement with Portugal re Transit of Katanga Copper.

Yesterday the Paris "Agence Economique et Financiere" published a telegram from its Brussels offices, according to which the Katanga copper shipped via Lobito will be considered as Portuguese goods shipped to a Portuguese port, and this irrespective of the fact if it should be shipped on board non-Portuguese boats. This appears to be one of the agreements arrived at, last month, at Saint Paul de Loanda.

A Congo Exhibition for London.

In the July number of the "Congo Mission News" (the quarterly most interesting journal of the Congo Conference of Protestant missionaries) I read the following:—

"A monster Congo exhibition is being organised by the B.M.S. (Baptist Missionary Society) to be held in London next June, after which it will tour the country, in connection with which it is expected to train 1,500 stewards."

The Fight Against Sleeping Sickness.

In the same issue of the "Congo Mission News" the Rev. Carl Palmquist, of the Swedish Missions Association (which maintains six stations in the Belgian Congo and six in French Equatorial Africa), contributes a note dealing with the great fight by the Belgian and by the French Governments against the sleeping sickness. Its introduction states:—"One is full of admiration when one sees the indefatigable [illegible] which aim at fighting the sleeping sickness as well at Léopoldville as at

The Rev. Carl Palmquist describes also the hospitals built at Léopoldville West (one for the whites and one for the natives—in the latter 700 natives are accommodated permanently and at Léopoldville East Kinshasa (where 150 natives are accommodated). The Rev. Carl Palmquist, likewise the Rev. F. G. Exell, of the Baptist Missionary Society (who also contributes an article on Léopoldville), is enthusiastic about them and their devoted and competent staffs. Thus, writing about the Kinshasa hospital for natives, the Rev. F. G. Exell sums up his impressions as follow:—

"One might well have been in an up-to-date European hospital. Dr. Linarrio and his assistants are evidently in a busy community, judging from the number of patients we saw, and the patients themselves appear to realise that they are in good hands."

A Fine Chap.

It is also of interest to quote the following item from the same issue of the "Congo Mission News":

"The 'Manchester Guardian' is quoted with reference to an anonymous subscriber of the B.M.S. (Baptist Missionary Society) who, being prevented by medical opinion from coming to the Congo as a missionary determined to send all his annual profits to the B.M.S. for work in this land. In 1917 he sent £400. This year, the sum of £5,267 has just been received, making a total in ten years of £37,575 contributed by this missionary. The profits of his business, except in 1924, have shown a steady rise, and in addition to his gift last February he sent special sums amounting to well over £2,000 for special purposes. No information as to the identity of this benefactor, who does not wait until death duties may reduce the sum he may leave, are obtainable from the Society, for he desires to preserve an entire anonymity."

The "Maringa" Grounding.

Last week I reported that the "Maringa," of the Compagnie Africaine de Navigation en route from Antwerp to the Congo, had grounded on one of the Cape Verde Islands on the 22nd inst. A Lloyd's message, next day, reported that the "Maringa" had refloated, apparently undamaged, and proceeded.

American Steamers to the Congo.

According to the July "Congo Mission News" (Bolenge-Coquilhatville), "all the American steamers now calling at Matadi have specially prepared tanks for the transport of the Congo palm oil in bulk to America."

The Congo Native Population.

The Antwerp "Neptune" reports this morning that the native population of the Congo amounts to 7,692,573 inhabitants.

This figure, unquestionably, related to the natives who reported themselves to the census officials. To this figure, a large one, ought also to be added, the natives who did not report themselves to the census officers.

New Companies in Sight.

Colonel Paulis, the Comminière leader, is shortly to ask his shareholders to raise the Comminière capital to 60 million frs. With this fresh money Paulis will form new branch companies, and, from the particulars he kindly communicated to me, two of these companies will do a lot of good in the Congo, both to the whites and to the natives.

One of these companies will have as chairman Mr. Henri Carton, one of our former Colonial Ministers.

After having secured, months ago, the collaboration of "King Adolphe" (General de Meulemeester, the former Governor of the Oriental Province), Paulis has now got hold of a former Colonial Minister. Well done, Colonel!

J. ROUSSEAUX.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

The Last of the Dutch.

The last survivor of the Dutch occupation of the Gold Coast has passed away in the person of Wilhelm Zwoll, a pensioner, who had served many years in the Dutch Army in Java with distinction, and had been awarded five decorations. On his return to his native country he found everything changed, and had difficulty in making himself understood as he had almost forgotten Fanti, while at Elmina, the former Dutch headquarters, the Dutch language was no longer understood. The Consulate which the Dutch maintained at Elmina for some years after the transfer of the Dutch possessions to the British, had been closed before Zwoll's return; consequently, he had great difficulty in getting his pension, and was often reduced to such straits as to cause him to lament, in a jargon of broken Fanti mixed with Dutch, that he had ever left Batavia, where he might have ended his days in comfort.

A Living Fossil.

He was a relic of an order which had passed away. The Army in which he had served so many years originated in the period when Holland was still a great power in Europe with vast possessions in Africa and Asia where she, for more than a century, domineered over the traders of the other European nations who ventured into the territories in which she claimed a monopoly. In the latter part of the eighteenth century Britain drew to the front, and Holland's power and possessions gradually diminished. In the East, Holland retained the great and rich islands of Java and Sumatra as the centre of a still extensive Eastern Empire, but she was deprived of most of her African territories. In West Africa the trade with Holland had shrunk to insignificance by the middle of the nineteenth century, and her possessions there were rather a source of trouble to the British than of gain to herself. Owing to the haphazard way in which European traders had settled along the Gold Coast, the territories claimed by the various nationalities were so much intermingled that it was impossible for any of them to pursue a broad and definite policy of development without arousing jealousy and opposition from the others. Elmina and Cape Coast, the headquarters of the Dutch and British respectively, were only seven miles apart. To the west of these towns most of the coast was recognised as being under Dutch influence, but the district of Apollonia, and the towns of Dixcove, Sekondi and Komenda were considered British. On the Eastern side most of the territory was recognised to be under the British flag, but Appam, Kormantin and Mori were under the Dutch, while at Accra British and Dutch forts were within a mile of each other. When the British Government, following the recommendation of the Select Committee of 1842, resumed the control of the Gold Coast, which had been handed over to a Committee of Merchants in 1827, it was faced with the problem of raising revenue. Direct taxation was impossible, while the imposition of customs duties at the British ports drove the trade to the neighbouring Dutch ports, which were free. The Dutch were unwilling to give up this advantage and to join the British in imposing a uniform tariff all along the coast.

Recruits and Pensioners.

For many years the Dutch rejected all the British proposals for combined action or for the sale of their possessions to the British, following the example of the Danes, who had disposed of their posts on the Gold Coast in 1850. Besides the national reluctance to part with Holland's oldest extra-European possession, there were various public and private interests opposed to the transfer. The strongest opposition was offered by the Dutch officials, who were permitted to supplement their meagre salaries by trading, to use the forts as rent-free warehouses, and to import their goods free of duty, a privilege they could not expect to retain under an international tariff. But the chief reason for wishing to retain the Gold Coast was its utility as a recruiting ground for the Dutch Army in Java. In 1836 Maclean reported to the Committee in London that the Dutch Government had "adopted measures for recruiting their East Indian military force from among the natives of the Gold Coast. . . . To provide a sufficient and constant supply of recruits for the military forces of Java from among the natives of the Gold Coast (who out of their own country are the best black troops in the world) has, I have reason to know, been long a favourable object with the Dutch Government." A Dutch agency was established in Kumasi to collect and purchase slaves, who were sent down to Elmina, where they were asked (in Dutch) whether they were willing to serve as soldiers in the East Indies, and were supposed to voluntarily agree to do so in the same language of which they knew not a word. Of course this proceeding was a mere farce played to disguise from Europe that the "soldiers" were really slaves, and that the "recruitment" was a contravention of the anti-slave trade treaties. In Kumasi no disguise was attempted: the King of Ashanti was allowed forty dollars (then equivalent to £8 in English money) for each "recruit." All these sums were set off against a debt due to the Dutch Government, the advantage of collecting a debt, otherwise irrecoverable, was added to that of collecting soldiers cheaply. When put on board ship for transport to the East most of them were already finally banished from their native country and any of the victims of the acknowledged slavers. Some few, however, were brought back to Elmina and granted pensions when too old for service. Most of them settled on a slope of a hill in Elmina, which is still known as Java Hill. When the Dutch at last consented to transfer their settlements a Consul was established at Elmina to wind up Dutch affairs, and, principally, to pay the veterans their pensions. Pension-day was the great event of these poor old fellows' lives, and their monthly march to and parade before the Consulate were among the most interesting sights of the town. All old, many of them crippled, and some decrepit, they were a pathetic crowd. With their decorations proudly displayed on their old uniforms they tried to hold themselves with military erectness, and to recover some of their erstwhile smartness as they saluted "Mynheer Consul" and received their exiguous but welcome due. One by one they "faded away," and with the passing of old Wilhelm Zwoll we turn down a curious and almost forgotten page of Gold Coast history.

W. F. H.

War To End War.

The breakdown of the Geneva international naval conference last month, is a real disappointment to all those who had hoped that the five years' world war of 1914–1918 was to end all war. During the nightmare of those terrible years, the science of war was revealed in all its brutality, and thousands of men went to their death in the full belief that their object would be achieved, the object of eliminating all future warfare among civilised people. The hope was that every nation would be so perfectly chastised that it would do nothing else but vote for peaceful arbitration and reduction of military and naval armaments. In ancient times the sole security against war was thorough preparedness for war. Down to Roman times the principle used to be "If you wish to avoid war, prepare for war." With the advent of Christianity and modern culture we have rightly expected civilised men to be ruled and controlled by cool reason and the scientific knowledge that war under modern conditions amounted to nothing better than a senseless waste of economic resources and a revolting destruction of invaluable human life on a gigantic scale. For forty years after 1870, the French and the Germans competed in accumulating war material and armies for a war of revenge that came off in 1914. The recent failure of the Geneva conference means a fresh start by all civilised nations in another competition for supremacy in arms and ships for another conflict. It is thus obvious that war of itself will never end war. Nothing less than a change of heart, a change from the military heart into the clean heart for which David the psalmist sighed; only a sincere practice of religion, especially Christianity, will constitute a sure basis for the abolition of war as a means of settling international differences.

We have duties to perform and purposes to achieve.

[By A. Z. Ngani,]

We come to the world without knowing and having not asked to come It is certainly for some purpose that the Creator made us. He made us to contribute something to the world which He loved from the very genesis of things. He likes to see the world "go forward" being what He intended it to be—a happy place where peace and prosperity rule.

He has given every individual that comes into the world instincts which enable him to attain to higher and nobler things. If we did not do some of the things instinctively we would have to go back and cover the same ground which our forefathers had to cover, and progress would almost be impossible. It is therefore the duty of every individual to try and make the world a better place for humankind to dwell on than when he came to do it.

We scarcely realise the fact that all our possessions are what has been handed down to us by our fore—forefathers from time immemorial. They may not have directly given us the actual cattle, sheep or goats, but the wisdom to acquire these has been inherited, as it were, from them The world on which the prehistoric or "Stone Age" man had, has been for all these years undergoing an unseen change, developing and maturing up to its present attitude, but the highest point has not yet been attained. The prehistoric man who only knew that to protect himself from undue exposures to cold, he had to find the thickest bush, gave us unconsciously or consciously the wisdom to build the splendid mansions of to-day.

The greatest thing a man can do is to see that what he leave behind to us children or to the coming generation is worthwhile. He should not give his children tools which will be useless either for defence or attack against the enemi s peculiar to the age. Therefore I venture to say the education of the children s more important than words can say.

The parent or guardian should have all the control over those in his or her charge until they are capable of conducting themselves. It is very sad to hear a parent or guardian say "he will learn by experience" (referring to a child whose reasoning is still crude, who never sees the faults until it is too late) we forget that the saying "experience is the best teacher" refers to the mature in mind. We must remember that a broken machine is never as good as the one which never suffered any injury, even if it has been mended by an expert He claims our attention s her with invited to the education of the young

At present there is free education up to Std. VI in Native Primary Schools and I daresay facilities for those who really thirst for knowledge, could be made in the Training Institutions or Colleges for those who certain cannot pay the expenses connected therewith. Let us avail ourselves of the opportunity and privileges while they are yet available.

WHAT EVERYBODY CAN DO.

(a) We can dispense with our stock which hinder the progress of our people as most boys are retarded from going to school by that monotonous occupation which in the long run does not pay—that of herding stock. At any rate we should not keep cattle at the expense of our young people's acquisition of knowledge.

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LOST OPPORTUNITY.

The opportunity lost is never regained. I have heard many people regret that they did not do such and such a thing, or that they did not avail themselves of the opportunity that once came to them. We sometimes let pass valuable minutes and even days with nothing to do on hand, because we lack vision; we have no foresight. We forget that the world will be a different place from what it is now fifty years hence.

I once heard a man who was born about 1840 regretting his foolishness because he did not go to school with some of the boys of his age who filled the then passing moments with useful labour, but were now gone to their eternal rest, but left behind "undying names," and now he was old and feeble, lived a longer time, but felt he did not do as much as those who were now departed. Certainly if this be the case "we live in deeds not in years." How he wished he had gone to school and could then have done something for the world What a good wish but all was lost—lost opportunity is never regained. It was now hard for the poor man; he was deserted by his bodily strength. How else could he earn a living—no sons—no brothers—no anything—poor soul—he was illiterate. The forces of nature which govern the universe, viz., civilisation struggle for existence, and the survival of the fittest, calling for a big competition were now working.

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LITIGATIONS ARE MANY IN LIBERIA

NEW YORK, Jan. 28.—According to Oscar Hudson, former Liberian Consul in San Francisco, Cal., and now fiscal agent of the newly organized Bank of Liberia, one of the chief sources of interest in the hinterland of Liberia is the holding of court trails or palavres. These trials are frequently held under the auspices of local chiefs who have an economic interest in furthering them.

Important trials often have representatives of the Liberian Government to supervise the proceedings.

Appeals in important cases are made to the Paramount Chiefs or to the Secretary of the Interior. The most trivial cases are sent to trial and the natives take great delight in participating in them.'

Mr. Hudson, who has recently returned from an extensive tour of the Liberian Hinterland, tells of the many trials he observed in the February number of The Messenger.

LIBERIA IS FOUND TO HAVE NO PUBLIC HEALTH ADMINISTRATION AT ALL IN SURVEY BY SCIENTIST

NEW YORK.—Colonel Sir Edward Thornton of South Africa recently stated that in Nigeria there is a hospital of 200 beds which cost $1,250,000 and that it is the "most perfect and model hospital in the world." He was the speaker at a Rotary Club luncheon in Pretoria, at which many delegates to the Medical Congress were present. He had just returned from a League of Nations inquiry on which he was the South African representative, and he toured the British, French and Portuguese colonies in West Africa. He spoke highly of the efficient French system of public health, according to the London correspondent of The Journal of the American Medical Association, who writes this summary of what Sir Edward said:

"He found that Liberia had no public health administration at all."

LIBERIA URGED TO EXCLUDE MISSIONARIES

President King In Annual Message Asks Ban on Missionaries

In his annual message to the country, President C. B. D. King, of Liberia. declared that Liberia must find God for itself and that ecclesiastical control of foreign religious bodies, as well as their financial support, must be withdrawn.

The carrying out of this plan will affect religious bodies in this country and Europe which are spending a quarter of a million dollars yearly in Liberia. The A. M. E. Church spends about $50,000 annually, the M. E. Church, $65,000, and the P. E. Church, $75,000. All of these churches have bishops in Liberia who will be affected.

President King's message reads in part:

"Before concluding this Message I cannot but point with patriotic pride and pleasure, to the new thought now moving through the nation towards Liberia's religious independence by complete severance from all foreign Ecclesiastical control.

Political Freedom

"The incompatibility of political freedom with religious servitude the Liberians are now beginning to realize.

"The British Nation realizing this incompatibility, threw off the Ecclesiastical yoke of Rome for Spiritual freedom and declared the Established Church of England. For the same reason the Protestant Episcopal Churches of that great Nation refused to submit to the continued Ecclesiastical Government and control of their own appointed American Ecclesiastical Heads in keeping with the Republican spirit and genius of their country and their government.

Withdraw Control

"The Churches in Liberia in their awakening to national and racial consciousness must and will proceed upo these very lines. The control of foreign religious bodies must be withdrawn, as well as their financial support. from the Churches in Liberia. If the former, why not the latter?

"Since we are supporting and maintaining our own Government, we ought to be able to support and maintain our own churches. In fact, this is a duty and responsibility devolving upon us as a free, sovereign and independent people. No self-respecting, independent Nation would desire otherwise.

Must Have Own God

"Every nation, like every individual, must know God for itself and not for another. As a people, we Liberians are most appreciative of the religious guidance and assistance we have received in the past from our foreign spiritual directors and teachers, and recognize the measurable benefits which have accrued to us therefrom; but nevertheless, we hear the deep, loud and reverberating sounds of the great bell of time announcing the fact that the hour has arrived for Liberia's spiritual freedom and religious independence. To this call of freedom every true and patriotic Liberian must respond irrespective of his religious faith or creed."

THE GOVERNMENT NATIVE CONFERENCE.

IMPRESSIONS OF THE MEETING AT PRETORIA.

[By D. D. T. JABAVU.—In the "Cape Times."]

The annual Native Conference at Pretoria, as authorised under Act 23 of 1920, was held at the beginning of the present month and was invested with an unusual degree of expectation from all quarters for several reasons, The first reason was that Gen ral Hertzog had done what no other Prime Minister had ever ventured to do, namely, to claim that he possessed a panacea that would cure all the troubles of the native question ; and to embody his proposals in a series of legislative bills.

As a preliminary, the Premier had made a number of public speeches in which he explained various phases of the question, the most important of these speeches being those of Smithfield, Malmesbury, Stellenbosch, Glen Grey, Pondoland, Umtata, Butterworth, King William's Town, Alice, Queenstown, and so forth, in 1925. His resultant bills were published last July in a Government Gazette Extraordinary for public information, in view of Parliamentary discussion in 1927.

No detached observer could deny the Premier the singular credit of being the first great politician in this country to insist on the consideration of this question as a single whole and to reduce his thoughts into the concrete form of Parliamentary bills; and also to take the trouble to visit a section of the country natives personally in order to witness their conditions. All must concede that this is to his credit. But as to whether he has been inspired, there will be divergent opinions.

To begin with, it is doubtful if there really is such a thing as a "Native Problem," as distinct from the general South African problem of inter racial relationship. The natural view of the thinking native is that the problem, as stated and argued by the present Government, is how to devise legislation that will throw all the advantages of political and economic life in favour of the European and in such a way that the native shall never be noticed in the scheme of general affairs except as a subordinate contributor to the white man's happiness and security of comfort and political domination. This view is viciously limited because it neglects the inescapable fact that the native is bound gradually to grow out of his present apparent childhood, and develop into his full stature of intelligence and organisation, when he will be powerful enough to insist, as India is doing, upon a recognition of his full citizenship. The present bills of General Hertzog not only deal with the native situation as if the Bantu will never develop further, but actually legislate to drive back the front line of native advance to the back division of tribal conditions, with all the conservatism and stagnation implied therein. That is the general criticism that was levelled against the three bills discussed in Pretoria.

A YELLOW NAPOLEON—A ROMANCE OF WEST AFRICA.

The above book having arrived subscribers are requested to apply for their copy. Mr. Sawyerr has ordered a few extra copies for such customers as may be disposed to read the book. Those who want to publish their opinion of what the publisher has to say of the book which when first published in 1923 was sold at 7s. 6d. and is now obtainable in Freetown for 3s. 6d.—"A story which most wonderfully reproduces the atmosphere of Africa. The plot concerns a half-caste who, disowned by his father, became a leader of the blacks, employing all the resources of witchcraft. We read of the struggle between him and a mission for the soul of a heathen city and of a sudden and surprising mass-movement; a charming love-interest also runs through the story."

FOURAH BAY COLLEGE AFTER A HUNDRED YEARS.

II.

The very interesting but brief historical sketch delivered by the Rev. T. S. JOHNSON, M.A., B.D., one of the brilliant products of the College and at present, Senior Tutor, reveals a rather chequered and fitful career of the College during the one hundred years of its existence. This was not due in any way to a lack of appreciation by the people, but mainly to the rather formidable toll which European leadership involved, on account of the too dreadful and insalubrious climatic conditions then existing. Whatever might have been the attitude of Germany to world peace in the twentieth century, Africa at least West Africa, must ever cherish feelings of gratitude to the distinguished heroes of that and other European nations for the sacrifice and broad outlook displayed towards the moral uplift and spiritual regeneration of the much wronged Negro recaptives and slaves brought into the settlement through British Philanthropy.

The patience, affection and sympathy shown towards the poor people at the time and the risk which the insecurity in life involved created a determination to stand in the breach and by every means possible, not to abandon West Africa. Thus the spirit of the dead has followed up the career of this historic and much prized institution, that in spite of threatened storms revealing as described by Mr. JOHNSON, "a recurrent cycle of progress, decline and recovery, cautserised and near unto extinction," she has phœnix-like ever been rising from the ashes of her funeral pile to manifest still greater splendour, giving the African the opportunity to demonstrate the pliability of his mind, the ample and unlimited scope of its development and the wisdom and divine guidance that prompted so great an ideal from the very beginning of things.

We can say without fear of contradiction, and we would that the distinguished representative of the Senate of the Ancient University of Durham, Canon DAWSON WALKER, whose services to this Christian community have been of a high order—we would that this devoted and saintly servant of GOD, will take his bearings in studying the history of the College's existence from the spirit which actuated the pioneer Missionaries, and not from the point of view of some modern imperialists, who are prone to magnify the faults and failings of the African and without the patience which should be prominent in their appraisement of the facts in connection with his development, are apt to run into unwarrantable conclusions with an uncharitable haste to pronounce him a failure justifying some harsh treatment, being meted out to him and keeping him down in a welter of discouragement, if not desperation. No this is not the way to progress.

One fact is prominent in the development of the Sierra Leonean in spite of whatever may be said against him and in spite of his grievous faults, he has often responded to expectations where he had been given fair opportunity. There is nothing he can do, and no nation can succeed under conditions involving serious handicaps and discouragement. Nothing, absolutely nothing, if his hands are tied—loose him and let him go. The Hon. the Under Secretary of State Mr. ORMSBY-GORE has spoken about the attainment of those who pass the Durham degree. It is plain he has not spoken from his own personal observation. We think more of what he may advance from his own independent study and very little of impressions gained from representations of those on the spot. It is time that it be clearly understood that the African will no longer sit down and bear blame arising from failure in European leadership. The various stages of intellectual development which the Senate of Durham has from time to time sanctioned have received creditable response from the African student. When it was classical studies and theology, there were men who showed themselves equal and did credit to their teachers. When a higher standard was fixed the men rose to the call; and just lately two of the alumni have returned from England to open a new sphere for educational qualification. We have no doubt that when the science course shall begin the same result will happen. Then why all the talk of the African not reaching a standard? What standard have his teachers set to which he has failed to attain? After all it must not be forgotten that in a Colony like Sierra Leone the work of development can only be done by the African with European leadership; so that nothing that may be said by those who *must* have their say, will destroy clear and undisputed facts. All that is required is that the spirit of good will and helpfulness should dominate every situation in which co-operation between European and African has the only assurance of success.

We mentioned in our last that a serious omission had been made by the non-invitation of the two African Bishops of Nigeria. We have been informed that invitations were sent to them, but that they could not come. We accept the explanation but still hold that their absence was a striking omission. What however we are most concerned with now is, what shall the people do to start the new century?

Our suggestion is to make the recurrent perilous position in which the college has now and again found itself, impossible. Therefore we are heart and soul with the suggestion of establishing an endowment fund. We are glad to know of the good intention His Excellency the Governor has towards the advancement of the college, we await its practical result. The African scholar Professor AGGREY has indeed given tone to the celebration for which we and all Negroes must be grateful. His utterances have been very educative and inspiring. They have undoubtedly done a world of good to the people. His plain and uncompromising thrusts now and again have revealed what powers of self repression there are in him to enable him to have moved so very successfully in his present sphere. He ought to be a living epistle, known and read by every Negro. We hope those at Fourah Bay College of his race would make of him a careful study, to be able to represent the race ably and worthily in all respects. We shall in our next bring this series to a close.

FOURAH BAY COLLEGE CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS.

ANNUAL REPORT READ BY REV. J. C. O. DURING, M.A.

The Report read at the Convocation held in March 1925 eagerly looked forward to our Jubilee Convocation which was to have taken place in March last.

For well known reasons that Convocation had to be postponed, and one of the distinguished delegates who would have joined us then in rejoicing has since passed to higher service and reward. I refer to the late Bishop Ingham who was to have represented the C.M.S., and who with great delight had welcomed the invitation to come out once more to Sierra Leone, and was disappointed when he had to postpone our Jubilee Celebrations.

We meet to-day within a few months of the completion of one hundred years of our College's existence. We have decided to celebrate together the Centenary of the foundation of the College, and the Jubilee of its affiliation to the University of Durham. The festivities of this week will, therefore, take account of both these events.

A resumé of the one hundred years of the corporate life of the College, fifty years of which were passed as an institution of University status may not unnaturally be expected in this report.

From the very start the College was destined to be at the apex of the educational system not only of this Colony but also of that of West Africa. This position of leadership has been signally maintained. Even before the affiliation to Durham, when the College was restricted to candidates for the Anglican Ministry it turned out men who became pioneers of Education throughout the coast, and particularly in regard to the opening of Nigeria which has become an important unit in the Empire. We may name in this regard the late Samuel Crowther, our first student who afterwards became the first West African Bishop of the Anglican Communion, and the late Bishop James Johnson.

When the affiliation threw open the door of the College to all provided certain conditions were fulfilled the work of the College as a result grew, and its scope and usefulness increased. Indeed in the fifty years of its connection with Durham the influence it has wielded has been far reaching. Centres of civilising and Christian influence have been established; places of culture have been raised through the instrumentality and initiative of the men that have gone forth from the College.

In nearly every department—in the pulpit, in the schoolroom, and in the legislative hall, in professional, social and civic life—alumni of the College have led the way and are potent factors in the building up of West Africa.

In spite of the changes through which West Africa has passed and is passing the College still retains its pristine position and influence, and as it keeps alive the aspiration of West Africa and holds open the door to that form of culture that has been so abundantly proved of value elsewhere, there is every indication that its influence will spread still more.

The history of these one hundred years has been somewhat chequered. There has been a rift in the lute. Times came when the barque, weather-beaten and storm tossed was in danger of foundering. That it was able to survive the storm is for us a sufficient cause of gratitude to the Father of Mercies.

At one time after the retirement from the principalship of the Rev. Edward Jones the College was closed for two or three years, the students having been taken to the Grammar School where a Divinity class was formed for them.

Many here to-day will remember the year 1908 when the College came very near to being closed.

Two noteworthy events during these years may be singled out. The affiliation to Durham which took place in May 1876 during the principalship of the Rev. Metcalf Sunter, and the co-operation of the Church Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in the control and work of the College which began in January 1918 during the Principalship of the Rev. James Denton, M.B.E.

The College was also for sometime a centre for the training of elementary school teachers. It is interesting to mention that one of the first batch of graduates is still living. I refer to Bishop Oluwole.

Of those who graduated a year later we have still with us the Honourable A. E. Tuboku-Metzger.

Paying students were admitted after 1876, and one result of the reconstruction that followed the 1908 episode is that the College with the exception of the stipends of the European Missionaries has been made to pay its way. The proportion of Commoners have grown, and I am happy to state that we have at present more Commoners than scholars.

Passing away from the brief review of the one hundred years of the College's existence to a review of the work of the past year I shall only mention the following outstanding events.

Njala

1. THE VISIT OF H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES.—His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and suite along with His Excellency the Governor and suite visited the College on Monday, April 6, 1925, and as had been pre-arranged His Royal Highness laid the Foundation Stone of our Science Laboratory.

The building has since been undertaken and carried up to its present condition. But owing to lack of sufficient funds work in connection with it has recently been suspended. The community has contributed about £700 towards it. A friend has promised £100, and we are hoping to have £200 from the Jubilee Thankoffering evelopes, thus completing the £1,000 asked for, and making it possible to take up again and complete the building. Moreover with the getting of the £1,000 the way will be open to put into effect the College Council's resolution passed sometime ago to send a deputation down the Coast to solicit subscriptions towards the equipment of the Laboratory.

As regards the future of Science we are hopeful that as soon as our Laboratory is put up and in working order the boys now at the Prince of Wales' School doing science will afterwards pass on to us, that scholarships in science will be given to the College by the Government, and that when the Njala scheme would eventuate our students in science may have two years' practical work at Njala.

2. VISIT OF THE REV. T. S. JOHNSON TO ENGLAND.—At the end of Easter Term our Senior Tutor the Rev. T. S. Johnson, proceeded in company with the Rev. B. L. Thomas of the Grammar School to England for the purpose of pursuing the D.Th., P.T., course of Durham. During Mr. Johnson's stay in England, I am happy to say, he fulfilled all our expectations, and both in the University and in the places in England he went he gave a good account of himself. He and Mr. Thomas returned home in July after securing that diploma. Once more we extend to these brothers our hearty congratulations.

As a result of these successes, the University's permission to the College to work for the Diploma in the Theory and Practice of teaching is now an accomplished fact. Our first student is now at work on the Course.

We are hoping to make it possible for students at present engaged in school work to obtain the Diploma, and some are attending lectures in that hope. It is our desire that all graduates who intend to make teaching their life's work, will take the Diploma.

3. CONFERMENT OF M.B.E. ON THE ACTING PRINCIPAL.—In the last Birthday Honours list the name of the Acting Principal the Rev. J. Denton was amongst those on whom His Majesty the King was graciously pleased to confer the M.B.E., a signal mark of the Acting Principal's services to the College. To him we offer our heartiest congratulation. We regard this honour as bestowed not only in recognition of his services to education but as a recognition of the service the College has rendered and is rendering to Sierra Leone in particular and West Africa in general.

4. THE ROLL.—Our number has steadily been on the increase. With the opening of 1926 the number of students enrolled for Durham Courses is the record. There were four students reading for the Final Examination, twelve for the Second Year Arts, and ten for the Intermediate.

5. THE APPOINTMENT OF DEPUTY VISITOR. —About five years ago by a social warrant from the Chancellor of the University Deputy Visitors of the College were appointed. The appointment has proved already to be a boon to us. We can now hold Convocation without much concern about the movements of His Lordship the Bishop, the Visitor of the College. His Honour Sir Gilbert Purcell and the Honourable H. C. Luke, C.M.G., Knight of Grace of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, have each served us twice in that capacity.

6. DONATIONS—We have been privileged to have the photographs of Bishops Oluwole and Howells distinguished alumni, and that of the Rev. C. L. F. Hansel an ex-Principal of the College. These photographs are now hanging on and beautifying the walls of the College.

In June last we received a letter from Archdeacon Crowther, D.D., of the Niger Delta Pastorate offering his Doctor's robes to the College after his decease.

7. THE CHAPEL.—Our chapel continues to be the centre of our religious life and the focus of real brotherhood which is the ideal of the College. The services and addresses have gone on as usual. The desire to make our Chapel a model to educational establishments in West Africa is still uppermost in our minds. In keeping with this desire we have refurnished it and have re-arranged the seats in it.

8. THE FUTURE.—Apart from the development in Science as foreshadowed in this report we expect to have entrusted to the College the whole of the normal work of the Colony. Already negotiations with the Government in regard to the training of Elementary School Teachers are in progress. We are hopeful that Fourah Bay will become the Teachers Training College. On the whole, then, the outlook is assuring.

Finally with the consciousness of the Divine Presence, and with the vision of the still greater future that lies before the College, we renew our march exulting in the knowledge that the "best is yet to be."

FOURAH BAY COLLEGE.

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH DELIVERED BY REV. T. S. JOHNSON, M.A., B.D., AT THE WILBERFORCE MEMORIAL HALL.

A most cursory survey this necessarily must be to put the story of a whole century within the compass of fifteen minutes.

The C.M.S. began work in the Colony proper in 1816 and within eleven years from the commencement of their work Fourah Bay College was founded.

One naturally asks, how was it that so early in its history the C.M.S planned so noble and august an institution? The fact is, that in these eleven years so great was the death rate among the missionaries that the Parent Committee in England were about to withdraw their missionaries and abandon the Colony. It is said that on a day when the news of several deaths came a venerable layman rose amid the deep silence and said "We must not abandon West Africa." And to him they gave heed. But one great result which came out of the trial was the deep conviction on the part of the Parent Committee that if West Africa was to be evangelised it must be by Africans themselves. Hence the resolution of the Society to establish an institution for the training of promising youths of the soil for missionary work in the country. Such then was the "necessity" which called into being this noble institution which has produced in the last fifty years some 400 matriculated students of various faculties. Thus

"God moves in a mysterious way
His wonders to perform."

The history of Fourah Bay College throughout this first 100 years of its existence, as it appears to me, is a recurrent cycle of progress, decline and recovery. Oft times has she found herself in the fire of tribulation, cauterised and near extinction but phoenix-like she has ever risen from the ashes of her funeral pile to manifest in still greater splendour the living forces which lie within her bosom.

The Institution out of which Fourah Bay College evolved was the Christian Institution—a kind of higher Elementary School begun at Leicester in 1816. In 1618 at the suggestion of Governor Macarthy it was converted into a Seminary and was transferred to Regent in 1819. Seven years later (1826) it was removed to Kissy Road Parsonage, Freetown.

In 1827 it was removed to its present habitat and its character was so completely altered then as to warrant the term College for the first time to be applied to it. The premises and building (the latter is still the residence of one of the tutors) was bought at a public auction for £320 [illegible] 6d and was the property of the late Governor Turner, comprising an area of about eleven acres. The first Principal was the Rev. C. L. F. Haensel a German and Tutor at Basle Seminary whose instruction was to revive the work of the Sierra Leone Seminary and make it a nursery from which picked pupils from Sierra Leone were to be sent to Islington College, London, for further training for the missionary and educational work of the Society in the Colony.

The Curriculum then comprised English, Arabic, some local languages and Bible study. Mr. Haensel began work with only four pupils of whom Adjai Crowther was one. By 1833, i.e., six years later the number had risen to twenty-one. Mr. Haensel's health failed and he resigned his work that year and died in England the following year. For the next eight years the College was without a Principal. Consequently the number of students began to decline. In 1841 the Rev. Edward Jones, a Negro from the Southern States of America was appointed Principal. Under him the history of the College shone with unprecedented brilliance. Through his fostering care the number steadily grew till it reached thirty-seven. How the Principal and his students could have herded themselves in that small building is difficult for us to understand, who now live in more spacious days. The progress was such that the Parent Committee felt it an urgent necessity to place the work of the College upon a more efficient basis and to erect buildings to give ample accommodation to two masters and at least thirty students. On February 5, 1845 the foundation of the new building was laid. The ceremony was performed by His Excellency Lieutenant Governor Fergusson. The Governor on the occasion pathetically referred to the fact that the new building was being erected on the spot where forty years ago there stood a slave factory, but henceforth he said, that spot was to become the starting point from which the harbingers of spiritual freedom were to be sent forth. The new building was erected at the cost of some £7,000 and was opened, and occupied on All Saint's Day 1848. Mr. Jones laboured for nineteen years in the Colony. Some of his students were Daniel Carrol, Thomas Nylander, James Johnson, G. J. M'Cauley, Moses Pearce and other giants of their days. Mr. Jones had the able assistance of Professor Reichardt the learned Linguist and Philolegist. This era of progress however, was soon to be followed by one of waning prosperity. By 1853 the number which we saw in 1842 had risen to thirty-seven had now dropped down to fifteen, in 1856 it came down to eight and later to six. In 1858 Reichardt left on furlough and Principal Jones was sent for by the Parent Committee and the records state, that "the Committee having had interviews with the Principals of Fourah Bay College and of the Grammar School, have come to the conclusion that there is not scope for two such institutions in such a small community." The result was the College was closed in 1858. Of the six students then in residence, three were sent out as catechists and the remaining three transferred to a newly formed Divinity class at the Grammar School.

The work at Fourah Bay College was not resumed till eight years after when the Rev. Henry Jones Alcock, honoursman from Dublin University, was appointed Principal in 1866. From this time the College began its upward march which culminated in its affiliation to Durham ten years later. Among Alcock's students were Daniel Felix, Obadiah Moore, Nich. J. Cole, and H. P. Thompson. In 1870 Alcock was succeeded by Principal Sunter who will forever be remembered as the one who effected the affiliation in 1876 and thus obviated the need of sending students to Islington to battle with the inhospitable English clime. In that year five students were matriculated in arts and six in theology. Mr. Sunter was a man of great ideals, of indomitable energy and perseverance. We thank God for the courage and faith of the men in those days who embarked in a scheme which was scurrilously styled by some misanthropes, as the "affiliation of the Zoo." But the first students more than justified the act, Mr. (now the Honourable) A. E. Tuboku Metzger came off with 1st. class honours in Theology. Sunter called to his aid great scholars like Reichardt who when the College was closed in 1858 had gone to work among the Foulahs, Professor Alex Schapira, a German Jew, was appointed lecturer in Hebrew. Mr. Sunter also opened evening classes as the Rev. P. P. Hazeley reminded us yesterday for outsiders. To shew the magnanimity of Mr. Sunter he planned for a native to succeed him as Principal, for which purpose he sent the Rev. N. S. Davis to England but the failure of Mr. Davies' health made his plan to fall through. Mr. Sunter resigned his work at the College in 1883 and became His Majesty's Inspector of Schools for the whole of British West Africa, viz, from Gambia to Lagos.

Again another period of waning was to follow the brillance which had culminated in the affiliation under Sunter. For two years after his resignation no Principal was appointed. The number of students began to decrease and in 1885 when Principal Neville came he found the College consisting of one sudent and two tutors. Again the work of reconstruction was taken in hand. Candidates were invited to compete for the C.M.S. Scholarships. Among Mr. Neville's students were: D. J. Coker, E. T. Cole and later came C. N. Lewis and S. J. S. Barlatt. Mr. Neville encouraged social life among the students, e.g., he established choral society to which some of the teachers of the Annie Walsh Memorial School were invited to become members. Under him the number of students began to increase. Students of other callings were admitted e.g. schoolmasters students (e.g. Midley, Christian Cole and others) also non-matriculants reading for the Durham Certificate of Proficiency which was secured by several ladies of the Annie Walsh Memorial School, e.g., the Misses C. Edwin, A. Smart, S. M'Cauley, R. Wilson, M. Palmer and others. What are the present Annie Walsh Memorial School ladies doing? We hope that when the next Jubilee comes to be celebrated several ladies will be found among Fourah Bay College roll of graduates. This period of recovery was again to be succeeded by one of waning prosperity nigh unto collapse, i.e., in

the fatal year 1882 when out of seventeen students all but two were sent down by Principal Humphrey. Mr. Humphrey was a reformer and one much devoted to the missionary cause and to which he fell a martyr during t'

Mr. Humphrey instituted the short course studentship known at the time under the caption of "Shall we go forward?" Steadily the number began to grow under him until under his successor, Principal Elwin it rose to forty-six. The Government at the time maintained twelve schoolmaster students for one year. Next year the number dropped down to six, and the following year the scheme was scrapped.

Principal Elwin became Bishop of Sierra Leone and was succeeded as Principal of Fourah Bay College by the genial and learned T. Rowan M.A., B.D., of Dublin University. Under him the College experienced one of its most palmy days. Principal Rowan, conceived glad plans for the College but he had to resign when found there was not sufficient scope for him to carry them out.

Now of all the storm that burst upon the College since its inception none perhaps was more serious than that which beset it after Principal Rowan's resignation in 1905 On the one hand difference of opinion between Mr. Hewitt (the Vice Principal under Mr. Rowan) and Headquarters, prevented his being appointed Principal and on the other hand failure to carry out an "amalgation" scheme with the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society made Mr. Hewitt to lose interest in the College and he left the Colony finally in 1908. On Mr. Howitt's retirement the Church Missionary Society decided to appoint no Principal and to close the College. To save the situation several Conferences of Churchmen were held at the College. Two things saved the College at the time ("the earnest pleadings of the Right Rev. Bishop James Johnson and the Venerable Archdeacon Wilson who on a visit to England that year to attend the Pan Anglican Conference of 1908 took with them to the Church Missionary Society what may be termed "the groans of the people of Sierra Leone." Fair result attended their mission, the Church Missionary Society was willing to continue the work for an experimental period of three years to see if the College would prove more self-supporting, and if not to close it.

(2). The herculean task attempted by Mr. Denton to carry out the proviso above referred to, viz., to limit expenditure almost within the revenues of the College. I can never hope to make you realise all that this meant. But the gigantic nature of the task could be perceived if it be remembered that the Parent Committee at the time was making a block annual grant of £500 to meet deficit and was maintaining nine scholarships costing some £450 annually. Now both were to be stopped, and Mr. Denton was thus committed to the task of finding some £1,000 annually. How he did it I have no time to tell you but that he did is a well known fact. His mainstay was to use economies and that brought him frequently into serious clash with students who failling to appreciate the situation regarded his economies as an infringement of their rights.

This tiding over of the College through this crisis constitutes in my opinion Mr. Denton's greatest contribution to the College. He met the College wounded and about to die and he restored to it life and a new vision and hope. Under Mr. Denton the College has made very material progress. To name a few, to him we owe the Tennis Court with the raised dais so useful at Convocation, the as yet unfinished Criket field, but which has cost over £100 in its laying out. The refitting and furnishing of the Chapel began by the Rev. F. B. Hieser who was Principal for two short years and who would have followed in the wake of Mr. Denton had health permitted, the movable book shelves in the library, the library of fiction, the common room and reading room for students, the photographs of all the past Principals of the College and of some of its distinguished alumni (including four African Bishops,) the plotting of the College flower garden and the planting of those lovely angelic plants by Mr. Denton's own hands. During his regime the organisation has also expanded. A Science Department is well within sight. Of the £,1000 required for erecting the first block £700 has been paid. £100 is promised by a well known citizen of this city and we hope that the Thankoffering Envelopes will bring us not only the remaining £200 but also the £1,000 required for equipment the salary of the Science master is already assured by the munificent gift of £3,000 by the late Doctor Obadiah Johnson supplemented by a donation of £1,000 by Doctor John Randall—both old students of the College.

To Mr. Denton must be given credit for bringing about the "co-operation" with the W.M.M.S. and which has been maintained now for about eight years with hopes of its continuance for some years to come. The latest achievement of Mr. Denton's is the affiliation in education which he has secured through sending the Rev. B. L. Thomas and myself to England last year to qualify for undertaking the work

We have seen how from asmall beginning through many a rising and falling nigh unto collapse the College in the Providence of God has steered its way through these one hundred years. Shall we not do something to lift it above the region of precarious existence? To effect these, two things must be done, either (1) to provide it with large endowments following the example of the late Bishop James Johnson who has left £1,000 for Scholarships or (2) to provide it with a large number of paying students. The latter is always problematical with us. It depends on many things so liable to change. Our hope lies with the former course. Shall we let go this our day of opportunity? Shall not an endowment scheme be started as a permanent memorial of this Centenary? Dr. Aggrey will speak to you on this matter and meet with us at a time later to be announced to consider this question.

College Chapel Rawdon Street.

On Sunday 5th inst., to-morrow, in connection with its Chapel Anniversary two special sermons will be preached at College Chapel, Rawdon-street, at 9 a.m., by the Rev. H. H. Newham, General Superintendent and at 6.45 Rev. E. T. Fyle. At 2.30 p.m., of the same day there will be a Flower Show and Service of Songs. President, Councillor H. Max M'Carthy, Vice President, J. Walterson Parkinson.

College Delegates at the Schools.

Last Saturday morning Dr. Dawson Walker, Rev. and Mrs. Horstead and Dr. Aggrey visited the Grammar School and Wesleyan Boys' High School. Both Dr. Dawson Walker and Dr. Aggrey addressed the boys.

Brooklands Club Dance.

The Brooklands Club had its fifth Annual Dance at the Wilberforce Hall on Thursday last 2nd inst. His Excellency the Governor Sir A. R. Slater, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., the Patron of the club was present. The dance was a great success.

Sierra Leone Stand Wins Gold Medal.

At the opening of the Legislative Council on Tuesday morning last 30th ult. His Excellency during his address announced that he had, just two days previous, received information that the Sierra Leone Stand at the Toronto Exhibition won a Gold Medal.

Nichols Bridge.

The Executive Engineer Mr. David J. Brown and Mr. Edminson his European Foreman of Works are to be congratulated for the rapid work that has been going on since the commencement a month ago, the bridge will probably be open to the public before the end of this month or early in the New Year; Mr. Coulson the African Foreman Mason has been doing his own bit to hasten its completion.

THE INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES.

The newly established International Institute of African Languages and Cultures includes among its members accredited representatives of the African Society, the Advisory Committee on African Education of the Colonial Office, of which the secretary, Major Hans Vischer, has accepted the vice-directorship of the Institute, the Royal Anthropological Institute, the School of Oriental Studies, the Advisory Committee on Bantu Studies in South Africa, the National Research Council of the United States, the principal universities and learned societies of France, Belgium, Italy, Germany, Austria, and Sweden interested in African studies, and some leading missionary societies, both Roman Catholic and Protestant. Sir Frederick Lugard is the chairman of the Executive Council. An extensive programme of work, to a great extent but not entirely linguistic, has already been mapped out, and will be carried out on a detailed scale. Whilst we are very sympathetic to the new Institution and its objects, and believe its work will be of considerable utility, we cannot help expressing the opinion that in addition to the leading officials, who are of Swiss, French and German nationality, there is a lack of British-born experts both in the directorate and amongst those nominated to advise the British Government on questions relating to orthography and local vernacular. The Institute certainly requires strengthening from that aspect, especially as we understand that the services of several fully qualified men are available should they be approached on the subject.

Black and White in South Africa.

That the gravest problem South Africa has to face is that of putting the relationship of her white and her black population on a durable and acceptable foundation is a commonplace. It has been present in the minds of South African statesmen even before Kruger in the eighties outlined a future in which each native tribe should have its appointed territory. Botha in 1913 put the principle of segregation on the Statute-book. General Hertzog, conscious that each passing year makes the way more difficult, intends now to give it force. It is timely, therefore, to have a statement of the question at once so forcible and so dispassionate as comes in a pamphlet by Mr. E. T. Stubbs, of whose services to native administration Mr. Jan Hofmeyer, the Administrator of the Transvaal, speaks in a foreword in the highest terms. For Mr. Stubbs is concerned to remind South Africans of the uncomfortable fact, which they tend to ignore when they pay lip-service to segregation, that the grant of adequate land is the kernel of the whole matter. He sees no reason whatever why the black and white communities should not grow up side by side in the Union. He is, indeed, entirely pessimistic about the possibility of any other solution. The present contact of the peoples, he maintains, tends more and more towards racial fusion, with its unthinkable consequences; while on the economic plane it perpetuates the semi-slave system under which white prosperity is based on the supply of cheap black labour. A considerable "coloured" or half-caste population is one fatal consequence. The even more pathetic element of "poor whites" in the population is another. If these signs are not to be heeded he foresees only disaster ahead. And so far he is at one with all the statesmen who have applied their minds to the question. He differs in his insistence that the native question is first and last one of land, and that "it must be faced by the white popu- "lation in the spirit which consents "to a sacrifice, even a heavy sacrifice, "for the sake of survival." So far the only practical shape given to native policy has been to disqualify the black man by "colour bar" legislation from taking the place in industry to which his skill would entitle him. Mr. Stubbs shows more both of humanity and of common sense in urging that the first step should be the framing of a land policy

Race Problem – 1927

Africa.

NATIVE PROBLEM IN AFRICA.

New South African Act: An Examination.

By Norman Leys.

On September 2 the "Manchester Guardian" printed a Reuter telegram from Nairobi reporting a speech by Sir Edward Grigg, the Governor of Kenya. One sentence reads—"He gave an account of his stay in South Africa and Rhodesia, where, he said, he had gained valuable information concerning the methods adopted in those countries for dealing with problems similar to those of Kenya." A telegram from Maritzburg to the "East African Standard," dated August 15, said that Sir Edward and Mr. Amery had been making speeches there, one of them Mr. Amery said Rhodesia had become the pivot for the fulfilment of Rhodes's dream of Africa British from end to end."

The meaning of these aspirations for Eastern as distinct from South Africa may be ascertained from the examination of an Act of the South African Legislature which comes into force this month. This "Act to provide for the better control and management of native affairs" begins by making the Governor General, a term corresponding to the Crown in this country, "the supreme chief of all natives in the provinces of Natal, Transvaal, and Orange Free State," and gives him the power to "appoint any person as a chief or headman in charge of a tribe" and to "depose any chief or headman." A later clause lays it down that "no legal proceedings in regard to the ownership, occupation, or acquisition of land shall be instituted or maintained against the chief of such tribe" except with the consent of the Governor General. These sections turn native authorities from tribal representatives able to give free expression to tribal opinion into mere creatures of the Government with autocratic power over their subjects.

Tribal Areas.

Next follows a section which empowers the Governor General to "define the boundaries of the area of any tribe, and from time to time alter the same," and to "divide existing tribes into one or more parts or amalgamate tribes or parts of tribes into one tribe, or constitute a new tribe, as necessity or the good government of the natives may in his opinion require." He—that is, of course, the Government of the Union of South Africa—may also, "whenever he deems it expedient in the general public interest, order the removal of any tribe or portion thereof or any native from any place to any other place within the Union upon such conditions as he may determine, provided that in the case of a tribe objecting to such removal no such order shall be given unless a resolution approving of the removal has been adopted by both Houses of Parliament." It will be observed that individuals have no right of objection. So that under this law the Government may, at pleasure and without alleging anything against a native's character or behaviour, confine him for life in any place it chooses.

The section on land lays it down that "the Governor General may at any time appoint a Commissioner for the purpose of investigating and determining the rights of occupation or ownership of natives claiming to own land in respect of which a deed of grant or title has at any time been issued." A later clause provides that "any person deeming himself to be aggrieved by ny decision of the Commissioner" may appeal to a specially appointed board of three persons, "whose decision shall be final." This section enables the Government to obliterate any native's rights in land even if he has acquired or inherited a freehold with a full legal title, and it deprives him of the right to appeal to the ordinary courts of law in defence of his title.

A later section empowers the Governor General to make regulations with reference to, *inter alia*, "the prohibition, control, or regulation of gatherings or assemblies of natives, and generally for such other purposes as he may consider necessary for the protection, control, and improvement and welfare of the natives, and in furtherance of peace, order, and good government." This section enables the Government to prohibit any meeting of natives, public or private, arbitrarily, without giving any reason. Just what other interferences with ordinary rights and liberties are covered by the last words quoted above it is impossible to guess.

A further section runs: "The Governor General may by proclamation in the 'Gazette' create and define pass areas, within which natives may be required to carry passes, and prescribe regulations for the control and prohibition of the movement of natives into, within, or from any such areas." This section enables the Government to make the natives go where it likes and stay where it likes.

A Sweeping Section.

Finally, there is a section that ordains, first, that "any person who utters any words or does any other act or thing whatever with intent to promote any feeling of hostility between natives and Europeans shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to imprisonment for a period not exceeding one year or to a fine of £100, or both." And, second, that any magistrate if he suspects the existence of "anything as to which there are reasonable grounds for believing that it will afford evidence as to the commission of any such offence, or anything as to which there are reasonable grounds for believing that it is intended to be used for the purpose of committing any such offence," may have the thing searched for and, if his suspicions are confirmed, have it destroyed or confiscated. He may also deport from South Africa any person convicted under this section who was not born there. The effect of this section will be appreciated only by those who are aware that in South Africa language that would be thought innocuous in the mouth of a European is considered criminal in an African, so that, for example, the demand for equal rights will be held to promote feelings of hostility, as in South Africa it certainly will; while for a European to assert that, as the constitution of the Dutch Reformed Church states, Africans are inherently incapable of the rights and liberties proper to Europeans will not be held to be an infringement of this Act, although everyone knows that among educated Africans it promotes the angriest feelings.

This Act was specifically contrived to cope with what is a new portent in South Africa, a trade union for Africans, which has rapidly grown to a membership of nearly 100,000 and an income of £12,000. The deportation clause is specially aimed at its leader, who is a native of Nyassaland, where the education he got from the Mission of the United Free Church of Scotland is more liberal than any that can be got elsewhere in South or East Africa. This Act is the coping-stone of the policy which is embodied in the Colour-bar Act that prohibits natives from engaging in certain skilled trades, and in the measure that deprives the natives of the Cape Province of the restricted franchise they have hitherto enjoyed. There is no sign in South Africa of the beneficial measures which the authors of this policy professed to intend, such as the additional land promised in the Act of 1913, so that in the Transvaal the 543,485 Europeans still hold 110,450 square miles, while the 1,544,151 natives hold 3,837. It seems quite certain that the Government will have no difficulty in making use of this new Act to destroy the African trade union. We shall then see whether any Africans are the stuff of which martyrs are made.

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"I have at one time or another visited all the other great Dominions, and most of the colonies of the Empire as well, but South Africa stands in a special relation to Kenya, as a very much older civilisation, and as the Governor of Kenya I cannot fail to learn much which would help me in the task which I am taking up in a few weeks' time. After all, the essential problem of both countries is the same—a virile white race superimposed on a much larger native population. They were already, in Kenya, under a great obligation to the South African Government for the willing assistance it had always given to them in the solution of their problems. . . ." He firmly believed that in the understanding and the co-operation of the various white communities scattered up and down the African continent lay the future of the white race.

In a second article evidence will be offered to prove that in a very few months, unless British opinion effectively expresses itself, our Government will hand over the control of affairs in British East Africa as a whole to its resident European population, with the same inevitable results that we have seen to follow that policy in South Africa and Rhodesia.

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IF the Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations did turn out to be a complete failure or if in the futile attempt before they first remove causes which bring nations concerned will ever succeed in the world for, at least, twenty—four hours?

Race Problem – 1927

Africa.

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John Dube

Consecration of Mapleton Grave

Last Sunday afternoon the 4th of September, the grave of the victims of railway disaster near Mapleton was the scene of a great sympathetic gathering that went for consecration of the burial place of the 22 Africans who lost their lives.

The Right Rev. Dr. A. B. L Karney, Bishop of Johannesburg after some preliminary short sermons and addresses by four or five Missionaries of different denominations, performed the dedication memorial amid common and deep sorrow of the sympathisers.

This melancholy occasion brought white and black side by side and the temporary extinction of the colour bar reflected that greater brotherhood which so lamentably lacks in most dealings of man with man. after the singing ef the hymn," "All people that on earth do dwell," Rev A.B. Jack, representing the Church Council of Johannesburg and speaking in behalf of English speaking people of the district, made a powerful expression of sympathy to the gathering. "I wish to convey to you our sincere sympathy, in your bereavement," Rev Jack said.

"We wish you to know that as Christian men and women we desire the very best for you. We recognize that there is one God and one Saviour, and although the people of the earth are different as to colour of the skin, we have one common heart and one common need.

"In our times of need," proceeded Rev Jack, "we look up to our Father for help.

It is always a comfort to me that God over-rules our disasters for His own glory." If life had no tears man would never seek God.,, "We must learn' concluded the Minister, "the great lesson that death is not the last word."

The Rev D. M. Muller representing the Dutch Reform Church, speaaing in Afrikaans, delivared a powerful encouragement to the mourners and expressed the sincere sympathy of his denomination.

The Rev A. A. Kidwell, representing the Transvaal Missionary Association, was the next to address one of the biggest congregations. "The Transvaal Missionary Association," Rev Kidwell began, "wishes to express its sympathy with all who suffered as a result of the Mapleton train disaster.

Continuing, Rev Kidwell said, "Once more the Native has proved that he can suffer and endure hardship in a manner that does credit to the bravest soldiers. We pray that the compensatione that usually accompany such conduct, may be lavishly bestowed upon the survivors and bereaved.

Whilst we sympathise, we alsc wish to congratulate the Natives upon possessing many noble qualities which will make them a great people. I shall mention only one of these virtues.

Three years ago I visited Tuskegee Institute in America, and had a convegsation with Dr R. R. Noton, the distinguished Negro principal, who has over 1,500 Negro students under his care.

I asked him what he thought would be the greatest contribution the Natives would make to the world, and, without hesitation, he said "love"

As a South Afr. of the third genera tion I endorse that sentiment, and I frankly state, that the Natives are amongst the most lovable people in the world.

I would venture to urge the Native ministers to preach regularly from I Corinthians chapter XIII, Therein we read "Love never faileth Now abideth faith, hope, love, these three; and the greatest of these is love."

In some countries we see that "hatred" is the silver key that unlocks the door to political prestige and power, and it is essential, if civilisation is to endure that that state of things should be counteracted by love; and who knows, but that the Creator intended it, that the millions of Native would bring their contribution of "love" to heal the wounds hatred has made, and to pave the way for a brighter and happier civilisation.

I am not a prophet, nor the son of a prophet, but I make bold to prophecy that the lovable disposition of the Natives will become one of the great bulwarks, that will rescue civilisation from decay in the days to come.

'Love' will outlive armies and navies it will hasten the day when Christ's prayer will be answered, "Let Thy Kingdom Come,'

Then the dedicatory solemn duty fell upon Dr Karney as already said. When the Hymn, 'Rockof Ages' was sungSir W. W. Hoy, K.C.B.General Manager of South African Railways and Harbours, Major H. S. Cooke (O.B.E.) Director of Native Labour, Mr H. M Taberer Native Labour Adviser to the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association. Limited placed wreaths on the grave. The following also placed wreaths on the grave, Mine Clerks Associan, Rose Deep Mine Glen Section. St Agnes School, the Theological College, Rosettenville, Pathfinders, Bantu Men's Social Centre.

The conclusion by Bishop Dr. Karney of the consecration service was followed by spirited singing of the National Anthem."

'Nkosi Sikelela i—Afrika."

LOVE: The greatest word in the world that fell over many thousands of Europeans and Africans at Mapleton railway disaster grave was that uttered by Rev A. A. Kidwell. Among other liberal minded expressions and wider outlook of the situation Rev. Kidwell said: "The greatest contribution the Natives can make to the world is love. In some countries hatred is the silver key which unlocks the door to politica and power.

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"The loveable disposition of the Native" proceeded, Rev Kidwell, "will become one of the greatest bulwarks that will rescue civilization from decay in the days to come."

The King Provincial Election.

The recent bye-election for the Provincial Council that took place at King Williamstown has something to teach. We had two candidates who offered themselves for the same party and whose views on the affairs of the Provincial Council were absolutely identical. This situation left the electors no criterion whereby to distinguish between the two except personal life records and racialism. There was never any doubt as to which had achieved the greater distinction in public affairs and also as to which belonged to the English stock by race. The contest was inevitably confined to these two types of merit, with the resultant acrimonious discussions among the electors centreing around the personal equation of the candidates. In our opinion it is highly undesirable that the one and the same party should permit a combat of this kind for the future, and we hope that the political party in question will see to it that its local organisation will somehow circumvent the possibility, for it must rest purely upon personalities. The winner, Mr. B. O. Schonegevel, whom we heartily congratulate, carries a strong reputation both in and beyond the district by reason of his innate adventure, rich humour, pertinacity, energy, business capacity and platform gifts,—qualities which are essential to the successful politician.

The Natives, to their credit, divided on ordinary political lines, setting a good example in the proper use of the franchise by steering clear of racialism, a temptation which some of the Europeans unfortunately failed to resist.

HEALTH OF NATIVE POPULATIONS.

Semi-Starvation in the Congo.

Sir Frederick Lugard, member for the British Empire of the Permanent Mandates Committee of the League of Nations, who presided at Wednesday's meeting of the Imperial Social Hygiene Congress in London, called attention to the need of more medical facilities and improved conditions of diet and hygiene in Africa. There were, he said, considerable areas in the British dependencies in Africa which were still without ordinary medical assistance, and the supplying of this should be the first matter to receive attention.

"The Conference of Governors of British dependencies recorded their view 'that no activity of Government is more likely to win the confidence of the natives than successful medical work.' If, as an unscientific layman, I may venture to express an opinion, I would say that confidence can better be won by providing an adequate professional and subordinate staff, which understands the native and can speak his language, which is constantly touring the villages and is not liable to frequent change, and by the intensive study of every aspect of native life—social, medical, and sanitary,—than by building fine hospitals, which the natives shun, and which cannot be staffed except at the expense of depleting the district doctor."

Referring to the importance of proper and adequate diet, Sir Frederick said: "It is now recognised that in many regions—perhaps especially in the Congo—the African is habitually underfed, and that at certain seasons before the new harvest he is often half-starved. His diet, even when plentiful, is not sufficiently sustaining for prolonged hours of work. In all the colonies and protectorates of Eastern Africa it is a common custom to issue a daily ration as part of the wages of labour.

"I have sometimes wondered whether it would be possible to introduce rabbits into Africa as an addition to the food supply. There would be no fear of their multiplying to an inconvenient extent as they have done in the vast unpopulated backlands of Australia. In the Congo whale meat has been imported, and the wealthy mining concerns at Katanga recognise that it is a sound business proposition to feed their labourers on much the same scale as Europeans."

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Africa

TENSE DAYS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

REAL INWARDNESS OF FLAG QUESTION.

By Professor Clarke in the "Daily News."

What is the real inwardness of the South African Flag Question, of which so much has been heard recently in this country? It is explained in the following masterly analysis of the Union's problems by an eminent authority—Professor Clarke, of Cape Town University.

Those who confuse the important with the spectacular—and they are many in these flamboyant days—will say that by far the most significant issue in South Africa to-day is the so-called Flag Question. The truth is, of course, that the reason why so much prominence has been given to this particular row is that it serves the useful purpose of enabling established parties to make a show of carrying on on the old lines, just because of hopeless uncertainty about the new.

The new issue that is about to arise will dominate the politics not only of South Africa, but of every African territory where the white man settles in force, for as far ahead as we can see. The occasion of it will be the status of the native Bantu, really one people from the Cape to Uganda, and the cleavage will divide two schools of thought, each with its own distinctive view of the policy which should be adopted towards natives.

Between them, the difference will concern means, not ends. As to the end in view, there will be no disagreement. All alike will be aiming at the planting and maintenance of the white man's life of Western civilised type on the African continent.

Whites and Blacks.

The mere fact that the white man is making a new permanent home for himself all along the highland belt of Eastern Africa renders quite impossible the application there of what is known as the West African System. In the West, the white man controls and governs, but the black man inhabits and possesses. In the East, the white man not only governs but inhabits and possesses as well.

Everywhere he will strive to maintain and extend the kind of life he brings with him. What else can he do if he is to stay at all? And everywhere he will find that the effort is conditioned by the presence of the native and what he does with the native.

It is here that the whites will disagree and divide into two main parties, the one holding that the best means of preserving the white man's scheme of life is to share it more and more with the native; the other regarding this as the way of destruction and looking for protection to a barrier up to which he may not pass.

These two parties have not yet emerged in clear definition anywhere. The conditions all point to their first emerging in the Union where economic development has proceeded farthest, where the native has come most into competition with the white man, where the menace of his low standard of life and wages is most acutely felt, and where the presence of many thousands of "poor whites" affords a melancholy foretaste of the consequences that unregulated economic attrition may bring.

During the last Parliamentary Session, General Hertzog introduced a set of four inter-related Bills as the framework of a settlement of the native question. The two most important concern respectively the Franchise and the Land.

The first proposes to take away the ordinary Parliamentary franchise from natives who now possess it (these are in the Cape only) and to substitute a somewhat restricted communal franchise for the natives of the whole Union. Seven members (Europeans) are to be elected on this franchise to the Legislative Assembly, where they are to sit with somewhat restricted powers.

The second Bill proposes to add to the present "reserves" where natives only may lease or purchase land, additional areas where natives may compete in land purchase with Europeans. Further, it aims to bring into clearly defined classes and under definite control the many thousands of landless natives who now squat or wander on lands owned by Europeans.

The answer of the natives' own leaders to all this is clear beyond mistake, though they do not always state it categorically. They do not ask for immediate equality, but to be given the chance to become competent and prosperous landowners and cultivators, to receive higher education if they are fit for it, so as to become capable professional men, and to be entitled to full franchise as soon as they fulfil the conditions, however stringent the white man may think it necessary to make them.

Here, I think, is the real form of the issue. Shall the native, or shall he not, be given any encouragement to look forward to full citizenship as his ultimate destiny and as the goal of all his striving? Even now the ferment is vigorously at work out of which will come a crystallisation of new parties on this issue.

The ferment is at work everywhere, though seldom conspicuously, among black and white. English and Dutch, farmer and manufacturer, rural worker and urban worker. But the crystallisation is not yet, and native policy at present must inevitably reflect the uncertainty of public opinion.

One caution it is necessary to give to English observers. They must not assume that the party which would stop short of full citizenship in its plans for the native is necessarily a party of oppressors. It is quite possible to hold with perfect sincerity and good faith that the native himself is the better for remaining a native rather than becoming what he was never meant to be. The true answer to such a policy will be not to reprobate its wickedness, but to question its practicability.

It must not be forgotten, either, that both English and Dutch South Africans will adopt such a view. The one influenced perhaps by short views of the future, the other by long memories of the past. The English worker in the town sees with alarm the competition of the low-standard native worker, and his natural impulse is to prohibit and check the competition rather than to draw its teeth by using all the methods of education and trade unionism to raise the standard.

Dutch Farmer's "Fears."

The Dutch farmer in the country, on his part, sees, or thinks he sees, the loss of cheap labour, and the demand that he should accept as a neighbour and fellow-cultivator one whom he knew first as a barbarous enemy, and then as a sub-human dependent.

It is the grossest unfairness to condemn such men before grasping imaginatively their situation. The one thing needful now is a period in which the ferment can carry on its work without being unduly interfered with.

If the long-drawn-out wrangle over the flag helps to serve that useful purpose, it may prove after all to have been something a little better than an expense of spirit in a waste of shame.

Transkei Councillors.

The Transkei Territories General Council was represented before the Select Committee on the Native Bills by Messrs. Sakwe, Qamata and Mlandu. The choice was a wise one not only because of the well proven wisdom of these three men in the discussions within the Búnga at home, but because they are the annual delegates to the Pretoria Conference and as such were familiar with the questions dealt with. Their strictures on the Lands Act are in accord with all other Native views in the Cape. On the Union Council they offered constructive criticism but always with the reservation that "the Natives of the Cape Province would be prepared to forego all the legislative and other privileges included in the Bill provided they are permitted to retain the franchise."

This is sound commonsense and the only sane line to take for those who are jealous of their privileges. It was rightly said by Mr. Gonyane of the Frere State that only those Natives within a lunatic asylum would be ready to offer a compromise on this question. Unfortunately a few are yet to be found holding an opposite view though not yet in a mental hospital!

On the Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill these delegates stood inflexibly by their rights and said they were *absolutely entirely opposed to the terms of this Bill in so far as it entails the withdrawal of the franchise from the Natives of the Cape Province.* They also stressed the point that their claims to the retention of the franchise were in no way coupled with claims to social equality. They also recommended that these bills be dealt with as separate and independent measures. We heartily congratulate the Búnga for taking up such a wise stand at a critical time of the history of our people when their liberties are threatened by a grave danger.

Native Problems of the Day.

(By S. P. N. M.)

Part I.

We cannot do justice to the cause of the Native until we weigh our judgment in "the pair of balances" mentioned in the Book of Revelations namely: "whatsoever ye would that men should do to you do ye even so to them.' For by what measure ye mete it shall be meted to you. Mr R. V. Selope-Thema a patriotic Native leader has truthfully said, "Those who think that Natives can evolve their own nationality and their own civilisation under the control of Europeans are leading this country astray. . . So long as white South Africa thinks that it forms a separate nation from that of the Bantu people there can be no solution of our inter-racial problems." The solutions suggested become problems themselves. As in to this statement was the reply of a Superintendent of Natives on being asked to grant permission to Natives to proceed with the Native Council under the Act No 23 of 1920 he said, "You cannot put two bulls in one kraal" which conveyed to me the impression that Natives might not be made to deteriorate.

Human beings, whether refined by training or not have in them the germinals of the same needs, motives, impulses and desires" What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander" All men alike require food and drink, bread and butter—for "men shall not live by bread alone" Democratic governments are to day maintained to insure to all men the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

In earliest tribal development, it was the patriarch who meted out justice among his followers As time went on however, a newer and different responsibility was placed on the leader or chief of the tribe. It became his duty to protect the society of his own people or subjects against external aggression. Differentiation as between the subjects of one state was not tolerated.

A chief or ruler of the state was generally looked upon by all classes as their father and benefactor. His word was law because all willingly submitted to it. But when his laws were cruel, unjust and partial they regarded him as a tyrant or an enemy. The historians, Keatinge and Frazer tell us that one result of the fall of the Roman Empire was the disappearance throughout the Empire of the middle class on whom the strength of any nation largely depends. These had been crushed out of existence by the tax-collector. For the Romans during this period had no scruples in robbing the peoples whom they subdued. If you can imagine the poor of London being fed daily out of money squeezed from the inhabitants of India and Egypt you will have some contrast of the tendency of the poorer Roman to live in idleness on money that he had not earned. Corn from the Provinces, was sold at a low price, or distributed gratuitously by the state to the Roman populace. The result was that the number of tillers of the soil was decreased, and the small farmer, who

had been the backbone of the Roman nation, flocked to Rome to swell the crowd of idlers who were fed, and even amused, at the public expense; while some of the provincials fled to German territory to avoid the pressure of taxation. The Empire was thus drained of the very men who might have fought for it; and it could not avoid the fate of "the kingdom divided against itself." In the attempt to shatter the menacing power of unfriendly state, war came to the world. Though we are used to apply the word revolution to a sudden change, changes just as revolutionary may come about by slow natural development.

The modern state has concentrated upon equipment to defend itself against external aggression but it has not been uniformly capable of maintaining all of its constituent members in the enjoyment of their natural rights. In the appalling struggles that have taken place between nations, the primitive social functions of the state have been often lost sight of and the state organization developed and improved with the primary purpose of assuring the stability of the organization itself.

To-day we stand perhaps at the beginning of a new day. The recognition that wars between nations must cease, and the establishment of an international league to settle disputes between peoples, should lessen the troublesome burden of national defence and free the statesman to turn his best energies to the maintenance of justice within its borders The necessity must be recognized and the attempt must be made to set up an ideal form of government.

"He that ruleth over men must be just ruling in the fear of God"; and, not in the fear of his loyal subjects. The clergy should be his counselors," For the priest's lips should keep knowledge and they should seek the law at his mouth" There are few good people in this world therefore the majority is always in the wrong, while the minority is always on the right side. It is the endeavour of subjecting one nation to another or setting nation against nation which involves the states in endless strife To be subject to a ruler and his own people would be nothing less than serving "two masters." Therefore one should be a ruler over all loyal subjects regardless of nationality

PRESIDENT KING ON THE CONTINENT

VISITS TO GENEVA, HAMBURG AND BERLIN.

The arrival of the Hon. C. D. B. King, President of Liberia, in Hamburg some ten days ago, deservedly created a good deal of attention at the old Hanseatic freeport city.

His Excellency, who was accompanied by Mrs. King and his eldest son, Captain King, A.D.C., and his younger children, was received at Aix-la-Chapelle by the Hon. M. Massoquoi, Consul-General for Liberia in Germany, and Dr. Hermams, formerly German Consul-General at Monrovia, and now of the Foreign Office at Berlin.

At the station in Hamburg two representatives of the City's Senate and many other officials were present to give the President a very cordial reception and to escort their distinguished visitors to the Hotel Atlantic. The President of the Senate, Dr. Petersen, received his Excellency at the Rathhaus at noon, which was followed by a river trip on the Elbe, with luncheon arranged by the directors of the Woermann Steamship Lines. During the afternoon President King visited the Bismarck mausoleum at Friedrichsruhe, and on the following day made an extremely interesting tour through the harbour.

An official luncheon was given by the Senate, with a subsequent inspection of the new Institute for Tropical Diseases, which, like the Ross Institute in London, is becoming a model institution of its kind for the world. On the last day the African mercantile firms entertained his Excellency to a banquet at the famous Fährhaüs, on the picturesque Uhlenhorst shores of the Alster, Hamburg's popular central river stretch.

Links with Liberia.

At the Senate luncheon at the Municipal Hall some excellent speeches were delivered. A most representative gathering of Hamburg's commercial community was present. The chairman, Burgomaster Dr. Petersen, bade a cordial welcome to the distinguished African guest, recalling that as far back as 1849 one of Carl Woermann's cutters, the "Constance," paid its first visit to Liberia. In 1852 a three-masted schooner of the same firm was baptised "Liberia," and in 1854 the first German trading colony founded in the Republic. Commerce between Germany and Liberia developed in the decades following in a very important manner and to a prosperous degree for all concerned until temporarily interrupted by the World War in 1914.

Yet it was Liberia, Dr. Petersen emphasised, which was the first country to permit German trade to be resumed in West Africa. The excellent work done by the present Consul-General at Hamburg had largely contributed to the rapid resumption of the former business volume between the two countries, which he sincerely trusted would be still increased largely.

He thought that President King would gather much interesting and valuable information during his visit to their city, including their Institute for the Study of Native Languages and those for the research on sea and tropical diseases. Although a little belated, he would congratulate His Excellency on the recent eightieth year celebrations of the Republic of Liberia, and couple with the toast of His Excellency that of the Republic. (Cheers.)

President King, in the course of a cordial reply, made a grateful acknowledgment of the kind wishes expressed for his country, and hoped the commercial relations between Germany and Liberia would further expand. He expressed his admiration for the enterprise and attractions of the city of Hamburg in sincere words, and drew attention to the fact that, although Great Britain and France had during and since the Great War taken a very prominent part in their commerce, the field for an expansion of German business was certainly open and promising.

An informal but very agreeable gathering in the beautiful spacious State rooms of the Rathhaus concluded a very charming function, carried out with discretion and in good taste.

A Press Interview.

In a Press interview during his sojourn the President said the object of his tour in Europe was first for recuperative purposes; secondly, to gain new impressions from the countries he visited in order to arrange new commercial connections or to improve existing ones. Whilst German trade in Liberia before the Great War totalled 90 per cent. of the whole—it had since already grown again to do 50 per cent. —the German efforts to regain the predominant business being very determined. Negotiations for new commercial treaties had begun, but were so far not completed.

Liberia had as its first need the construction of a system of good roads from the Atlantic coast to the extreme frontiers in the North-East. This would enable traffic both for people, products, and goods to be carried on by motor vehicles, replacing the old and out-of-date African methods of human carriers. He hoped all efforts to foster and increase trade and commerce with the Republic would be maintained in the fullest measure by European capital and enterprise.

The President at Geneva.

President King, accompanied by Baron and Baroness Lehmann, Captain Charles King, and Consul-General Massaquoi, arrived at Geneva on the 13th inst.

His Excellency paid an official visit to M. Motta, President of the Swiss Confederation, who returned the call one hour later.

The President visited the Labour Office and the Secretarait of the League of Nations.

M. Guani, who is the official representative of Uruguay, welcomed President King as follows:—"I am certain that I shall voice all your feelings if I salute the presence in this hall of Dr. King, President of the Republic of Liberia. That eminent statesman has made it a point to give to the League of Nations a token of his interest and sympathy by coming to Geneva for the special purpose of attending one of the meetings of this Assembly. Need I remind you that the Republic of Liberia, a member of the League since the beginning, has constantly co-operated in all the important manifestations of the League of Nations? You will remember that the Assembly, in its Seventh Ordinary Session last year, wished to show how much they appreciated this collaboration by electing Baron Lehmann, the eminent representative of Liberia amongst us, as one of the Vice-Presidents of the Assembly. May His Excellency Dr. King carry away with him when he leaves Geneva the assurance of our feelings of deep sympathy for his person, and our best wishes for the welfare of the nation of which he is so highly qualified a representative." (Applause.)

His Excellency had a most cordial reception at Geneva during his short sojourn.

He was officially received at the Secretariat of the League of Nations by Sir Eric Drummond, who introduced all the directors and chiefs of the different services. The President received many invitations to dinners, etc., but on account of his engagements had to decline them. Mr. Albert Thomas, director of the B.I.T. (International Labour Office), received the President officially, and showed him over the splendid new buildings. At the dinner given by the Canadian delegation he was addressed by the Hon. Raoul Dandurand, C.R., C.P., LL.D., Senator, Minister of State, Member of the Privy Council for Canada, and representative of the Government in the Senate, the first Canadian delegate.

President King made an excellent speech in reply, which was warmly applauded. The Swiss President (M. Motta), Sir Austen Chamberlain, and many of the first delegates at this session attended with their ladies, whilst nearly all the chief delegates and foreign Ministers were present.

His Excellency then left for Hamburg, and was due to arrive at Berlin on Wednesday, the 21st inst., to be officially entertained by President von Hindenburg up to the 24th, full particulars of which will appear in our next issue.

Native Problems of the Day.

(By S. P. N. M.)

Part I

(*Concluded.*)

Were this habit avoided Natives would live longer than they do. He knew native men who were sixty or seventy years of age when he arrived in South Africa, forty years ago, and they were still living. It does no harm to man to have meat once or twice a week or a month

As I have already pointed out the Native never indulges in luxuries, The richest Native who ever lived was known to wear nothing more than a sheep skin kaross and he continued to do so until the authorities compelled him to wear clothes. But the Christian religion does not encourage indulgence in luxuries. The cry of the white man is more money because of indulgence in luxuries and the government has to supply the demand by repetition of the blunders and errors of the semi civilised nations of the past who plundered weaker subjects and divided the spoils between themselves. Free gifts of money and enormous wages for Europeans are the order of the day. In the face of these facts and without equal rights it would be ridiculous to persuade Natives to imitate the example of Europeans. But it is safe to say that Natives should adopt the Christian religion and remain in their primitive state.

Since the passing of the Native Act of 1913 we hear much about Drought Distress Relief Government Fund for European farmers, whereas before that Act they reaped where they sowed not, for the Natives did all the farming for them by hiring and ploughing on half share system. The rents which they paid were so enormous that in times of scarcity they could not meet them by selling stock and crops alone, but in addition had to go and work in the mines, and they never complained about enormous rents since. In farming they were left to the mercy of their Maker and not in that of the employer In towns where only white people are allowed to hire property, Rent Boards have to be appointed to facilitate their hiring at a low rental. This Act was passed for the purpose of boycotting the Natives in their development along their own lines, and to provide for free or cheap Native labour for Europeans. It is not ignorance of the rights of "civilised men" that induces Europeans to make laws repugnant to Christianity, nor is it contempt of Native natural life, but it is envy greed for land and the love of money which is the root of all evil.

The net work of petty laws which are legislated exclusively for Natives for the purpose of wringing out from them money by fines in law courts should be removed because it is impossible for the Native to rise in the scale of either his or European civilisation with these fetters and barriers All revenue derived from Natives should be transferred to the Native Council of 1920 and the restrictions of the Native Land Act removed in order that Natives may develop along their own lines.

Race Problem — 1927

Africa

Native Education In Basuto land In 1925-26.

Report.

(Continued)

81. I consider that three more European inspectors and two more native inspectors are needed. This would bring the strength up to 4 European (I omit the Director purposely) and 4 Native inspectors. Giving each of these 80 visits a year, 640 visits are thus provided for in a year, by no means excessive quantity for schools in their present condition. I would further recommend that the inspectors should not always work on the same beats, as they do at present. No two men work on exactly the same lines and it is better for teachers not always to have their schools ready for an inspector with whose methods they are well acquainted.

82. The Director of Education should not, I think, consider inspection as his main duty, but as an occasional task only. At present this work keeps him off much that can be done by him only, which needs doing What seem to be his important duties, acting as liaison officer between Government and the mission, between the various missions themselves, and and general organisation work of the whole education of the Territory, are much interrupted now, a fact of which he himself and the missionaries are quite ignorant. I venture in a later paragraph to touch further on the position of the Director

WORKING DAYS.

83. As stated above the number of working days in the year is at present about 160. This number might with advantage be increased to 180 as a minimum. Some check might be imposed on teachers to prevent them from giving holidays at their own whim. The school register alone is hardly one as it can be "faked" without much risk of discovery At school, to which an unexpected visit was paid a holiday had been given so that the school building, which was the church might be used for a wedding At another, one class of the school was away, because a teacher had not arrived This sort of thing is probably not of frequent occurrence, but the possibility of its happening should be reduced to a minimum.

SCHOOL FEES.

84 If the principle be accepted that what is worth having is worth paying for, and should be paid for, these appears to be a fair case for the payment of school fees Though is cannot be said that General opinion on the point is unanimous, it is probably not unreasonable to take it for granted that there exists a pretty widespread desire among the Basuto for education of some kind or other, and if it is not of the kind that everyone wants, it is none the less gladly received by many in its present form.

It may also be taken for granted that the finances of Government are not able adequately to cope to day with the demands that the increase in the number of schools has caused and still less will be able to do so in the near future. An increase of 1s on taxation, the proceeds of which are to be devoted to educational purposes only, is believed to be under consideration.

85. It may be of interest to state, for what they are worth, some opinions, that have come to my ears, on this proposal In favour, it is said that nothing ought to stand in the way of increased facilities being given for education, and that this is at once the fairest and simplest way of providing funds; that thus the largest and most accurately to be estimated amount will be collected; that the sums thus obtained will always be in proportion to the needs of the people. Against, it is suggested that quite enough of public money is being spent already on education; that the incidence will be unfair, as those who desire no educational benefit will have to pay equally with those who do; that there may be no certainty that the sum thus ear-marked will be devoted only to education; that other services have a stronger claim to increased expenditure; that a cattle tax or a small increase in the wool-tax would be fairer, less felt by the poorer sections of the community, and quite as remunerative; and—a queer objection, this—that the Basuto dislike anything but round numbers, and so a tax totalling 27s. would be repulsive to their ideas of symmetrical taxation It is not for me to decide on any of these points. They have doubtless already been carefully considered. As far as I feel I may venture any opinion, I should say that the feeling against is greater than the feeling for the increase. As an alternative scheme for raising the sums that seem necessary I suggest that the payment of school fees should receive due consideration. This is a matter on which I have spoken to a great number of people, both Native and European. I have been surprised at the number of the former who have spoken or written in its favour, and no less at the opposition which was made to it by the members of the Advisory Board of Education. In fairness it must be stated that there is one class, and that an important one, from which I was not able to get a number of opinions, to wit, the general rank and file of the people. Further, again with the same exception, little doubt has been expressed as to the ability to pay at least 5s. per annum.

86. It is true that some wishes and even hopes are voiced that all education should be free, but even the optimists who express these agree that if this desirable state of affairs be unobtainable fees might and could be paid A 5s fee, estimated on the present roll of 40,000 pupils will bring in £10,000.

87. The most prominent argument advanced against the suggestion seems to be a political one; consequently, I am a little doubtful whether it comes fairly within my ken. It is that the payment of fees is contrary to general Native Education policy in the Union. There is the obvious reply that Basuto land is not in the Union. But what is done in such a matter may have its effect on matters beyond the borders of the Territory Yet if after consideration it be considered that the payment of fees is a good thing in the Territory then why not let the Territory hew its good example to the Union?

Another objection mentioned is that the people will say that they already pay for their education in their taxation, so why should fees be demanded in addition? But this objection seems to apply no less, though less obviously directly, to an increased tax It should not be forgotten that it is the people primarily, not the Government, that is calling for increased facilities in education, and a large extra sum is needed to meet that demand and the extra sum cannot be found from ordinary revenue.

Nigeria.

COTTON GROWING PROGRESS.

Cotton growing is becoming increasingly popular in the Kano Province of Northern Nigeria, says the "Monthly Review of Barclays Bank," and it is reported that there is a large increase in the area under cultivation. In the Zaria Province, planting has been about the same as last year. If, as seems probable, the price of raw cotton continues low during the next six months, it remains to be seen what the effect will be on the quantity actually brought to market in Northern Nigeria. Apart from this consideration, however, prospects seem favourable.

In the middle belt of Nigeria, the Agricultural Department continues to work on the improvement of the local native varieties of cotton, and is making progress. The rainfall and climatic conditions generally are such that the varieties of American cotton which flourish in the North cannot be expected to do so in the middle belt, and it is upon the improvement of the native cotton that development in this region must depend.

THE COLORED AMERICAN AN ASSET TO U. S.

Gives Variation In Life Of Country. Happy With Minimum Of Property, Johnson Tells Educators

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 19.—That the Colored American offers the possibility of a quick and powerful variation in American life was the theme of an address by Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University, before the Columbia Education association composed of teachers of divisions 10 to 13, in the auditorium of the Dunbar High school Saturday.

"This variation," he said, "consists in the growth of a great mass of people capable of being happy with a minimum of property, devoting themselves to self-expression, and not selling their powers for wealth with the sole purpose of property accumulation. It means the development of a people who understand that money and property do not constitute the substance of life, so much as the relationships that exist between man and man."

Garnet C. Wilkinson, assistant superintendent of schools, in introducing Dr. Johnson, expressed the hope of upbuilding and extension of the relationship between Howard University and the public school system already begun.

"Equality of opportunity is only the first step in our educational program. Our business, in the long run, is to fling the racial genius of the young Negro into American civilization as far as we can do it—to make a place for the Negro in American civilization by being as constructively different as possible in accordance with purely Negro genius."

Capacity for such constructive difference, he said, was due to the Negro's past experiences and the angle from which he has approached American civilization, both of which have taught the Negro that there is something wrong and warped about the economic, religious and educational foundations of life in this country. In the rebuilding of these foundations he stated the Negro should enter vigorously upon a constructive program of his own design.

CAPE NATIVE VOTERS.

The following resolutions were passed at the second annual conference of the Cape Native Voters' Convention, held on 18th December.

(1) That the Convention heartily approves and supports the attitude taken by the delegates to Pretoria at the Government Native Conference, towards the three Native Bills of the Prime Minister, especially with reference to the rejection of the Representation of Natives Bill.

(2) That Government be urged to meet the native leaders at a round table conference to discuss native affairs, and that such leaders be elected by their own people.

The Convention was attended by delegates from all parts of the Cape Province. The Convention appointed C. A. Sigila as honorary secretary in succession to Bennett Newana.

(News by Davidson Don Tengo Jabavu, "Imvo" Office, Wellington Street, King Williamstown.

THE GOVERNMENT NATIVE CONFERENCE.

[*Continued.*]

IMPRESSIONS OF THE MEETING AT PRETORIA.

[By D. D. T. JABAVU.—In the "Cape Times."]

Land Act Amendment.

Some real oratory ensued when this Bill was put on the table for discussion, and the principal orator was Mr. Sol. T Plaatje, who probably commands greater authority than any other single native individual in the country, to speak on the subject; because born in the Orange Free State, he also been an eyewitness of many cases of eviction, suffering, and death of his relatives due directly to the rigour of the original 1913 Land Act. He has headed deputations to England on the matter, written a comprehensive book, and a prize essay thereon, and has maintained an uninterrupted study of the subject His speech was admirable for its collation of the arguments against the Bill, and touching in its revelations of the untold misery perpetrated on the Free State natives by the original Act. Other debaters who made a real effect in their criticism were Messrs Fenyang (O.F.S), Thema (Transvaal), Mtimkulu (Cape), Zibi, and Moorosi, who all abundantly proved that the present Bill, far from offering any relief, would, on the contrary, actually accentuate the cruel results of the 1913 Act. The Conference finally adopted a resolution demanding either the repeal of the 1913 Lands Act, or an adoption of a number of amendments that virtually reversed most of the clauses in the Bill.

Mr. Tielman Roos.

The Acting Prime Minister again honoured the Conference with his presence on the third day, inexplicably flushed with glee. He infected the meeting with his geniality and in his business like reply to the numerous questions put to him by the delegates. From what we saw of him we found it difficult to believe many of the evil things usually ascribed to him by his political opponents. Could it be genuine goodwill or diplomatic pose? We vainly asked each other in perplexity. Perhaps it was a case of "Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise."

The Union Council Bill.

This, being the only uncontentious measure, did not take long to discuss and the amendments made were in the way of constructive suggestions, but with a reservation that they were offered "without prejudice" to the resolutions rejecting the other two Bills

A pleasing feature of the Conference was the fact that there was no evidence of the speakers being influenced by the current Press criticisms and memoranda The speeches rang true. It was only in two instances that one observed a speaker perusing his speech from notes apparently cribbed from a manifesto not of his own composition. If the Prime Minister could make it possible to be present for the paltry three days of his Conference and listen for himself to the woes emanating from the bosom of these representative Africans relating their pathetic tales and yearning for bare justice in the land of their birth, he would, in all probability, frame proposals of quite a different calibre from those we were called upon to discuss at Pretoria.

NATIVE FARMERS

The thirty-ninth quarterly meeting of the Keiskama Valley Native Farmers' Association took place at Ngudle's Kraal, Rabula, on the 27th November last when there was a capital attendance. After the usual preliminaries the meeting was honoured by the visit of the Keiskama Hoek Magistrate, Mr. A. D. Beale, accompanied by Mr. R. G. Ross with Mr. and Mrs Maw from Rhodesia The Magistrate on being requested to address the meeting said he was thankful to have been asked by the Secretary to attend that meeting because he was proud of the fact that the association was first begun in his magisterial area eight years ago and had since spread to the whole Union and Basutoland giving birth to over thirty similar associations, thus making Keiskama Hoek the light of the world (Laughter). It had now grown out of its infancy and spoke with the voice of a full-blooded man; for when it addresses the Government with any request, the authorities are constrained to pay heed thereto. He himself always felt fortified in quoting the association when he made representations to the Government about the needs of the district. In this district the congestion of population is worse than anywhere else in South Africa; because there were no less than a hundred and twenty-eight souls to the square mile, plus two hundred head of stock on the same square mile, making a total of four hundred and twenty-eight mouths to feed on each small bit of Native-owned land. Rhodesia, by comparison, had only four Natives to the square mile. "You will remember," continued Mr. Beale, "that you once asked me for four new demonstrators of agriculture. Well, we have been extremely fortunate to obtain from the Government even somewhat more than we originally expected The four demonstrators are already in our midst for here you see Mr. Ross and his three Native young men from the Transkei. Then here is some important news for you: When I saw the Temlett farm at Fort Cox advertised for sale some time ago I at once wrote in your behalf, quoting the excellent work of your association, and urged the Government to secure the farm and convert it into an agricultural school for Natives on the lines of Tsolo and Teko under the Transkei Native Council. General Hertzog, the Premier, enthusiastically welcomed the scheme and, brushing aside all the objections placed against the scheme, carried the purchase through and bought the farm for you. (Loud and continued cheers). Buildings are to be erected immediately for the accommodation of fifty students, staff and live stock. I believe this is due directly to the influence of this association and its work for the uplift of Native farmers in this and other districts. Much is due to the efforts of your indefatigable Secretary our D. D T. Jabavu, for you are indeed lucky to have such an energetic Secretary who in the midst of his multifarious and heavy duties at Fort Hare, to say nothing of his conspicuous position in Government counsels, yet devotes a great deal of his time to the development of this association. He practises the useful theory of Dr. Aggrey; for whenever he requests anything from the Government, he never employs vinegar but uses sugar and honey and comes full of smiles and makes it positively difficult for the Government to deny him his requests on your name The persistence with which he has urged to get the present demonstrators is exemplary."

After Mr. Beale's speech further addresses were delivered by Mr. Maw and Mr. Ross to the benefit of the meeting. Headman Cweba in proposing a vote of thanks remarked that the local magistrate has been so good to the association that he deserved to be given a new Native name The deeds of Mr. Ross showed he was a true friend of the Natives for he had personally given two consolation prizes to the runners-up in the recent Native ploughing competition organised by the Chamber of Commerce of King Williamstown. Mr. Jabavu in seconding, added that Mr. Beale was just the type of magistrate needed in Native districts, fair in the bench, and interested in the welfare of the Natives This association, he said, was solving the general question of inter-racial relationship by making the most of the neutral non-political problem of agricultural production. Hence this association was always well received by all the Governments and it could always rely upon the financial support of the Native Affairs Department, a department never easily moved to make money grants to many otherwise deserving Native causes

Race Problem— 1927

Agrica.

Native Problems of the Day.

(By S P. N. M.)

Part I.

[*Continued*]

However the boldness of a ruler in and do ot bother to t ckle the pro. ducing parliament t carry out h s lem of race relationship in its tru ans s ador ab whether he s j st ht But the whole s cret of th r unjust th gover ment is called by iv lised po cy of discrimination be his name He must hol the r i s s tween loyal subj cts of the same State s to guide it to its fortune or to ities h ropn ar works of Darwin and fate on known as The Descent of Ma This s th h gh st position in t n The Wonder nd Mystery of Heredity sover ign ever held except Qu nand the Origin of Species Nearly all Victoria of l ss d memory. Herthe civ lised world s influenced by these Majesty w s failed to observe on eachings of anti Christ. There can ying Lord Glad tone the seals "Yoube no justice without equal rights— s e. my Lord, how much be ter it isequal ri hts for all c v.lised men t b go d than clever." There lurked If there is a genius whose likeness much f unacknowledged humo r inshould be cast in deathless bronze, t that over sovereign, by right f ch r c s the one who penned the clause, ter, f all the so ereigns of the earth—"equal rights for all civilised men." she made kinghood d fficult. The s b mest essay and the most

The restraint which governm nt ur ng orat on breathed no sounder exercises s ppl d to pr t ct monhil sophy than is embodied in the from those whose own mb tions leadlause "equal rights for all civ lised them to neglec consideration of h r men."

fellows. They say, wh n you isp n The Nativ s continue to lead a life the ox you d not ask him if he like of ease in their villages unto this it or not, b t you put the yoke o day. But they are not indo ent or his n ck, and if he won't pull you beat azy people as is often insinuated. Their him to death or pretty near to i. 'wants are satisfied after strenuous That is how the laws are forced one ertions. They were known to leave weaker natio s by democratic g ver their kraals voluntarily and go to ments. Th re is no question of "the work in the mines and for wh te consent of th governed" It is eno gh farmers who were famous f r if they have been nformed There is good wages and notorious for bad no considerat o of th injustice of treatment. They were paid in stock "taxation without representation" with board, lodging and free grazing Their answer to the critic sm of the for their stock. In spite of all pre. nco for able position in which they judice they served their masters many p ace others is that most men do n t years. And when they had acquired know what is good f r them but they enough stock like Jacob in Padan d not bring these conditions upon Aram they returned t o their themselv s This infrin ment on th villages or stayed with masters. The rights f other p o,le is a de ial of the Native invests his money in stock true saying that "God made of o e wh ch is his bank, and which was of blood ll th n tions of men"; and mor advantage in those days. In so Himself said to man "I call you not doing he provided for his offspring friends but brothers."

In try ng t clos the door of pr aft r and for his life of ease before his gress ag st the black man it has been death. There is no nation to beat erroneously asserted that the b ack h m in economy for he never indulged man was pred stined (by God?) to in l ur s but works hard for his be the servant of the white man. earnings and starves himself for h s

Again in trying to win favour of the savings. If an equal wage were paid whit s and to induce them to make to Europ ans and Nat ves for brain work and for muscle w rk, the latter

It is apparent th t during this period the M T A was suffering from a h reditary disease On the other hand, we know f r a fact that the M. T. A, was in a state of decay in action and le hargy M ny efforts h ve been made to rouse the te chers from th s state of letnargy, until the pres de t in conjuction with the S.E. teachers ca l d a gen ral meet ng at Coo house on the n ht of 12/8/27 which w s a success, though some of the offic bearers did n t attend.

Th notice in fact, was short as some of the members kindly wrot back to say, but it was impo s ble to postpone the m eting, and I am sorry th ir patriotis n could not make them over. lo k that comp aint: The president put the state of the M.T.A p ainly b fore the members, and assured them that it was necessary to m ke an extens ve re organisation if they re. quire th M T.A to live, and if not, to dissolv the soci ty and report to the C. T A.

I am glad to i form you Mr. Editor that the teachers pr s nt showed so much zeal, ener y, nd patience in d scussing the question put before them, that it was r so ved to save the M.T.A from extinct on. It was th re. fore decided that the M T A should live In this case it was found necessary to go through the business of the s ciety and e ect office bearers for the ye r.

Office bearers were elected as fol. lows:—President re. lect d Solomon Gitywa, Vice Presid nt E T Lokwe, Secret ry R Mbambisa, Vice-Secretary re-elected Miss L Nqqiva, Treasurer re-elect d A A Nyovane. Committee members Messrs. D V Kaudanisa, S Mangala, F Mfundi and Misses V V Habana, F L Wilkinson, D Mnyakama, I Mable and M Mdyesha.

It was decid d that on the 31st Dec. 1927 the executive committee should meet at Cookhouse and that the general meeting be held at Somer. set East during March—April holi. days 1928.

Than ing you in advance for the space allowed me in the Imvo,

R. MBAMBISA,
(Hon. Secy M.T.A.)

United Native School,
Somerset East.

[*To be continued*]

Correspondence.

[TO THE EDITOR, IMVO.]

Si ce 1924 there h s been no meet ng of th Midla d Te chers ssoc. ation Our l st meeti g as he d at Adela de in 1924 dur ng the March —April holid ys.

The ne t m eting was conv ed for Bedford, only three teachers attended, nd faili to form a quorum, the eeti g was abortive. An exec tive meeting was c nve ed for Som rset Ea t 1926 with the same disapp int ng r s lts, and since then, we h ve not been ab e to agree between ourselves as t what to do.

Transkei Evidence.

The evidence submitted by the three representatives of the Bunga occupies twenty five pages of the Report of the Select Committee on the Premier's Bills. It repays careful perusal. In connection with the Union Native Council Bill the witnesses made it plain that in stating their views on this or any other of the Bills they do not in any way commit themselves to an acceptance of the principles on the understanding that that such acceptance suggests a surrendering of the franchise. They then object to the powers assigned to the Presi. dent to alter the rules, urging that this power be vested in the Council itself; that it be enabled to initiate its own legislation; that it should not retire by rotation but carry on for the full term of three years; and that Pretoria be not the venue of its meetings, as it is neither central nor suitable but rather "some suitable place" be substituted. They also objected to the mode of election which virtually gives all power to people under government service or people committed in advance to a government point of view.

As a constructive suggestion they recommended the pre. paration of a roll of male persons to be entitled to a straight and final vote for the election of members of Coun. cil, the right to vote depend. ing upon the person concerned being a taxpayer or upon some other similar suitable qualifica tion.

The sanity and reasonable-

ness of this criticism is ample proof, if any is needed, that the Bunga is a valuable institution, manned by intelligent and practical counsellors, devoid of all extremism and rancous anti-European racialism, and truly reflecting the feelings of a progressive population that duly feels the responsibility of leadership and its trusteeship of a developing future generation.

DENY NATIVES ALL RIGHTS AS CITIZENS

Are Not Allowed to Own Land

Leicester, England.—Clements Kadalie, an African native of the Kaffir tribe, who is national secretary of the first trade union established for the natives in Africa—the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa—recently addressed a meeting here on the labor conditions of the African natives. In beginning his address, the labor leader apologized for what he called "the composition of his English," saying that all the education possible for any native in Africa was that obtained in the missionary schools. They are barred from the secondary schools and universities. He, however, succeeded in making his address not only interesting but appealing, with flashes of racial indignation.

VICES STARTED WITH CIVILIZATION

He recalled the Africa of 400 years ago, "When," he said, "the white people came and found that my forefathers were barbarous; they were wearing skins, just as your forefathers were before the Romans came. You were all quite happy, too, till they came and spoiled it."

In Africa, then, Mr. Kadalie said, the native was in a state of society which is the socialistic ideal now.

"We had kings and queens, but we all worked together; the kings and queens helped to build the houses, if houses were wanted.

"We had no police, because nobody was hungry and nobody wanted to steal. Then you sent your white people, who asked us to try Christianity and western civilization. We agreed, and thousands of our men cut down the forests and founded what are now great and beautiful cities. Then the black man, accepting Christianity, was told that he and the white would live together as brothers. How has the promised object for which they came to the country been fulfilled for us?"

The Act of Union, passed in 1909, declared the speaker, made the 7,000,000 Africans slaves again. The Native Land Act of 1903 robbed the native population of the right of buying land, no matter how rich they were they could not hold land in their own country.

RECEIVED NOTHING FROM WORLD WAR

They could not live in the towns, but must live 12 miles away in compounds, and walk to work for a 6 o'clock in the morning start. Yet, when your grandfathers came to us, we were told that all was equal in Christianity. "All men are free, you sing," said Mr. Kadalie.

"When war broke out," the speaker said, "our men went East to fight, and came to Flanders as well. We, too, were told about the homes fit for heroes. I don't know what you received for it; that is your own matter. But we Africans received nothing. The cost of living rose.

"The wages of natives in the mines is 58 cents a day, and that the maximum; on the railways and in other industries the maximum is 96 cents a day, and some are earning as little as 30 cents. White workers get $5 and up a day, but we, if we want houses, pay just the same rent, and the same taxes, too. The white trade unions wouldn't have us. We could dig down in the mine beside them, but on the surface we must not enter into a comradeship with them. That is why we founded our own. It started in 1919 with 24 members; now we have close on 90,000. It is unique in this way—it knows no distinction of craft, sex or age, and for that I thank God for the white workers' opposition."

Mr. Kadalie referred to the color bar bill, which insisted that all machinery must be worked by white labor, and which was passed in 1925. It didn't allow a native to drive even a motor car.

"We are at a disadvantage," said Mr. Kadalie, "because we cannot enter the libraries of our country for information, except those of Capetown.

"We have a native council of 50 members, but it has no power; it is simply a talking shop. * * * My organization is not pursuing racial war. I have no time for a movement, 'Africa for the African,' but if we are pressed or denied a voice in the destiny of our country, we shall be driven to nationalism.

"Give us our fair place in beautiful Johannesburg and those other cities for which our forefathers hewed down their forests, and the match of racial hatred will never be lit," he said.

Native Bills Evidence.

The Blue-Book *Report of the Select Committee on the subject of the Prime Minister's Native Bills* has been printed by order of the House of Assembly and published. It is obtainable from the "Cape Times" office, Cape Town, for 4/6 post free, and is worth getting because it is a mine of information from witnesses taking all possible angles of view on the subjects concerned. In all, fifty-one witnesses were examined, of which only fourteen were Natives, and we are thankful to note that the Committee, although it sat from the 6th April to the 15th June, has recommended that the Government should continue the enquiry, seeing that the work is incomplete. The Native witnesses heard were Messrs. W. Mlandu, E. Qamata, C. Sakwe, R. V. S. Thema, D. D. T. Jabavu, M. Pelem, Dr. Rubusana, Rev. A. Mtimkulu, Rev. Z. R. Mahabane, Chief W. S. Kumalo, Rev. E. Mdolomba, J. D. Ngojo, Chief Kula and Chief Swayimana.

We hope opportunity shall be given to further divergent interests of the Natives which deserve to be heard. Native evidence will not be complete without names like those of the Rev. John L. Dube or his brother Charles Dube to represent the advanced section of Natal; Z. Fenyang, R. Setlogelo and T. Mapikela for the O.F.S.; Chief Shadrack F. Zibi who is an accepted authority for the landed Native interests of the Ciskei and the Transvaal; and Allison W. G. Champion of the I.C.U., who can supply much useful information on Native labour conditions in town and country.

We trust our Parliamentary representatives will urge that much more Native evidence be called, say, on the lines indicated above.

So far as European evidence is concerned, Dr. James Henderson, Principal of Lovedale, should, logically, be called up to supplement his excellent statement on Native economic conditions as it appears in the Appendix of this four-hundred page volume; while Dr. Loram's evidence apparently needs completing. Of the European evidence hitherto submitted, the most original and convincing witnesses, in our opinion, are the Rev. H. B. Coventry, B.D., B.A., (Lond.), Prof. J. du Plessis, M.A., D.Litt., and Senator Dr. A. W. Roberts D.Sc., F.R.S.E. On this we hope to make comment in due course.

MILD SLAVERY IN SIERRA LEONE.

The question of domestic slavery in the British Protectorate of Sierra Leone is claiming the attention of the British Government. The issue has been forced by the judgment of the Sierra Leone Supreme Court, which found recently that two slave owners had legal rights in the recapture of their runaway slaves.

Sierra Leone is a British colony, but adjoining it is the British Protectorate. In the colony there is no slavery, and any slave whatsoever crossing its frontiers becomes a free man. In the Protectorate domestic slavery still exists, but when the country came under British supervision an ordinance was passed to the effect that no child should be born in slavery, and on the death of an owner all his slaves became free men. Slavery will therefore die its natural death. The slaves in question were recaptured within the Protectorate, on territory of a ruling native chief. It therefore appears, says the Diplomatic Correspondent of the "Morning Post," that from a legal point of view the owners had a right to seize their property, which had gone astray. There is, however, an ordinance which states that no man may be forced into bondage.

It is now asked what kind of ordinance can be passed which would cover such cases. If a slave is allowed to run away he would only have to get outside his owner's land to become a free man. Such an ordinance would, it is stated, cause hardship and abuse in the guarding of slaves. The other alternative is for the British taxpayer to buy the freedom of all slaves.

Race Problem - 1927

Africa.

EFFORTS OF BRITISH MINISTERS.

(From our London Correspondent.)

The existence of slaveowning and the legal right of the owners to capture escaped slaves in the British Protectorate of Sierra Leone, now forced upon public attention by the judgment of the Supreme Court there, has long engaged the attention of the Colonial Office. The position as it stands as the result of the judgment is regarded here as a serious setback to the attempts which successive Colonial Secretaries have made to abolish the evil.

Lord Milner, when Colonial Secretary, took the matter up with spirit, and as the result of his action legislation was passed in the Protectorate which was intended to put an end to it. Experience showed that loopholes existed which allowed the system to continue, and quite recently, during the governorship of Sir Ransford Slater, a new law was passed which was thought to be watertight. How far this is from being the case is shown by the extraordinary majority judgment.

Perhaps the most astonishing declaration is that of Mr. Justice Sawrey Cookson, a judge with great experience in the East. He said: "Here we have the clearest possible recognition of a slave who is owned as much as a chattel can be owned, and it must logically result that there is a right to follow and regain by the use of any lawful means the rights of ownership in and of the property of which he (the owner) has been deprived by the absconding of his slave."

The Effect in West Africa.

The enormous Protectorate of Sierra Leone has a population of 1,500,000, and no one knows the number of slaves who are held by the chiefs. Though slavery is apparently legal in the Protectorate, a slave who succeeds in escaping into the much smaller colony of Sierra Leone becomes free, just as after the famous declaration of Lord Mansfield a man who was a slave in the West Indies became free if he set foot on English soil.

It is feared by people here who are concerned in these matters that the judgment will have a far-reaching effect throughout the West African colonies. It may be interpreted by the chiefs in Nigeria and the Gold Coast as meaning that the British Government has laid it down that slaves may be held and recaptured by their owners.

SLAVERY IN BRITISH EMPIRE.

Sierra Leone Judgment.

Slaves are held in the British Empire, and their owners have a legal right to recapture slaves who escape and to use reasonable force in doing so. This is unmistakably revealed by a majority judgment delivered in the Supreme Court of Sierra Leone, where three judges had to consider the appeal of certain slave-owners against a conviction by a court of first instance for acts of conspiracy and assault in recovering the possession of slaves.

Apart from the shock with which this fact will be received by British sentiment, which has boasted its abolition of slavery and its protection of human freedom irrespective of colour and race, the startling character of this judgment is marked by the previous conviction of the slave-owners and by the firm deliverance of one of the three judges who heard the appeal, Mr. Justice P. B. Petrides, who holds that slavery is intended by the law to exist in name only, and that in effect the owner has no remedy if the slave asserts his freedom.

The majority judgments point out that slavery is unquestionably recognised by law in that it is provided that a slave may buy his freedom. It is also shown in these judgments, on the other hand, that the law intends the right of holding slaves to die out, for (1) no person may be brought into the Protectorate of Sierra Leone for the purpose of enslavement, (2) when a slaveowner dies his slaves are to be free, (3) the children of slaves are free, (4) and a person escaping from slavery, even into the neighbouring British colony of Sierra Leone, is protected in freedom.

Another significant passage in the majority judgments appears to recognise the intention of the Legislature to abolish slavery and to indicate some miscarriage in the drafting of the existing law, for it says: "Until the Legislature makes it perfectly clear that no such right (to retake a slave) is to be recognised. It cannot find that the law as it stands at present denies that right to the slaveowner."

The Protectorate over territories adjacent to the colony of Sierra Leone was proclaimed in August, 1896. An ordinance of the following month made dealing in slaves unlawful, and in the provisions already quoted clearly contemplated bringing slavery to an end without dispossessing living owners.

The Sierra Leone Slaves.

THE statement which we publish to-day from Dr. BANKOLE BRIGHT, an elected African member of the Sierra Leone Legislative Council, is useful both for the light it sheds on the extent and nature of slavery in the Sierra Leone Protectorate and for the remedy it suggests. Dr. BRIGHT guesses—all estimates of population and status in the vast hinterland of the colony are vague—that the number who can be reckoned as slaves is 150,000, or a tenth of the probable population. He maintains that many of these free themselves by marrying their masters' daughters, and that many others would not recognise their status as that of slaves as we understand the word. He compares them to the "poor white" or "bijwoner" of South Africa—he might have compared them to the Scottish peasant under the clan system or to the English villein,—who depends on his master for bed and board and has not the means even if he has the desire to break away. That status may not be so intolerable as was the wholesale exploitation of one race by another which made slavery an abomination in the eyes of a Lincoln, but when, as in the Sierra Leone case, it results in a British court confirming the right of a master to seize on British territory a man who has run away it is seen to be none the less slavery. Dr. BRIGHT proposes that a commission should be appointed forthwith to investigate the extent of the evil and to purchase freedom for the slaves. He estimates that £200,000 would be sufficient to end the system, and that the colony itself could raise the money. A somewhat similar plan has just been successfully carried out in the Naga Hills on the Burma-Chinese frontier. There, if the number of domestic slaves was smaller—only some 4,000,—the tribes to be dealt with were much less accessible and much more truculent. But they have been effectually convinced within the space of a year or two that the system must be ended, and the owners, duly compensated, have freed their slaves. It is not enough that slave-owning in Sierra Leone will automatically come to an end with the death of the present owners. Two vigorous steps need immediately to be taken. The ordinance that makes recapture in the Colony possible should be redrafted and some such liberating commission as Dr. BRIGHT suggests dispatched promptly about its business.

Slavery in Sierra Leone.

The Supreme Court of the colony of Sierra Leone has quashed the conviction of two slaveholders who, in the Protectorate of Sierra Leone, had recaptured slaves by force, and against whom action had been brought for conspiracy and assault. Public opinion has been startled both by the decision itself and by the realisation that slavery exists under the British flag. The facts are as follows. Slavery is in process of abolition in the protectorate by three methods. All persons born in or brought into the protectorate are declared free; all slaves become free on the death of their owner; any slave may purchase his manumission. An offence is committed when "any person unlawfully compels the service of any person." As the present law recognises the existence of slavery (by providing for manumission) the majority of the Court held that it was not unlawful for an owner to "compel the service" of a slave who had left him, but not the Protectorate, and who had not been freed by any method laid down by law, unless, of course, bodily harm had been done. (pp. 165, 176)

Sierra Leone at Geneva.

As was expected, the question of slavery in Sierra Leone—arising out of the recent decision of the Supreme Court of that colony that a slave-owner was legally entitled to recapture an escaped slave—was raised during the discussions in the Sixth Committee of the League of Nations Assembly. It was raised not so much from a desire to criticise as to give the British member, Sir E. Hilton Young, an opportunity, of which he skilfully availed himself, to explain the matter to an international audience. Wisely, he was perfectly frank. Slavery in Sierra Leone was legal owing "to a hiatus in its legislation," but the fact that such a hiatus existed had come as a complete surprise to the British Government. The fault, if fault there was, was one of pure inadvertence, and at the moment, said Sir Edward, the Government was engaged in putting the matter right as speedily as possible. Thus what might have been used as a convenient weapon against this country has been rendered harmless and an awkward incident satisfactorily explained. But that incident may well serve as a warning to politicians and administrators who have to frame legislation for lands with native populations. (p. 204)

Native Trade Unionism.

According to a Johannesburg telegram the Secretary for Native Affairs, acting no doubt on the instructions of the Prime Minister, has notified the headquarters of the I C U.—the native trade union organisation—intimating that the Native Administration Act which was passed last session will come into operation at the beginning of next month, drawing special attention to what was known last session as the sedition clause, and urging the union to invite the attention of its propagandists to the terms of that clause. We doubted at the time when the Bill was introduced whether a sedition clause, specially directed against the natives, was desirable in a Native Administration Act. It should have more properly found place in a general Act dealing with all classes of the population. However, Parliament in its wisdom saw fit to pass the clause with some modifications, and in the circumstances it is as well that the attention of native organisations should have been drawn to its provisions. But it would be unfortunate if it were to be interpreted by the natives as denying their right to organise for legitimate trade union purposes and many must have seen with some dismay the reactionary tendency of resolutions which have been passed by farmers' associations in Natal and the Free State. Resolutions demanding the suppression of native trade unions are likely to have the reverse of a beneficial effect. Native trade unionism is bound to come sooner or later, and if efforts are made at the outset to repress it they are only too likely to divert legitimate trade unionism into mischievous political or semi-political activities. That has been the explanation in the past 18 months of much of the agitation among the natives who have enrolled under the banner of Clements Kadalie. There can be little doubt that for some years the I.C.U. movement was

bad y led, and there was strong reason to believe that it was being encouraged along communistic paths by white ag tators who were themselv s quite pr bab y insti at d from Russia. A gre t deal of dangers and pernicious nonsense was talked among the natives by these agitators, and th u h we beli ve it had very littl e ffect upon the great mass of the natives, there can be no question that it aroused a good deal of alarm among European farmers and others in the d s ricts where the agitation was being carried on. Examples of the misch vous speeches made at such meetings were quoted last session, and they were certainly of a character to just fy some action on the part of the authorities. But it is important to r member that in more recent months, w th one or two exceptions, the I.C.U h s conduct d its campaign w th much greater mod ration, and has indeed expressly disown d some of its prop gandists who have launched out in peri ous terms about the rights of the natives. If the I C U. co d cts itself as a trade union organis ti n and holds itself strictly aloof from political act vities or from agitat on against the white man, it is capab e of pr ving itself a useful m dium of industrial information and reformation. Its future lies in its o n hands. And so far as Europeans are concerned, they will do wel to remember that a repressive policy is not l kely to improve the position.—*Cape Times.*

THE SLAVERY JUDGMENT.

Government to Take Action.

GENEVA, September 15.

The question of the recent judgment of the Supreme Court of Sierra Leone (upholding the right, under Sierra Leone law of a slave-owner to recapture an escaped slave) was raised in the Sixth Committee of the Assembly yesterday. Sir Edward Hilton Young said the decision came as a disagreeable surprise to the British Government and revealed a hiatus in the legislation of Sierra Leone, which was being remedied by urgent measures as quickly as possible.

The Committee approved the Slavery Convention and appointed Sir Edward Hilton Young as Rapporteur to the Assembly.—Reuter.

Cotton in Tanganyika.

Contrary to expectations the cotton in the Morogoro district of Tanganyika this year is likely to be equally as good from the point of view of quantity as last year. This is due largely, it is stated, to the far-sighted policy of the European settlers, who, despite last year's bad prices, planted again this year.

THE SORT OF EDUCATION AFRICANS NEED IN AFRICA

IT would be strange if the Africans in Africa needed any sort of education which did not enable them to understand themselves better than ignorant persons can understand themselves, and to make the most out of their education and not the least in competition with others who strive after the good things in living. Here in the United States there was much opposition to the system of industrial education advocated by the late Dr. Booker T. Washington, the chief opponent of which was Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, the chief fugleman of the higher education, but Dr. Washington's idea prevailed and went further by adopting the other idea that the higher and better education a man has the better fitted was he to master and make use of the industrial education. That principle obtains today in the education of the youth of all races of the citizenship. The higher education is considered as the best foundation upon which to build the industrial or scientific education of the youth.

In a well-considered article on "What Is Wrong With Education in South Africa," reproduced in The Negro World of September 17, the Gold Coast Times states its whole case in the opening paragraph, as follows:

"Education should be a means to an end, and the end in view to which it should be directed is the development of character and the training of the youth to be a self-supporting unit in his community. It should aim at developing character—at training the youth to be honest and courageous—while providing him with a vocation that will enable him to support himself after his school career. The youth whose character has been so developed as to make him reliable and fearless, with the sense of rectitude which makes young people proof against the promptings of evil companions, and has also been provided with a vocation, makes the best of citizens and the truest of patriots. Where education has failed to come up to the requisite standard not only in West Africa but also in Europe is that it has not succeeded in inculcating firmly in the vast majority of the people the virtues of honesty and chivalry in their dealings with their fellow men. We have never disguised the fact as to the defects in the character of some of our own people, defects which have been accentuated by the contacts with foreign elements. But while admitting this we have never conceded that the white man is superior to the black man in the matter of moral qualities.

That is to say, the native African in Africa needs the education that trains the mind, shapes the character and prepares the beneficiary to do the work he is adapted to and specializes to do to the best advantage to himself and the community in which he must live and labor—such as scientific agriculture, stock raising, mining, the skilled trades, with moral philosophy and the science of government as the sufficient bases for these.

DEFENCE OF THE KENYA SETTLERS.

Spirited Reply To Stay-At-Home Critics.

A spirited reply to the stay-at-home critics of the white settlers in Kenya is contained in a letter to "The Times" by Miss Elinor Mordaunt, F.R.G.S. She states, *inter alia*, that it is time something was heard of the other side of the question. She gives indisputable facts to show that far from being ill-treated, the natives in the territory are extraordinarily well treated, living under excellent conditions and being more than adequately paid for their labour.

The correspondent proceeds:—

Against all this put the fact that the greater number of white settlers are ex-officers who have brought very little out of the war and put that little into land in Kenya; that, with coffee anyhow, they must wait at least four years for any return; that they must work far harder than any native to get anything done and give unremitting attention to their estates; in addition to this they must pay and feed native labour throughout that time. The estate I am on is a very small one, started with the minimum of capital. There are about 60 acres of coffee not yet in bearing; all the rows of coffee are interplanted with maize to feed the natives. In addition to this, there are somewhere about 20 acres all maize, which absorbs a great deal of labour in cultivating, harvesting, shelling, and grinding—the cost of night watchmen to drive the wild animals away from the maize amounts to something like £50 a year; while with all this it has been impossible up to now to break up enough land to feed the natives employed, and there has been the further drain on resources of buying more maize; for the more natives one employs to break up maize land the more men there are to feed through the long four years before the coffee crop begins to pay.

Misstatements About Slavery.

I travel a great deal upon foreign boats, because I like to get at the point of view of other nations. But there is one thing I am sick and tired of; and that is the accounts of slavery which on every side I hear brought against our English colonists. When I declare that this is not the case, that there is nothing of the sort, I am always met with the same answer:—"It must be true because we read it in your own papers, and if it were not true it would not be allowed to be published."

In the meantime, I would like to draw attention to the fact that in Uganda, which is a native country run by us entirely on behalf of the native, the Baganda, who have taken the most prominent part in the Jubilee of Uganda in celebration of the white penetration, are in desperate danger of starvation because they have been too lazy to plant an adequate food supply; while it now rests with the white Government to try to take some steps to import a leaven of other native tribes who will work, like red ants, amongst them.

Sir, do you not think that it is time that if a noisy faction of our stay-at-home people have no respect for their own some means should be taken to prevent them from making life more difficult than it already is for others more enterprising and courageous than themselves?

FREEING SLAVES IN SIERRA LEONE.

New Ordinance.

Reuter's Agency understands that as the result of conversations which have been proceeding between the British Government and the Government of Sierra Leone a new ordinance is to be introduced into the Legislative Council of Sierra Leone which will have the effect of freeing all slaves in the Protectorate from January 1, 1928.

It is understood that there are about 220,000 slaves in the Protectorate. Should this ordinance be passed, and there seems no doubt that it will become law, these slaves will be able to leave their masters should they so desire. Thus the original intention of the Legislative Council as expressed in the ordinance of March, 1926, will be carried out. This ordinance, while not retrospective, undoubtedly gave slavery its death blow by providing that—

1. No person should be brought into the Protectorate of Sierra Leone for the purpose of enslavement;
2. The children of slaves should be free;
3. Any persons escaping from slavery into the neighbouring British colony of Sierra Leone or elsewhere should be regarded as free.

The new ordinance will have the effect of entirely abolishing the status of slavery in the Protectorate.

Race Problem - 1927

Africa

THE VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT OF LIBERIA TO LONDON.

CORDIAL AND SUCCESSFUL MEETINGS WITH BRITISH OFFICIAL AND COMMERCIAL BODIES.

[By a Special Representative.]

The President of Liberia, the Hon. C. D. B. King, who with Mrs. King is making a short visit to Europe for purposes of health, recreation, and public business, has spent this week in London, and will be here until Monday, when he is expected to return to the Continent, remaining there for some weeks, after which time he will again visit Great Britain, especially Liverpool, where he is to be entertained by important organisations and whence he will sail by Elder Dempster liner for his own country. Mrs. King did not accompany him to London, but will be with him when he returns to Great Britain. She is at present completing a cure in France, where the younger children are being educated.

President King will next year begin the work of his third term in remarkably hopeful circumstances. He appears in the best of health and spirits, and Liberia has made rapid and important strides during the last few years of his Presidentship, and is receiving widespread attention from commercial, engineering and other firms. The President, whose London visit is still in full progress as we go to press, is accompanied in London by his A.D.C., Lt.-Col. E. T. Davies, whose soldierly appearance and unvarying willingness in helping those who have legitimate claims to meet the President have been the subject of widespread and appreciative remark.

The President arrived at Victoria station from France on Tuesday evening, and was welcomed on behalf of their Majesties the King and Queen by the Earl of Lucan, there being also on the platform to meet him Mr. J. B. Monck, of the Foreign Office, and Mr. Beare, of the Government Hospitality Committee. Mr. C. W. Dresselhuys, the Liberian Minister here, who, like his official chief, has been one of the busiest men in London during the week, met the President at Dover and travelled with him to London. The President is stopping at the Hyde Park Hotel.

On Wednesday morning, the President laid a wreath on the Cenotaph in Whitehall, and then paid a visit to the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress at the Mansion House. Here a hearty welcome was extended, and the President and several of his London friends were shown over the Mansion House, and friendly speeches were exchanged by his Excellency and the Lord Mayor, the latter expressing sincere hopes for the continued progress and prosperity of Liberia, and recording the pleasure with which he had heard from the President that over half of the country's overseas trade is with Great Britain.

A Talk with the Press.

After leaving the Mansion House, the President went back to his hotel, where he held a reception of 30 to 40 representatives of the press of various countries. The President occupied the chair in a room set aside for the purpose, and courteously intimated that he was prepared to answer any questions put to him. He made it known during the ensuing discussion that he was not here to raise a loan, the recent loan of £1,000,000 from the United States being sufficient for the country's requirements for the present. He had come to Europe mainly for a holiday, having served eight fairly strenuous years as President and being re-elected for a term of four years more beginning next year. His doctor had, indeed, ordered him to make the present journey. While he sought no loan, he added he would be glad if British financiers, particularly those interested in building railways, roads and harbours, would meet him and consider the prospects of Liberia, which especially needed more and better motor roads. The country was admirably suited to the cultivation of tropical produce in general, especially its famous coffee.

The President remarked that the arrangement made made some time ago between the Government of Liberia and the Firestone Company for the cultivation of rubber was nothing in the nature of a monopoly. Ground could be taken up by British and other European firms on precisely the same conditions as those of the Firestone Company. The cost of labour he would put at 1s. to 1s. 6d. a day. There was no suggestion of forced labour, and every employer had to engage his people individually. The harbour scheme was part of the Government's own development programme. The White Engineering Company, of the United States, which had at first been mentioned in connection with harbour development, was no longer competing. In reply to another question, the President said that of the foreign businesses in Liberia, the greatest number was British, the Germans coming next, and then the Americans. The President said he hoped especially during his visit to study the British road system, because from all he heard it was magnificent. In further conversation President King claimed that on the whole the people of Liberia are contented and happy; although, when working as labourers for others, they draw only 1s. to 1s. 6d. per day, this is quite sufficient, and it must be remembered that they retire periodically to their farms to gather their crops. France, he added, also impressed him as a happy country. The Liberians greatly admired the British, who they knew had done tremendous work for Africa, developing it and educating its people; but Liberia realised also that it must make its own future. Speaking on education, he remarked that he was not in favour of encouraging Liberians to seek education abroad, until they had received a thorough grounding in their own country, because, if Africans went to Europe and America without such grounding, they tended to become denationalised, and to adopt ideas that were not practicable.

The President during the day paid a long visit to Westminster Abbey, and laid a wreath on the tomb of the Unknown Warrior.

Tea on the Terrace.

In the afternoon, in response to a happy inspiration on the part of Mr. Roy Wilson, M.P., who, of course, was for many years connected with British West Africa, his Excellency took tea on the terrace of the House of Commons, and had an opportunity of meeting gentlemen prominent in various departments of British life. The party, apart from Mr. Wilson and the President and Col. Davies, included: Mr. C. W. Dresselhuys, Liberian Minister in London; Rt. Hon. J. R. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., Rt. Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore, M.P., Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P., Lord Kylsant, Mr. G. Locker Lampson, M.P., Lieut.-Col. C. Headlam, D.S.O. (Financial Secretary to the Admiralty), Lord Sandon, M.P., Major-General Sir Frederick Sykes, Bart., G.B.E., K.C.B., C.M.G., M.P., Sir Patrick Gower (Private Secretary to the Prime Minister), Sir Frederick Eley, Bart., Sir Austin E. Harris, K.B.E., Sir R. Hamilton, M.P., Sir Philip Richardson, M.P., Colonel Verney (Private Secretary to Mr. Speaker), General Warner, C.M.G., M.P., Mr. G. Rentoul, Captain A. Evans, M.P., Captain Gunston, M.P., Mr. Ramsden, M.P., Mr. Snell, M.P., Capt. G. Fanshawe, R.N., M.P., Mr. G. C. Clayton, M.P., and Mr. G. B. Hurst, K.C., M.P.

The meeting was informal but greatly appreciated by both the Liberian and British representatives.

A Dinner by the Niger Company.

On Wednesday evening the President attended the first of the dinners given in his honour. The hosts were Mr. E. Hyslop Bell, chairman, and his fellow-directors, of the Niger Company, Ltd., and the dinner took place at the Savoy Hotel. The party included the following: Sir Cecil Armitage, ex-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Gambia and Protectorate, Messrs. O. Barritt, manager, Colonial section, Barclays Bank, Limited, A. J. Barrow, supervising agent, Liberia, the Niger Co., Limited, Kenneth Bell, Sir Joseph Byrne, Governor and Commander-in-Chief, Sierra Leone, A. Cartwright, E. T. Carver, the Niger Co., Limited, C. Cooper, Consul-General for Liberia, Liverpool, Col. E. T. Davies, C. W. Dresselhuys, E. A. Enfield, Secretary, the Niger Co., Limited, J. T. Grein, Attaché to Consul-General, Sir F. Gordon Guggisberg, late Governor and Commander-in-Chief, Gold Coast, Sir William Henry, chairman, Anglo, Oriental and General Investment Trust, Limited, Alton Jones, managing director, Firestone Plantations Co., Limited, David Jones, J.P., director, Elder Dempster and Co., Ltd., H. G. Latilla, chairman, Base Metal Corporation, Sir Frederick Lugard, late Governor-General, Nigeria, L. H. Moseley, Director, the Niger Co., Limited, Brig.-Gen. A. G. P. McNalty, director, the Niger Co., Limited, D. W. Paterson, Bank of British West Africa, G. Pickering, director, Pickering and Berthoud, Ltd., Capt. W. A. Ross, senior Resident, Nigeria, Sir Edgar Sanders, director, the Niger Co., Limited, J. H. Sharrock, director, Elder Dempster and Co., Limited, W. E. Snelling, vice-chairman, the Niger Co., Limited, Sir Edwin Speed, deputy-chairman, Council Chamber of Mines, L. Tritton, director, Barclays Bank, Limited, S. Watson, the Niger Co., Limited, L. Weinthal.

Mr. Hyslop Bell's Friendly Note.

The Liberian national anthem was played by the orchestra, and a miniature reproduction of the Liberian flag appeared on the menu cards. The toast list consisted of "The King," and "Our Guest," both, of course, submitted by the chairman. In speaking of Liberia, Mr. Hyslop Bell struck almost at once a note which evidently appealed alike to the President and to those British people present acquainted with the country's history. "Let us always remember," Mr. Hyslop Bell said, in effect, "when people comment on the relatively slow progress of Liberia, that that country has no mother country, the significance of which fact we can all understand in connection with development." Mr. Hyslop Bell went on, however, to express the belief that the country is entering upon a period of solid development and prosperity, one of the proofs of this being the recognition by the people of the importance of continuity in the personality of the head of the State. Having found in Mr. King a President working devotedly for the good of his country, the people had the good sense to elect him for the third term, and the overseas friends of the Republic, among whom British people were certainly not least, congratulated the Liberians upon their wisdom in this regard. Mr. Hyslop Bell passed to a brief review of the different varieties of produce raised or cultivable in Liberia, and expressed the hope that the Government, while fostering export, would take measures to see that produce, especially such things as palm-oil, was marketed and grown under up-to-date conditions, so that competition from elsewhere could be met successfully.

The toast was heartily honoured, and Sir Frederick Lugard (who, as will be seen from our picture elsewhere, sat next to President King), seconded the toast in a speech remarkable for warm sympathy with Liberian ideals of progress and for broad-minded understanding of the difficulties to be overcome. One of Sir Frederick's remarks, received enthusiastically by all, was that the President should approach members of the recent Colonial Office Conference on Crown Colonial affairs, he (Sir Frederick) being sure that any of the delegates would gladly co-operate with the President in extending to him information derived from British practice, and likely to be of service to Liberia.

President King, who was most cordially received, expressed his special sense of the kindness underlying Sir Frederick's speech, and his suggestion regarding the Colonial Conference, of which, he said, he would avail himself to the utmost possible extent. The President also thanked Sir Frederick for the latter's cordial wish of many happy returns offered in allusion to the fact that Liberia is about registering its 80th birthday. The President said that he was entirely bent upon co-operating wherever possible with the neighbouring British Colonies, as, indeed, he had proved. (Here he made complimentary allusion to his visit to Sierra Leone, and to the presence of Sir Joseph Byrne, the newly-appointed Governor of that Colony, with whom, after dinner, as with Sir Frederick Lugard and others, the President had much informal conversation.) Finally, the President, while repeating

that Liberians neither could be, nor wished to be, duplicates of Europeans, said that no section of the people was anti-foreign, or had any wish but to co-operate with other nationalities.

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A SUCCESSFUL HAMBURG GATHERING.

Miss Mary McCritty, a Liberian student at Hamburg, sends to WEST AFRICA an account of the celebration of the 80th anniversary of Liberian independence at Hamburg on July 26. She states that good wishes for Liberia's success and prosperity were received from various parts of Germany, other Continental countries and Great Britain.

At 9 o'clock p.m. a reception was given by the Consul-General and Mrs. Massaquoi at "Curio Haus," one of the most conservative places of amusement in Hamburg. The reception was held in the "Blue Room," decorated with the flags of Germany and Liberia. Among the guests were Dr. Merck, of the Senate of Hamburg, the Consul-Generals of Bolivia, Ecuador, France, Italy, and Cuba, the Vice-Consuls of Great Britain and China, the Liberian Consul at Bremen, the Vice-Consul of Panama, the Consul of Haiti, Dr. Prof. Nocht, Rector of the Hamburg University and Director of the Institute of Tropical Diseases, Prof. Muhlens, of the Tropical Institute, Dr. Klingenheben, of the Seminary of African Languages, Hamburg University, Dr. Steffens, Dr. Weidmann. Mr. Kurt Woermann, Messrs. Jantzen, J. West, Goldner, Mrs. Bohme and daughters, Mrs. Berends, Mr. and Mrs. Scharnock, and other distinguished ladies and gentlemen of Hamburg; and of Liberian citizens, Hon. T. E. Beysolow, Associate Justice, Supreme Court, Liberia, Mrs. Edwin Barclay, wife of the Secretary of State, Liberia, Hon. A. Karnga, Messrs. A. Barclay, Sommerville, and Dr. Reffell. Through illness, bereavement and previous engagements, Burgermeister Dr. Schram, Mr. Oliver, British Consul-General, Mr. T. Bevan, American Consul-General, and Prof. Meinhof, of the Seminary of Languages, and others, sent greetings, and expressed regret at not being present.

The Liberian Consul-General and Mrs. Massaquoi were seated at the first of the rows of tables, with a few others. Miss F. Massaquoi, in a clear and distinct tone, recited an address of welcome in the German language, and Miss Victoria Johnson rendered a beautiful solo. Miss M. McCritty explained in English "The Significance and Greatness of the Liberian Flag." Refreshments were served, during which Mr. Massaquoi toasted the health of President Hindenburg, and said that Liberia had hitherto sustained only a commercial relation to Germany, but through the Seminary of African and South Sea Languages, where a Liberian had had the honour of participating in an unofficial capacity, and through the Institute for the treatment of tropical diseases, where Liberians had received treatment, Liberian youths could now seek literary and scientific knowledge, through the channel of Hamburg, for the cure of tropical diseases and in other educational pursuits. This toast was responded to by Prof. Nocht, in choice words, reciprocating the sentiments expressed by the Consul-General. The Consul-General also toasted the health of Liberia's President, Hon. C. D. B. King, which was responded to by Associate Justice T. E. Beysolow, who remarked that the tie of friendship between Germany and Liberia was a strong one. Consul-General Massaquoi toasted the health of the German guests, which was responded to by Dr. Klingenheben, who speaks and writes the Vey language effectively. He was taught by Consul-General Massaquoi in the Seminary of Languages at Hamburg University; and on this occasion Dr. Klingenheben said in Vey that "there was never a keener feeling for better relations between Liberia and Germany than now." The Consul-General finally toasted the health of oversea guests, which was seconded by Mr. Karnga. Dancing was then begun, lasting until 2.30 a.m.

AFRICAN NATIVE PRODUCTION.

One of the most striking features of the reports of the Agricultural Departments of the Equatorial and East African Dependencies is the advance of native production. In all the crops cultivated by the natives there is an increase, in some cases—such as the 600 tons of tobacco in Nyassaland—a remarkable increase. This evidence of progress will be welcomed by all concerned about the future of the black races in these Dependencies. Increasing production indicates quickening progress and increasing wealth. Prosperity produces contentment, and contentment produces peace. The advocates of the policy of segregating the natives so as to secure their labour for the white men's plantations should ponder over the position earnestly. The natives, once started on production for their own profit, cannot be relegated to the position of mere wage-earners without impeding the progress of both whites and blacks. Left free, the progress of each will contribute to the prosperity of both races, while impediments to the progress of either will react to the detriment of both. Shall the two streams of production be allowed to flow side by side, or shall one be dammed up in a reservoir to bring an ever-present fear of the possibility of bursting dams and devastating floods? We think the choice must be made now, and also that this matter deserves the urgent and gravest consideration by all responsible for the administration of our African Dependencies.

WHAT WE THINK.

THE TANGANYIKA MEETING.

"I shall not be surprised in the near future to see Lobito Bay and the Benguella Railway advertised as the shortest, cheapest, and most comfortable route to the Victoria Falls and South Africa and across Africa to Beira and Dar-es-Salaam, and up to the great lakes and the headwaters of the Nile. You have only to look at the map behind me, which has been drawn to scale by 'Stanfords,' to see that the magnificent natural harbour of Lobito Bay is destined to be the great Western gate of Africa." In this epoch-making pronouncement Mr. Robert Williams, the indefatigable and distinguished managing director of the great African Corporation, founded by him nearly twenty-five years ago, gave the Empire and our business world at last Thursday's general meeting food for deep thought. Year by year the progress of Tanganyika Concessions and its affiliated companies are more and more becoming the centre of keenest attention for all concerned in the development of Africa—equally so from the historical, constructive, and financial aspect. The satisfactory financial details given at the meeting will be reviewed in our next issue by the City Editor, but the momentous statements made both by the chairman and Mr Williams cannot be permitted to pass, despite space exigencies, without comment. The brilliant mining records of the Union Minière in Katanga may ere long find keen rivalry in the remarkable achievements being directed by the brilliant minds controlling the construction of the Benguella Railway from the Atlantic to the richest regions of Central Africa. The Tanganyika Concessions Company, in its steady forward march of linking up the Cape-to-Cairo route to future prosperous mineral milestones in Northern Tanganyika and Uganda, then across the North-Eastern Congo into the Sudan by the prospecting operations of its Congo-Nile Divide Company, has to-day the eyes of the world steadily fixed on its operations. The vast interests of this corporation, representative of the best British and Belgian finance, spread from Portuguese Central Angola across the Congo Belge to British East Africa—between the great equatorial lakes known as Tanganyika, Victoria Nyanza, and Albert Nyanza—with an even greater concession in the Southern Sudan, can hardly be visualised by the ordinary man in their present and potential magnitude. Truly, Lobito Bay is the Western Atlantic Gate of Africa. In less than two years the iron railroad will link Katanga with the sea, with endless possibilities for prosperous exploitation both for inward and outward traffic, but Mr. Williams, who is apparently firmly resolved to devote the rest of an already rich life to new projects, announced that another route is now being investigated by the great waterways of the Zambesi River, and its tributary, the Lungwe Bungwe River, the source of which is close to the railway. It is known that about 500 miles of these rivers are reported to be navigable, so that, within a short time, it may be possible to open up a short route from the Benguella Railway to the Victoria Falls, first by motor and steamers, and later by rail. What this plan, when materialised, means to Angola, North-Western Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, and the whole of Southern Africa from the Zambesi to Table Mountain, is difficult to visualise, and still more difficult to describe in a few words. Apart from all pronouncements made by Mr. Williams, who has cultivated a habit of carrying splendid ideals, vast projects, and personal ambitions into concrete facts, the most important message he gave to British industry was that nearly one million pounds sterling was being spent in British workshops in connection with the equipment of the Benguella Railway alone. Such an arrangement is true service to the Empire in these stressful times, which should not be forgotten, and is worthy of him, who can fairly claim the true succession among those who were the loyal disciples of Cecil John Rhodes, when he left us twenty-five years ago with an immortal Imperial inheritance.

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A SUCCESSFUL HAMBURG GATHERING.

Miss Mary McCritty, a Liberian student at Hamburg, sends to WEST AFRICA an account of the celebration of the 80th anniversary of Liberian Independence at Hamburg on July 26. She states that good wishes for Liberia's success and prosperity were received from various parts of Germany, other Continental countries and Great Britain.

At 9 o'clock p.m. a reception was given by the Consul-General and Mrs. Massaquoi at "Curio Haus," one of the most conservative places of amusement in Hamburg. The reception was held in the "Blue Room," decorated with the flags of Germany and Liberia. Among the guests were Dr. Merck, of the Senate of Hamburg, the Consul-Generals of Bolivia, Ecuador, France, Italy, and Cuba, the Vice-Consuls of Great Britain and China, the Liberian Consul at Bremen, the Vice-Consul of Panama, the Consul of Haiti, Dr. Prof. Nocht, Rector of the Hamburg University and Director of the Institute of Tropical Diseases, Prof. Muhlens, of the Tropical Institute, Dr. Klingenheben, of the Seminary of African Languages, Hamburg University, Dr. Steffens, Dr. Weidmann, Mr. Kurt Woermann, Messrs. Jantzen, J. West, Goldner, Mrs. Bohme and daughters, Mrs. Berends, Mr. and Mrs. Scharnock, and other distinguished ladies and gentlemen of Hamburg; and of Liberian citizens, Hon. T. E. Beysolow, Associate Justice, Supreme Court, Liberia, Mrs. Edwin Barclay, wife of the Secretary of State, Liberia, Hon. A. Karnga, Messrs. A. Barclay, Sommerville, and Dr. Reffell. Through illness, bereavement and previous engagements, Burgermeister Dr. Schram, Mr. Oliver, British Consul-General, Mr. T. Bevan, American Consul-General, and Prof. Meinhof, of the Seminary of Languages, and others, sent greetings, and expressed regret at not being present.

The Liberian Consul-General and Mrs. Massaquoi were seated at the first of the rows of tables, with a few others. Miss F. Massaquoi, in a clear and distinct tone, recited an address of welcome in the German language, and Miss Victoria Johnson rendered a beautiful solo. Miss M. McCritty explained in English "The Significance and Greatness of the Liberian Flag." Refreshments were served, during which Mr. Massaquoi toasted the health of President Hindenburg, and said that Liberia had hitherto sustained only a commercial relation to Germany, but through the Seminary of African and South Sea Languages, where a Liberian had had the honour of participating in an unofficial capacity, and through the Institute for the treatment of tropical diseases, where Liberians had received treatment, Liberian youths could now seek literary and scientific knowledge, through the channel of Hamburg, for the cure of tropical diseases and in other educational pursuits. This toast was responded to by Prof. Nocht, in choice words, reciprocating the sentiments expressed by the Consul-General. The Consul-General also toasted the health of Liberia's President, Hon. C. D. B. King, which was responded to by Associate Justice T. E. Beysolow, who remarked that the tie of friendship between Germany and Liberia was a strong one. Consul-General Massaquoi toasted the health of the German guests, which was responded to by Dr. Klingenheben, who speaks and writes the Vey language effectively. He was taught by Consul-General Massaquoi in the Seminary of Languages at Hamburg University; and on this occasion Dr. Klingenheben said in Vey that "there was never a keener feeling for better relations between Liberia and Germany than now." The Consul-General finally toasted the health of oversea guests, which was seconded by Mr. Karnga. Dancing was then begun, lasting until 2.30 a.m.

AFRICAN NATIVE PRODUCTION.

One of the most striking features of the reports of the Agricultural Departments of the Equatorial and East African Dependencies is the advance of native production. In all the crops cultivated by the natives there is an increase, in some cases—such as the 600 tons of tobacco in Nyassaland—a remarkable increase. This evidence of progress will be welcomed by all concerned about the future of the black races in these Dependencies. Increasing production indicates quickening progress and increasing wealth. Prosperity produces contentment, and contentment produces peace. The advocates of the policy of segregating the natives so as to secure their labour for the white men's plantations should ponder over the position carefully. The natives, once started on production for their own profit, cannot be relegated to the position of mere wage-earners without impeding the progress of both whites and blacks. Left free, the progress of each will contribute to the prosperity of both races, while impediments to the progress of either will react to the detriment of both. Shall the two streams of production be allowed to flow side by side, or shall one be dammed up in a reservoir to bring an ever-present fear of the possibility of bursting dams and devastating floods? We think the choice must be made now, and also that this matter deserves the urgent and gravest consideration by all responsible for the administration of our African Dependencies.

WHAT WE THINK.

THE TANGANYIKA MEETING.

"I shall not be surprised in the near future to see Lobito Bay and the Benguella Railway advertised as the shortest, cheapest, and most comfortable route to the Victoria Falls and South Africa and across Africa to Beira and Dar-es-Salaam, and up to the great lakes and the headwaters of the Nile. You have only to look at the map behind me, which has been drawn to scale by 'Stanfords,' to see that the magnificent natural harbour of Lobito Bay is destined to be the great Western gate of Africa." In this epoch-making pronouncement Mr. Robert Williams, the indefatigable and distinguished managing director of the great African Corporation, founded by him nearly twenty-five years ago, gave the Empire and our business world at last Thursday's general meeting food for deep thought. Year by year the progress of Tanganyika Concessions and its affiliated companies are more and more becoming the centre of keenest attention for all concerned in the development of Africa—equally so from the historical, constructive, and financial aspect. The satisfactory financial details given at the meeting will be reviewed in our next issue by the City Editor, but the momentous statements made both by the chairman and Mr Williams cannot be permitted to pass, despite space exigencies, without comment. The brilliant mining records of the Union Minière in Katanga may ere long find keen rivalry in the remarkable achievements being directed by the brilliant minds controlling the construction of the Benguella Railway from the Atlantic to the richest regions of Central Africa. The Tanganyika Concessions Company, in its steady forward march of linking up the Cape-to-Cairo route to future prosperous mineral milestones in Northern Tanganyika and Uganda, then across the North-Eastern Congo into the Sudan by the prospecting operations of its Congo-Nile Divide Company, has to-day the eyes of the world steadily fixed on its operations. The vast interests of this corporation, representative of the best British and Belgian finance, spread from Portuguese Central Angola across the Congo Belge to British East Africa—between the great equatorial lakes known as Tanganyika, Victoria Nyanza, and Albert Nyanza—with an even greater concession in the Southern Sudan, can hardly be visualised by the ordinary man in their present and potential magnitude. Truly, Lobito Bay is the Western Atlantic Gate of Africa. In less than two years the iron railroad will link Katanga with the sea, with endless possibilities for prosperous exploitation both for inward and outward traffic, but Mr. Williams, who is apparently firmly resolved to devote the rest of an already rich life to new projects, announced that another route is now being investigated by the great waterways of the Zambesi River, and its tributary, the Lungwe Bungwe River, the source of which is close to the railway. It is known that about 500 miles of these rivers are reported to be navigable, so that, within a short time, it may be possible to open up a short route from the Benguella Railway to the Victoria Falls, first by motor and steamers, and later by rail. What this plan, when materialised, means to Angola, North-Western Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, and the whole of Southern Africa from the Zambesi to Table Mountain, is difficult to visualise, and still more difficult to describe in a few words. Apart from all pronouncements made by Mr. Williams, who has cultivated a habit of carrying splendid ideals, vast projects, and personal ambitions into concrete facts, the most important message he gave to British industry was that nearly one million pounds sterling was being spent in British workshops in connection with the equipment of the Benguella Railway alone. Such an arrangement is true service to the Empire in these stressful times, which should not be forgotten, and is worthy of him, who can fairly claim the true succession among those who were the loyal disciples of Cecil John Rhodes, when he left us twenty-five years ago with an immortal Imperial inheritance.

Race Problem - 1927

Africa.

THE CAPE NATIVE FRANCHISE.

(By Professor D. D. T. JABAVU.)

[*Continued.*]

We shall now discuss eight arguments levelled against the Cape native franchise by the Prime Minister at Smithfield (November 13, 1925), and by others from time to time.

Firstly, the Cape native vote is a danger to European civilisation.

Our answer is that a little thinking will show that this a erroneous, because the ordinary native cannot be a voter until he satisfies the standard set for all civilised men To become civilised he begins by renouncing barbarism and develops political aspirations that are harmonious with progress and modern culture. Barbarism, as an inferior stage of ethnic development, can always be subjugated by civilisation. Therefore it is a logical fallacy to assume that the Cape native vote can by any possibility be a menace to European civilisation. On the contrary, the history of the last 40 years contains abundant proof that the native vote has substantially advanced the cause of European civilisation, because it has been wisely exercised, producing Parliamentarians of the calibre of Sir James Rose Innes, who first entered Parliament in the early eighties as a direct choice of the Victoria East native voters. Far from being amenable to bribery by unscrupulous orators, it has exhibited judicious selection, decorating the House of Assembly with illustrious statesmen like Mr. Merriman, Mr. Sauer, Sir Richard Solomon, Sir Charles Crewe, and many more. It has never committed any mistakes. Therefore theory and experience are entirely on the side of the Cape native vote.

Secondly, we are told it is a danger because it will in time swamp the European vote by reason of its numerical preponderance transferring political ascendancy from white to black, and making this a black man's country.

Our reply is that this is a confession of an unjustifiable fear. Past history provides no more ground for fear on this account than the Cassandra prophecies deduced from census figures by a Government official two years ago. A study of the figures reveals that in 1920 there were 6,633 native voters to 121,346 European voters, that is one to eighteen; and now, 16 years after that, there are 14,182 to 156,531, one to eleven. This comparative slowness of native growth is in keeping with the slow process of a true education a natural course of development Supposing it did swamp the whites in our present day, what reason is there to fear four million uncivilised natives on the part of a million civilised European population backed by forty five million Englishmen plus the League of Nations? A lion might as well fear the future of the mouse. Just as Natal has framed laws stringent enough to limit its franchise to a few natives, so will the Union Parliament always be in a position to circumscribe the native vote to within whatever standard of natives it judges to be adequate for the sentimental purpose of maintaining white dominance in Parliament. Furthermore, when the native voters of five centuries hereafter are numerous enough to swamp the whites, they will, ipso facto, be civilised enough to run the country on civilised lines and with the intelligence and dignity associated with civilised races elsewhere in the world.

Thirdly, it is argued that political equality will lead to social equality, a position repugnant to Europeans

In answer, we say political equality is by no means synonymous with social intermixture and miscegenation any more than that the present native voters seek intermarriage with European women. We desire political equality not for social intercourse, but in order to rise in our economic and political circumstances. We cannot thrive economically until we have our due share to the land rightly adjusted. And we cannot obtain our land rights until we get a direct voice in Parliament, that is, political equality. We are already inextricably bound up with Europeans in our territorial occupation of the land, but minus the means wherewith to protect our interests in the land we jointly occupy. Without political equality there is no hope of our attaining justice in our territorial problems; and it is obvious that territorial segregation will for ever be a physical impossibility in South Africa. Christianity alone has failed to secure justice for the natives. The natives will get justice only when they get political equality. It follows, then, that political equality is the only practical policy which Christianity should adopt for the Bantu of South Africa. This has nothing to do with social intercourse.

Fourthly, it is averred that the vote is, in essence, contrary to the African tradition of tribal rule by chiefs.

Against this we submit that African tribal rule has undergone such disintegration that it can never be re-established among detribalised natives. Our tribal system is being gradually dislodged by the European democratic system and will ultimately be eliminated according as education spreads. It is useless to urge tribal communism as our ultimate goal in face of the Union Act based on British individualism which is the enemy of communism. Even a racial or differential imperium in imperio will be ineffectual in this country.

Fifthly, it has been said that the Cape native vote is obnoxious because it places the Cape native on a higher footing than the Northern native.

Against this we would point out that the reason why the Cape native stands politically on a higher footing than his Northern compatriot is that the Cape tradition was historically based upon impartial justice. Christian morality, so far as we understand it, requires that the happy man shall not be penalised by degradation in order to establish a uniform injustice. Rather, the unhappy native helot of the Orange Free State should be sympathetically raised to the rightful citizenship enjoyed by his more fortunate Cape brother

Sixthly, political advantage granted to the native will recoil detrimentally to European interests.

This is a favourite Northern argument based on the theory that the natives are children and should therefore be treated as political minors. Plausible as this theory sounds, it will be found on closer examination to be faulty, because the native people in the Union are not all children or barbarians. Some have achieved considerable progress, and we cannot afford to despise or defy their vanguard of worthy leaders who are already fit to exercise the franchise by their unobtrusive qualification of good character, education and substance. Another mistake lies in the assumption that they will perpetually remain children and never grow out of childhood. A wise policy is that which makes due provision for such members of the population as grow out of the condition of childhood, as was done at the Cape. Under such a policy the Bantu leaders develop confidence in, and loyalty and love for their government system, leading the masses behind them to a similar appreciation of authority, thus eliminating any possible detriment to the interests of the rulers.

Seventhly, it is affirmed that the political interests of the Europeans are distinct from those of the natives.

RACE CURRENTS IN AFRICA.

Today African news finds a place in those sources of public information dealing with commerce, politics, and education, as well as religion and the missionary enterprises which it promotes. She is now a part of the moving order of world affairs. Her products add annually increasing tonnage to the vessels which sail from her ports to the markets of the world, while her people are using an ever increasing amount of the goods produced elsewhere.

As has been and is the case in America, there is a debit side to the contact of Europeans with Africa and Africans. This is supported by instances of ruthless military and economic aggression; periods of forced labor; in parts of Africa, particularly in the Eastern and Southern parts a questionable land policy; and in some parts of the Continent a policy of legislation which almost all native Africans and many white people denounce as fundamentally unjust.

On the other hand, there are undeniable benefits of the presence of European civilization in Africa: The suppression of slavery; the great prayer and effort of the great Livingstone; the introduction and spread of a religion which led and still leads Africans to a God of love; education; improved health conditions; small but growing African leadership,—all of these are unmistakable and fully appreciated assets. Besides, it is with encouragement that one notes the more liberal policies to which governments are giving utterance, and in some instances actually putting into practice as on the West Coast, for instance, and as has been the case in the Transkei in South Africa for a long time.—Max Yergan, in The Southern Workman

American Writer Lands In Morocco After 9 Days Out; Comments On Trip Across

Says Captain of Ship Read Copy of Courier With Interest; Casablanca Is "Quite White."

By J. A. ROGERS

(Editor's Note: This is the beginning of Mr. Rogers' first article from North Africa, where he is at present making an observation tour. Mr. Rogers sailed Fed. 22 from New York and landed in Casablanca, March 3. Those wishing to write him any address him at 11 Rue Scribe, c/o American Express Co., Paris France, and his mail will be forwarded from there. He will be pleased to hear from any one interested in his trip, and will be pleased to make any special observations that may be requested of him, providing it is convenient for him to do so. He will be abroad about a year.

CASABLANCA, Morocco, French North Africa, March 5.—Crossing the North Atlantic at almost its widest part, straight across from New York City to Africa, curving around the Azores to reach Casablanca on the Moroccan coast, is a long and tiresome journey. Tradition says that this vast waste of water, that now takes nine days in crossing was all land once—the continent of Atlantis. One wishes heartily, after the first three days out, that terra firma had remained, for if one has evolved very far from the fishes, he will prefer the train any day. Hurry up, airplanes!



J. A. Rogers

Yet, let the mind fly backward a bit, and one will find that he really has nothing to kick about. Seventy years ago one would have been lucky to make the trip in twenty-nine days; and a hundred and fifty years back—well, one had to wait on the wind!

I thought also of the trip further to the South, that our Negro ancestors were forced to make, battened under hatches, crowded and crazed with intolerable heat and thirst, and then of myself in a fairly comfortable cabin, third class though it was. I thought also of the manner in which the ancestors of many of our proud American Nordics crossed, much of this same route—how they also came over in slave-ships, sometimes the majority of them dying just like the Africans, from overcrowding. That is a shameful chapter in his ancestry that the white American is anxious to suppress, but let one read, for instance, Faust's "German Element in the United States," or Gustavus Myers' "History of the U. S. Supreme Court," for documentary evidence. With the demand for labor in the American colonies, English boys and girls were kidnapped in such large number and sold into slavery in America and the West Indies that Parliament finally had to fix a penalty of death "without benefit of clergy" for the kidnappers.

Africa, or at least the part of it I have seen in the past few days, is so astonishinly different from what I had imagined from my reading, that, indeed, I feel as if I had been taken bodily and put into another world. Morocco, whose history antedates the Romans, is called "The Classic Land of the Arabian Nights." To get some idea of the permanence of its ways and customs, read again your "Arabian Nights' Entertainments," for, evidently, things have changed little, if any, in a thousand years. I shall try my best to communicate to my readers some of the things I have seen, some of the surprises I have felt, but I shall be fortunate, indeed, if I succeed in conveying a tenth of it.

Much of what I am going to say might not prove so palatable to our good folk, radical, conservative, and otherwise—I think I have a little kick coming myself because several of my pet notions have been shattered—nevertheless, I am going to tell of things just as I have seen them, neither more nor less.

The Trip Across

But to proceed in regular order I must tell something of the trip across, and of the folk I met. The last time I took an American ship I met mostly Nordics; this time I took an Italian ship, with every person in third class brunette with black hair, and myself, again the only one to whom the English language was native (all the rest Italian.) The last time, when I went to Europe, with those Americanized Nordics it was "Nigger, Nigger;" nothing of the sort this trip. It was "colored lady" and "colored gentleman" when they spoke of the colored folk with whom they had worked, or who had traded with them.

All belong to the laboring or the petty trading classes and are neither cleaner nor dirtier than the Nordics, indeed, they seem a little less odorous, but the comparison is hardly fair since I had the Nordics in the summer. The average intelligence seems about the same, and the amiability and cheerfulness, important factors in good citizenship, much higher than the Nordics—hereafter I shall have to be careful about calling colored folk "noisy." All in all, the favoring of the North European in the immigration quota seems to me more than ever a case of the white folk drawing "the color line" within their own ranks.

As to the opinion of many of my fellow passengers regarding America, that will prove interesting. America, they think, is a fine place for making money, but little else. No freedom, no culture, no knowledge of how to enjoy life, they declare. Many have saved enough to serve for the rest of their lives, and are returning to the land, where "things are things." Some with large families are returning because they say it is simply impossible to make ends meet with eight or nine children in America—wouldn't I just like to place the opponents of birth control in the exact place of some of these poor mothers and fathers I saw on the ship? One mother, travelling alone, has three children, all unable to help themselves, and is expecting another. Her husband is sending her home. Others are going home to see their wives and children, while the majority, so far as I can gather, are returning to visit. Most of them are naturalized.

As to prohibition, it may be imagined one gets a ready hearing when he speaks about it. The first meal served on the ship was "dry," but at all the others, wine flowed far freer than water. "Watta swella da bell. Make you take too much medicine," confided one man, who drinks a quart bottle full of wine with each of the two meals. Still, no one is drunk. The Latin, reared on wine, holds his liquor like a gentleman; your Anglo-Saxon needs prohibition to make and keep him respectable. The ship and all about it are as clean as human effort can make it, but the food, while wholesome, was far from being to my taste. One thing I have learnt at last: The proper way to eat sphagetti, but if I can help it I am going to see that that knowledge doesn't do me any good for a long time to come.

I had the very great pleasure of meeting one of the officers of the ship, Dr. Giacomo Vesceglia, a young man, graduate of two leading Italian universities. I went up to his office on business, and when he learnt that I was a writer it was most interesting to see the remarkable change in his face. He invited me in, offered me a seat, and we chatted for hours. Why was I travelling third class, he wanted to know? Since then he has been most kind. I have cited this instance merely to illustrate what I have already pointed out, namely, the high respect accorded the professional man in Europe, regardless of color. I showed him a copy of The Courier, which he read with great interest. He particularly noted its size. The Courier, it must be explained, is almost twice the size of the European newspaper, with the exception of two or three London papers which are, perhaps, a little smaller than The Courier.

Casablanca

To return to Morocco. My first impression of Casablanca from the ship was that of entering some modern American sea-port, except that Casablanca is quite white, just like its name, which is Spanish for "white house." Whitewashing is a fetish with the Moors. Overhead was the bluest skies I have ever seen, which came down to meet a sea so blue itself that it was almost difficult to tell the horizon, while over the mountains, back toward the great desert, were the strangest masses of fleecy white clouds, suggesting flocks of enormous sheep. Entering the town one is reminded, but for its newness, of Paris. Smart French shops with the latest styles, the terraces of the cafes just as on the grand boulevards crowded with patrons sipping wine or coffee, the banks, and the hordes of taxis, with the honking peculiar to the French cab.

(Continued Nex Week. In the second part of this article, to be published next week, Mr. Rogers gives a vivid, picturesque description of the people and street scenes in Casablanca. It will prove most interesting. Don't miss it. Mr. Rogers' observations may appear in other newspapers, but by special arrangement with him, a more extended and detailed account of his travels will appear only in The Pittsburgh Courier. So be sure to read what Mr. Rogers has to say in this newspaper.)

ABYSSINIAN PRINCES RECEIVING AMERICAN EDUCATION

Washington, pril 12—Aside from his executive duties as Vice-President of Muskingum College, at New Concord, Ohio, Dr. Howard A. Kelsey (white) is [illegible] guardian of three young princes of the ruling house of the Prince Regent Ras Tafari of Abyssinia. Three princes were enrolled in Muskingum when they first came to this country, where they completed their preparatory studies. The eldest is now enrolled in the school of commerce in Ohio State University; another is in the medical school of the University of Pennsylvania; while the youngest is now sophomore in Muskingum College. Dr. Kelsey is at present en route to Abysinnia to confer with Prince Ras Tafari concerning the future training in America of the young princes.

WHITE NURSES RESIGN WHEN BLACK DOCTOR GETS APPOINTMENT

NEW YORK.—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has received a clipping of a dispatch from South Africa to the London Daily News stating that when Dr. Silas Molema, a native doctor, graduated from Edinburgh University, had been appointed practitioner in Mafeking Hospital, the staff of white nurses resigned, refusing to take orders from a native.

Race Problem - 1927

Africa

THE LANGA WHITE ELEPHANT

The Cape Town City Council is beginning to realise the capital mistake of using European labour to build houses for Natives whose wages do not permit of the payment of an economic rent. A quarter of a million pounds of money has been sunk in the scheme of Langa Village but Cape Town, like the Biblical man, did not first sit down to count the cost of white labour and what it would mean in the way of inflated rents from the point of view of low-paid labourers who are now failing to inhabit this excellent township just because it is too expensive when the cost is compared to their earnings. The average Native labourer in Cape Town gets 3/6 per day or four guineas a month, and his rent at the old Ndabeni Location comes to 4/- per room a month and the railway season ticket is 5/- a month; while by feeding himself on scanty diet he manages to save a modest sum for clothing and liquidating the debts he left at his home. At Langa the rent for a single man's bunk is 12/- a month and the rail fare 9/4, while his feed in the communal kitchen will cost twice or more what he could make it under private arrangements. Thus he will be left with no margin to save anything. Theorists say the improved conditions at Langa are worth the cost. True; but the wages are below the cost. When Mr. Cook suggested the Bloemfontein plan of building, by which a man could build a big four-roomed house for under £80 by his own labour, he was turned down. Mr. Cook has proved to be a wise man and cannot be blamed for the financial loss incurred in the teeth of his protests. Cape Town is now left with Hobson's choice: either the wages must be raised considerably all round to enable the blacks to pay for the Langa charges, or the municipality must cut its losses as bad debt and reduce the rent and rail charges to the level of Ndabeni Location. There seems no other way out of the quandary of this white elephant township.

Correspondence.

C.N.T.A.

The following is a reply from the Cape Education Department to resolutions passed at the C.N.T.A Conference held at Queenstown last June.

Department of Public Education,
Cape Town.
18th October 1927.

Mr. B. B. Mdledle,
Secretary,
Cape Native Teachers' Assocation,
Lovedale.

With reference to your communication, dated the 13th August last, I have to state :—

1. That the Department considers that, where possible, principal teachers should be provided with houses, a fact of which inspectors are aware. Their attention will, however, be drawn once more to the matter of the povision, by the people, of houses for the principal teachers.

2. That, while the Department has shown its consideration for the feelings of educated Natives by substituting, throughtout the past six years, the word "Xosa" for "Kafir" in all its publications, it is not able to prevent the use of the word objected to, in literature outside its control.

3. That, while the scales for teachers in European and Coloured schools are fixed by statute or regulation, scale for Native teachers have not been fixed, and were intended to be of a temporary nature pending the provision of funds for a satisfactory scale. The Department does not consider the present scale satisfactory and is ever striving for the establishment of more suitable scales Under these circumstances, the Department does not propose to publish the scales on which the salaries are at present being calculated, and which it does not consider suitable.

4.—That, where the inspector has reported that the native children attending a native school have Afrikaans as their home language, the Department has agreed to its being used in the school instead of the Bantu language.

(Sgd.) FRANK H. LONG,
for Acting Superintendent
General of Education.

General Notes.

Mr. D. D. T. Jabavu of Fort Hare is about to take six months' leave as from January to July 1928—since 1915 he has been in harness. It would seem that his holiday will be fully occupied as he has been invited by the Basutoland Government to tour that country lecturing on up to date methods of agriculture. He has also been invited by the American Board of Missions to represent African Natives at the International Missionary Council which assembles in Jerusalem on March next which will be attended by delegates from all Christendom—numbering 200 The Wesleyan Methodists have also asked him to represent them at that memorable Council. Needless to say that in all these contemplated journeys he will be accompanied by the best wishes and prayers of his people.—"Ndlela ntle, Jili.—*Fort Beaufort Advocate.*

NEW YORK WORLD

NOV 20 1927

Two African Visitors Entertained by Harlem

Abyssinian Envoy and Gold Coast Official Surprised at Race's Study

By Lester A. Walton

HARLEM recently entertained two distinguished visitors from Africa. One was Dr. Wargneh C. Martin, Abyssinia's Envoy Extraordinary, who brought greetings to American Negroes from Ras Tafari, Prince Regent of the empire. The other was Gen. Sir Gordon Guggisberg, former Governor of the Gold Coast.

Both made tours of inspection through what is known as "the world's greatest Negro centre." Their chief reason for getting a close-up of local community life was to note the progress made by American Negroes, a progress considered emblematic of the possibilities of black people in other parts of the world if given the right encouragement and opportunity.

Sir Gordon and Dr. Martiin expressed astonishment over the heights the race has attained in such large urban centres as New York and Chicago. The accomplishments in various avenues of endeavor far exceeded their expectations.

Abyssinia Welcomes American Negroes

The warm message of friendship from Ethiopia's ruler came as a distinct surprise. American Negroes have been out of touch with the people of Abyssinia. The impression has prevailed among them that the black empire was not desirous of making contacts in this country as has been the Republic of Liberia.

In conveying Ras Tafari's greetings Dr. Martin said the Prince Regent welcomed to Abyssinia Negroes from America who are skilled artisans. Admission was made that for centuries the country has not kept pace with the times but the information was imparted that new customs are to be adopted and progressive policies projected.

Dr. Martin visited Harlem shortly before sailing for Europe. He met a group of colored Americans at the home of Dr. and Mrs. E. P. Roberts, No. 130 West 130th Street. Abyssinia's Envoy Extraordinary explained that he had been in New York several weeks on an important business mission which had prevented him from delivering Ras Tafari's message sooner.

Sir Gordon Guggisberg, who retired as Governor of the Gold Coast only a few months ago, also talked with a number of local Negroes following his tour of Harlem. Aside from his observations he had made during his visit to the United States, the British diplomat briefly gave some interesting facts about Great Britain's comprehensive program to educate and otherwise improve the condition of the African native.

When asked what the American Negro could do to aid his brother on the Dark Continent, Sir Gordon's reply was: "By continuing to make such marvelous progress and prove the potential capabilities of the native when given a chance."

During his stay in the United States Sir Gordon visited Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes, conferred with Government and State officials, met President Coolidge and conferred with Henry Ford, Harvey Firestone, George Eastman and President Lowell of Harvard.

In the Southern States he studied educational activities related to rural conditions and to the needs of the Negro, and in the Northern cities industrial processes, clinics and hospitals and educational institutions adapted to urban needs.

ABYSSINIAN REGENT



©KEYSTONE
Ras Tafari

Dinner Given in Sir Gordon's Honor

A dinner was given by the Phelps-Stokes Fund in honor of Sir Gordon at the Hotel Astor, attended by officers of the large educational foundations, leaders of philanthropic interest, important educational authorities and Secretaries of church boards responsible for African missions. Dr. Anson Phelps-Stokes Canon of the Washington Cathedral presided.

Addresses were made by Dr. F. P Keppel, President of the Carnegie Corporation; Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, Educational Director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and Sir Gordon.

All speakers sounded a note of warning against the exploitation of Africa for selfish motives. It was declared that, despite great distance geographically, Africa is not so far away and that, more than many have any idea America is to be directly affected by future happenings on the Dark Continent.

Memorial to late Rev Goronyane.

[By Sol. T. Plaatje.]

Native Wesleyans and their friends organised a big reunion at the Thaba 'Nchu Mission on Sunday 18th Sept. The occasion was the unveiling of a memorial tablet to the late Rev J D Goronyane, who died last year after serving the Wesleyan Mission in various capacities for about sixty years. Rev. J W Housenam, ex-President of the Wesleyan Conference formerly Superintendent of the Thaba Nchu Circuit came from King Williams town to perform the unveilihg ceremony. There were Natives from far and near, Chief Nyokong with 200 followers came by special train from Tweespruit.

The deceased was not only a Minister of the Gospel but was in his lifetime the leading public man in Barolong affairs, prior to and since the annexation to the Free State of Moroka Native State. He had many dealings in Native Administration with the late President Brand and his successors in office, also with the late Mr. Abraham Fischer and Sir John Fraser. As Councillor to the old Chief Moroka, and Secretary to the late Chief Tshipinare and almost up to the time of his death he was always consulted by the Government on Barolong matters at Thaba 'Nchu. He considerably improved his farming operations and was liberal with his purse in all native welfare endeavours. It was largely out of regard for his public work as councillor in native affairs that, unlike other Wesleyan Ministers, he was never transferred from the Thaba Nchu Circuit. The last of his numerous donations to his people was a reservoir, which by storing water, saved the people from the scarcity which always detained many women at the well when the wind mill was not working.

Natives crowded out the big Church so that after the unveiling the exercises had to be continued outside. Rev. Jacob Monyatsi took charge of the solemn service at 11 a.m being assisted by Rev M Mosalakae (local) Rev C B Liphuko of Beconsfield and Rev. S Mosai of De Wetsdorp.

At noon Mr. J M Nyokong, Senior Steward, called on Rev. J W Housham to unveil a tablet built into the wall of the Church building beside the pulpit in which the dead minister had preached for so many years. The inscription, in English and Serolong, follows :—

> "To the Glory of GOD and in loving memory of REV. JOEL DAVID GORONYANE, who laboured in this Circuit First as a Teacher then as Minister of Religion for 50 years. Exchanged mortality for life, Jan. 10th 1926 aged 85 years.
>
> "Also his beloved wife the late Mrs. KENEILOE GORONYANE (nee MOTHUPI) who founded the Women's Christian Association in this Circuit
>
> "For he loveth our nation and he hath built us a synagogue—St. Luke VII, 5.
>
> "The memory of the just is blessed: but the name of the wicked shall rot —Prov. X. 7."

Mr. Housenam said he regarded it a great privilege to return home to Thaba 'Nchu to honour a respected fellow worker with whom he laboured in perfect harmony for a number of years, one whom he loved. The ancient Greeks had a splendid custom which he admired very much. They made marble busts of their great men which they kept in their houses so that posterity may not forget them and it was thoughtful of the people to so commemorate the 50 years' labour of their late Minister and his wife. He hoped it will always serve as an inspiration to the young people of Thaba Nchu to follow in their footsteps. The lesson was from Hebrews 11, and the text: He being dead yet speaketh (4th verse) Recalling some of Mr. Goronyane's services to the church, Mr. Housenam said he first worked as a printer in the fifties and helped to print the Scripture in his Sechuana-language. The old printing house where he used to work still stands on the Mission ground at Thaba Nchu. Later he went to Mount Coke near King Williams Town and there helped to print the Sixósa Bible which was brought out in 1859. The old building where they printed portions of scripture in Xôsa now serves as a school. Comparing his work with the lives of biblical and hitsorical characters Mr. Housenam said no man is truly great until it can be said of him that like Enoch "he walked with God." There was a danger of Natives brooding too much over their economic and legislative troubles, he hoped they would look more to Calvary than to Capetown more to Christ and less to the Government for sympathy, think less about their personal troubles and more about the work of God and put their trust in Him more than in men. Holding up the character of the dead minister he said "I never had a more faithful colleague or a wiser councillor in church mission work than the late Mr. Goronyane, who always advised the children to pay attention to their lessons and cultivate a clean character without which they would be no different from wild animals in the veld, and like them, find it impossible to face life's struggle under civilised conditions.

Mr W. Z. Fenyang, Junior Steward of the Church, welcomed the visitors and read many telegrams and letters from different centres. Mr. Sol Plaatje who represented friends in adjoining Provinces commended the generosity and sobriety of the Goronyanes, their life and work constituted the magnet which attracted people to Thaba Nchu. Among the recent gifts towards good causes he mentioned his donation of £50 towards the Senekal Church building Fund and and £100 towards the Wesleyan Hostel at Fort Hare, not to mention his heavy contributions towards nearly every deputation to the Government. Like King Khama another great respected member of their race they combatted the ravages of the liquor traffic and all forms of drunkenness in native life. Such people were consistently blessed with an abundance of this world's goods because they had no money for the bars but gave liberally towards the moral uplift of the people. King Khama had an open purse for church work and when the Tigerkloof Institution was built he gave the London Missionaries £500 to erect a high tower on the grounds with a four faced clock. Rev. Z. R. Mahabane of Kimberley took charge of the afternoon service while Rev. N. S. Motshumi of Bloemfontein conducted the evening service in the Coloured (Holland sprekende) Church. Both being as solemn and inspiring as the earlier service.

Mr. Israel Goronyane who feelingly returned thanks on behalf of the family said the original intention was but a private memorial by the children of the deceased. They had no idea there would be such a magnificent response on the part of the Thaba Nchu ministers and congregation. Thanking Mr. Housenam for leaving his work and travelling that long distance to support them with his presence and wise counsel he assured him that his attendence on that day will long be remembered by the Barolong.

In such a gathering the exercises naturally were bi-lingual and Mr. P. K. Motiyane, Principal of St. Paul's Mission School efficiently acted as interpreter.

OUR BRUSSELS LETTER.

("African World" Correspondent.)

BRUSSELS, October 18. 1927.

Italy-Congo.

The Elisabethville "Journal du Katanga" of September 22 gives a report of the celebration at Elisabethville two days before of the Italian National Holiday.

At the great banquet given at the Hotel de Bruxelles (which is [illegible] by Italians) Commandatore Mori, the Italian General Consul for the Belgian Congo, the French Aequatorial Africa, and for Angola, delivered a speech commemorating the share his countrymen have taken and are taking in the development of the Belgian Colony, and expressing his pride at the sympathy the Belgians testify to the work performed in Katanga by Italians. He then added that Italy appreciated this sympathy and that the friendship uniting Belgium and Italy had been reinforced by the attitude of Belgium in the Great War and by the common fight. He concluded his speech assuring Belgium that the Katanga Italians will be elements of order and peace, respectful of the Government and of the laws.

General Commissioner Henri replied on behalf of the Belgian Government, rightly recalling that "since they have fought for the same cause, since the Peace treaties brought them the same disillusions, our two nations are closely watching their respective efforts to resist adversity, to outlive an undeserved ruin, and to reconstitute the former prosperity." Mr. Henri remembered also the enthusiasm provoked in the Belgian trenches when in the evening of May 23, 1916, it was heard that Italy had joined the Allies. Mr. Henri noted also that in Katanga nearly 700 Italians are, at the common satisfaction, collaborating with us, and he concluded his speech in expressing the hope that this collaboration and that friendship increase still, if possible, however.

The General Governorship of the Congo.

Last week I reported you that "from an authorised source" the Antwerp "Neptune" was announcing that General Tilkens, A.D.C. to the King, had definitively declined to be appointed as Governor General of the Congo.

As "Neptune" is a reliable paper, I reprinted the paragraph, but as General Tilkens himself told me this afternoon he is still at the King's disposal to replace Mr. Rutten when he should return here, I can only inform you of this.

If General Tilkens is still unaware of the date of his sailing, I am able to tell you, from another but no less reliable source, that, contrarily to a further statement in "Neptune" of Sunday last, Governor-General Rutten is expected to very shortly ask his retiring pension (on account of the unsatisfactory health of the two daughters). The appointment of General Tilkens will then be announced officially.

The White Population in Ruanda-Urundi.

On December 31, 1926, the white population in Ruanda-Urundi amounted to 356 people, amongst which 227 Belgians, 48 French, 21 Dutch, 16 Germans, 13 Swiss, and 10 Greeks.

The Native Population in Ruanda-Urundi.

According to the just-issued annual report on Ruanda-Urundi, the native population is estimated to amount to 2,500,000-3,000,000 souls in Urundi, and to 2,000,000 in Ruanda.

The "Albertville."

The Antwerp shipping daily paper "Lloyd Anversois" announced, on Friday last that the mail liner "Albertville," now in completion at Saint Nazaire, at the Chantiers de la Loire, for the Compagnie Belge Maritime du Congo, will run her trials in November next, and will leave Saint Nazaire in December.

[illegible] Weaving Works at [illegible]

[illegible]gache, who with his brothers fo[illegible] years ago the Societe Textile Africain, the "Texaf," of which the capital has just been increased to 100,000,000 frs.) told me last week that the great cotton weaving works they are building at Kinshasa will be inaugurated in the second half of next year. Their inauguration will be an event of considerable importance in the economic history of the colony.

As is known, the Texaf has as general representative in the Congo Mr. Joseph Rhodius, one of the most respected and able business men of the whole colony. In order to secure his whole activity in its service, the Texaf has now taken over all the Rhodius business in the Congo.

J. ROUSSEAUX.

Race Problem - 1927

Business - 1927

Africa.

Coca King Floats $2,000,000 Loan

New York, Aug. 15.—The New York World says the preliminary negotiations for a $2,000,000 loan have been concluded by Winifred Tete-Ansa, a Negro, native of the Gold Coast, West Africa, with New York banking interests. The loan is to be used to finance production and marketing of coco grown on the Gold Coast.

Tete-Ansa is quoted as saying his primary object in seeking financial assistance for the coco growers of his country was to relieve them of the domination now exercised by a group of London coco importing interests known as the African and Eastern. He declared that prices obtained by natives for their coco at the depot of the African and Eastern and its subsidiaries was below the world market price.

He said the merchandise for which the tribesmen exchanged their coco were held at exorbitant prices by the traders.

Before coming to New York Tete-Ansa said he had sought to arrange the loan in London and Berlin but had met with the opposition of banking interests allied with coco importers.

The African business man said he intended to take a staff of American executives back to Acora, where his business is located, to take charge of the co-operative crop bank which he plans to establish.

Tete-Ansa said British Government reports show that 52 per cent of the world's supply of coco is produced on the Gold Coast, but that none of it is imported directly into the United States, all going to the London market.

nouncement that Winifred Tete-Ansa of Accra, has just concluded the preliminaries for a $2,000,000 loan from New York banking interests.

According to an account in the New York World, this arrangement hides the ending of a patriotic quest which has taken Mr. Tete-Ansa to Berlin, London, and finally to New York. In negotiating the loan, the gentleman from the Gold Coast has been opposed by the African and Eastern Trade two of the five big British banks, Corporation, Ltd., which is allied to twe of the five big British banks; Lloyds and the Westminster.

Tete-Ansa is a native African and is representing the paramount chiefs of the Gold Coast. He has studied co-operatives in England and plans to establish a $1,000,000 co-operative crop bank in Africa. The World quotes him as follows:

"I'm taking a white staff back with me, a white bank manager and accountants. I'll need Americans, because a good part of the bank's business will be with America. No, I won't use any New York Negroes. You see, while I haven't been in New York very long, I've got the impression Negroes over here haven't much business training and experience. There are a few insurance brokers or real estate brokers, but no one who seem sto have any grasp of sound business principles."

Mr. Tete-Ansa seems to regard the matter differently from some of his predecessors in the attempt to divert the flow of African cocoa. Shortly after the war, Duse Mohammed Ali, the Egyptian editor, historian and traveler, came to America and sought to establish a huge concern among American Negroes whose business would be to deal in the products of West Africa. At that time, Duse Mohammed exhibited papers disclosing that he held the power of attorney to act for the richest planters in the region. It is not known whether Mr. Ali has ever forsaken his efforts which were calculated to employ the money and the talent of the colored business man of America,. For a long time, he did not meet with success.

According to British government reports, 52% of the world's cocoa comes from the Gold Coast of Africa. None of this now comes to the United States except by way of London.

Most of it is handled by the African and Eastern, which, with its subsidiaries, fixes the price of cocoa on the Gold Coast, and fixes it far below the world price level. Mr. Tete-Ansa explains:

"A man brings his cocoa in to a company trading post on his head, sometimes travelling forty miles to the trading post through the jungle. The factor offers him a price on his cocoa. He may think it is too low, but unless he wants to carry the cocoa back forty miles again, he accepts what the company offers."

The tribesman usually doesn't want cash for his cocoa. He wants kitchen utensils, flour, gayly printed cotton goods, haberdashery and agricultural implements. The company sells him these things, Tete-Ansa declares, at prices far above the world level.

Mr. Tete-Ansa now proposes that the chieftains and their subjects shall send part of their cocoa direct to Europe or America, to be exchanged there for the manufactured goods, which they require.

There are those in New York, however ,who are investigating Mr. Tete-Ansa's credentials, and who affect to think him a clever adventurer only.

GOLD COAST NEGRO INTERESTS WALL ST.; GETS $2,000,000 LOAN

(By The Associated Negro Press)

New York City.—Success seems to be about ready to crown the efforts of those African leaders of the so-called Gold Coast of which Accra is the principal city, who have been seeking for a number of years to break the monopoly of British interests in the exportation of cocoa. This is the impression gained from the announcement that Winifred Tete-Ansa of Accra has just concluded the preliminaries for a $2,000,000 loan from New York banking interests.

According to an account in the New York World, this arrangement hides the ending of a patriotic quest which has taken Mr. Tete-Ansa to Berlin, London and finally to New York. In negotiating the loan, the gentleman from the Gold Coast has been opposed by the African and Eastern Trade Corporation, Ltd., which is allied to two of the big five British banks, Lloyd's and the Westminster.

Tete-Ansa is a native African and he is representing the paramount chiefs of the Gold Coast. He has studied cooperatives in England and plans to establish a $1,000,000 cooperative crop bank in Africa. The World quotes him as follows:

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ARRANGES LOAN TO MAKE AMERICA AFRICAN COCOA MARKET

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MARKETS FOR GOODS SOUGHT BY AFRICANS

Offers Opportunity to Capable Young Men

The Chicago Defender recently received a letter from a West African co-operative trading concern asking that a market or markets be sought in the United States for their goods. The Africans have long desired a suitable contact for exporting and importing goods. The letter is as follows:

"Oct. 12, 1927.

Managing Editor,
The Chicago Defender,
Chicago, U. S. A.

"Dear Sir: We are general merchants, manufacturers of local food products and financial agents for responsible native African farmers, business men, chiefs and elders of towns, provinces, etc., within the Gold

Coast colony and dependencies. As we have no exact knowledge of manufacturers in the United States of America we venture, by the kind courtesy of a friend who paid a flying visit to your end and has given us your name as the most reliable medium of information, to address this communication to you to request that you be so kind, without any conceivable prejudice, as to recommend to us or tell us the names of well established and reputable American manufacturers and dealers to whom we could export and sell direct all classes and description of West African produce; also to whom we could send large or special indents for all classes and variety of manufactured goods suitable for the markets of this great emporium of West African trade and commerce.

"We wish emphatically to point out that we are not at all interested in the introduction or offers of petty middlemen, brokers and commission agents who would hardly be able to conduct important transactions or respect engagements made with them, for it would be a cruel waste of time to have to exchange many fruitless communications on a subject of such transcendental importance to us.

We are Africans of the Gold Coast soil and without asking you to be under any essential obligation in being so kind as to accede to our request by whatever method you deem expedient, we sincerely trust in your liberality of spirit and place the most implicit confidence in your ability and influence to help develop sound international trade relationship between the United States and West Africa.

"We shall feel extremely grateful if when conversing with your friends in the line indicated, you will ask them to get in touch with us immediately and where possible to send assorted samples, catalogs, quotations, etc.

"Thanking you in anticipation and assuring you of our deep sentiments of friendship and reciprocal concession.

"WEST AFRICAN CREDIT ASSOCIATION, LTD.
"P. O. Box 90, N. Sawam,
Gold Coast, West Africa.
"Cable address: Microosm Nsawam Accra.
"Codes: Bentley and private."

Ambitious young men with commercial knowledge should enter the international trade business by aiding these intelligent Africans in disposing of ther commodites.

African Here Seeks Trade Relations

Gold Coast Producers Want to Deal Directly With U. S.

Winfred Tete-Ansa, 206 West 129th street, founder, organizer and director of the West African Co-operative Producers' Society, Ltd., is opening negotiations here with American merchants for millions of dollars' worth of trade with the African chiefs of Nigeria and the Gold Coast. Chief Amoah, also here, is the diplomatic representative of the native chiefs.

Mr. Ansa's purpose is to get better prices for the African products than heretofore, the British having been, until now, the chief buyers, paying what they pleased and selling at their own price. Mr. Ansa proposes to have the chiefs deal directly with the American interests, and eliminate the British middleman.

The African trade in cocoa, palm oil, mahogany and other products represents a gross of $270,000,000 annually. The yearly trade in cocoa alone, he said, exceeds $50,000,000. The Gold Coast produces 230,000 tons of cocoa, or one-half the world's supply.

"From time immemorial," said Mr. Ansa, "the natives have never trusted their money to anyone, but have always buried it. We are now organizing the Interstate Commercial Bank, and this vast buried treasure of many millions will pour into this new institution."

Commenting on the African trade, Mr. Ansa said: "West Africa has an area of 4,355,000 miles and a population of 69,000,000. With the exception of the Republic of Liberia and the former West German Africa, the whole territory is under the administration of European powers. The Gold Coast has an area of 91,600 square miles and a population of 2,500,000; Nigeria has an area of 367,928 square miles and a population of 19,700,000.

"From the commencement of British administration it has adopted the wise policy of preserving the right of title to the lands for



— Winfred Tete-Ansa —

Founder, organizer and director of the West African Co-operative Producers' Society, Ltd., who is here in the interest of that company.

under the communal system and the native rulers are trustees whose rights are recognized by Great Britain.

"The United States is the largest consumer of cocoa, palm oil, mahogany and other products which can be bought direct from us. The natives in West Africa buy flour, haberdashery, cotton goods, automobiles, agricultural implements and building materials which they can procure direct from the United States. Co-operation of this kind has immense possibilities."

Mr. Ansa and Chief Amoah are both well known in London, where they have maintained business offices. Mr. Ansa is a member of the Royal Colonial Institute.

BRITISH WEST AFRICA

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

Magic.

In the temperate zone, in the most advanced countries of the Western Civilisation, where the powers of Nature are being enlisted in Man's service, the lightning is harnessed to his chariot and made to carry his messages, where he soars like a bird on wings of his own fashioning, Man may, in moments of exaltation, regard himself as the Master of Nature. In the Tropics, Nature, still unsubdued, reminds Man of his feebleness. In the temperate zone we behold the triumphs of Man, in the Tropics we feel the triumph of Nature. In the tropical forests the furious energy of vegetation mocks Man's efforts. If, for a time, he seems to establish himself, it is at the cost of ceaseless labour: on its surcease the forest creeps back and obliterates the fruits of his toil. In Tropical Africa, Man knows Nature to be his mistress, controlling his life at every point through mysterious powers. For, to him, air, earth and water are not blind to things which heed him not. He sees in them animate beings with passions like his own, able to hurt or help, and therefore to be conciliated. And besides these, and the rocks and the rivers and the trees, which all can see, there is the vast crowd of dismembodied spirits who are the operators of powers, and the controllers of fates. It is these that bring, directly, good or bad fortune, health or sickness, curses or blessings, according as they are pleased or displeased. Therefore it is most important to know how to obtain their favour, to counteract their disfavour, and to ward off their danger. For it is possible to do so if the right means be used. So a class springs up who devote themselves to the discovery and practice of these means, and by the proper manipulation of spirits to their will. These are generally called "fetish-men," a designation which lumps together several distinct grades—priests, medicine-men, witches, and witch-doctors. I use the word "magic" for that stage of intellectual development in which both science and religion have their roots, but are not yet differentiated.

Magic and Science.

The African fetishman, or magician, is purely practical and does not only trouble himself about general principles, but study of his methods reveals, as implicit in his practice, some of the principles of modern science. He acts on the expectation that the same cause will be followed by the same effect; the priest believes that he can always produce a desired effect by the use of the proper ritual. The medical practice is based on observation and experiment, methods recognised and used by modern science. In Africa the medical practitioner is usually distinct from the priest, but enforces his prescriptions by religious sanctions, for his theory of disease attributes it to the action of the spirits by whom men are surrounded. This theory leads up to the belief in witches, the instruments or accomplices of evil spirits which cause disease and misfortune. The medicine-man's business is to remove the disease by driving out the spirit which is causing it; he regards the course of the cure as a combat between the spirit of his medicaments and the spirit of the disease. It is a mistake to regard priests or medicine-men as mere quacks, conscious charlatans, deceiving the people for their own gain. They are as firmly convinced of the truth of their teaching as their patients or followers, and it is their sincerity which convinces. Their theory may appear ridiculous to students of European science, but it succeeds, because it is suited to the people's mental development. Every successful cure is proof to both doctor and patient of its truth, while failure is only evidence that the spirit of the disease was stronger than the spirit of the medicine. And the theory is helped out by the keen observation and experience which have gathered a surprising knowledge of the qualities of the local herbs, the value and utility of which are not impaired by any flaw in the theory, or by the fact that the effects they produce are attributed to an indwelling spirit instead of their physical qualities. The tabus laid upon the sick are another instance of the right application of wrong principles. The inhibition of certain foods or of other injurious practices might have little effect as medical prescriptions, but when it is backed by spiritual sanctions, fear of the wrath of the spirits compels the patient to obedience which inures to his benefit. The tabus by which the sick are isolated, and those touching a dead body are put out of communion with their fellows for a period, during which they undergo ceremonial washings and medications, have often prevented the spread of contagious diseases.

Magic and Religion.

In the hands of the priests, magic becomes a moral force, counter-acting the influence of evil spirits and their servants, the witches. Long before the idea of a moral deity, whose service is in righteousness, has been evolved, some check on evil natures is necessary for the protection of society. The hanging of "jujus" about a farm or house may appear absurd to the European, but if it helps in the maintenance of order, and the pursuit of well-doing, if a "fetish-pot" protects a house from thieves, if the tabus lead to self-control and the observance of sanitary laws, they are working for righteousness. The priest's province is in the hopes and fears of men, in the desire to peer into the future. The African does not stop at a perfunctory "God willing," he appeals to the priest to ascertain whether God is willing. Hence the many systems of divination—the casting of lots and other methods of inquiring whether a contemplated enterprise will be successful. No method is considered more efficacious than an appeal to the dead, for who can better declare the will of the spirits than those who have gone to the spirit-world. Here civilisation and savagery meet on common ground; the European spiritualist is brother to the African necromancer. In spite of differences of culture and religion there is still much in each which is common to both. As Sir Joseph Fraser wrote in "The Golden Bough":—

"When we have penetrated through these differences . . . we shall find underlying them all a solid stratum of intellectual agreement among the dull, the weak, the ignorant and the superstitious, who constitute, unfortunately, the vast majority of mankind. . . . One of the great achievements of the nineteenth century was to run shafts down into this low mental stratum in many parts of the world, and thus to discover its substantial identity everywhere. It is beneath our feet—and not very far beneath them—here in Europe at the present day, and it crops up on the surface. . . . whenever the advent of a higher civilisation has not crushed it underground. This universal faith, this truly Catholic creed is a belief in the efficacy of

magic in every section of Western civilisa-tion.
W. F. H.

Every week the columns of the Press testify to the truth of this passage, and to the prevalence of the belief in and practice of

Race Problem - 1927

Africa

EUROPEAN NEWS.

By Pans.

DURHAM CASTLE.

£7,500 GIFT TO PRESERVATION FUND.

The fund for the repair and preservation of Durham Castle has received a further donation of £7,500 from the anonymous donor who at the beginning of last year, through the *North Mail and Newcastle Chronicle*, gave £2,500 for the work.

In a further letter to the paper, the unknown donor states that he is once more back in his native county and finds that the appeal for Durham Castle has not yet met with full and complete response, and adds:—"I can understand that last year was a stricken and difficult year and that my native county and its neighbour Northumberland suffered deep economic distress. Happily, as I think, the darkness is passing and the dawn is at hand. Like many others, during the long-drawn agony of the war, I made a promise to myself that I would try to make a worthy thank offering if country and home survived. Also like many others, I forgot my promise in the hour of victory. Let me discharge it now by enclosing a further donation towards the restoration of Durham Castle. Perhaps it will persuade others to assist." The letter concludes:—"The restoration at Durham must proceed. Place, if it be so desired, a stone not to mark the gift but to encourage those who come after us, and let that stone bear silent witness to the work of our King and to the loyalty of—Yours sincerely, A Native of Durham."

The Bishop of Durham supported the appeal for the Preservation Fund in a letter published in *The Times* on June 2, 1925. At the eighth annual dinner of University College, Durham, held in London on January 13 last year, it was stated that up to that date £15,000 of the £30,000 aimed at had been raised.

A NEGRO "PROPHET."

Messages from Katanga report that a native from Northern Rhodesia, who declared that he was a prophet and called himself Jeremiah Goudwe, attempted to provoke disturbances in the Belgian Congo-Rhodesian frontier region near Sokania. Having been warned by the Northern Rhodesian Authorities, the Belgian Administration took precautionary measures and twelve Negroes were arrested. The "prophet" succeeded in escaping to Rhodesian territory. Order was not disturbed.

THE INDIAN "WOLF CHILD."

FURTHER DETAILS.

Further information about the so-called "wolf child" recently discovered near Miawana, 75 miles from Allahabad, is now available in the Indian papers which have just reached London. In appearance the boy, judged to be between seven and twelve years of age, is said to be little different from an ordinary child, but in his actions he betrays signs that are declared to point to his upbringing with wolves. He can stand up and walks with some ease, but at times, he prefers to crawl, sitting on his haunches with legs curled up and propelling himself forward with the palms of the hands on the ground. The back and the knees are hardened as if used to frequent dragging on the ground, and there are also callosities on the palms of the hands. The limbs are thin and appear to be under-nourished.

The medical conclusion is that the chief sustenance of the child has consisted of roots and herbs for some years. He is now being fed on meat and other foods, which he appreciates, but shows little preference for flesh and frequently eats the grass in the compound where he is taken out in the cool of the evening. He has a prodigious appetite. He is subject to fits. At times he is ferocious, and before his removal from Allahabad to the Bareilly Mental Home he several times attacked the two burly policemen guarding him. He has also bitten himself, and he shows signs of sores on the shoulders and legs.

His only means of vocal expression, a kind of bark, is continuously and vigorously employed. He is said to betray certain instincts even lower than those of his alleged foster parents. He has a scar on the left side of the face, which local medical opinion believes to have been inflicted by a wolf, and this has had the effect of dragging the eye down to an unnatural expression.

The herdsmen who stated they discovered the child in a wolves' cave were examined by the police, who visited the cave and found evidences of the boy's footmarks there.

FREE LANCE.

By Bertha Sternhope.

Promotion of His Excellency.—Congratulations to His Excellency the Governor on his appointment to the Gold Coast as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of that Dependency which seems to be destined to be the place whence the real light of British West Africa will emanate. About six years ago, His Excellency was promoted from the Colonial Secretaryship of the Gold Coast to assume the reins of the Executive here, and now he is returning as its Governor. One may be permitted to say that His Excellency appears to be rather lucky. One may be permitted to say so, because it is almost a rare procedure for one to be appointed to a place where he was once Colonial Secretary, and this particularly so as far as British West Africa is concerned. It is true that only recently Sir Hugh Clifford was promoted from the Governorship of Nigeria to that of Ceylon where he was Colonial Secretary before his appointment to the Gold Coast as Governor. But Ceylon is not a neighbouring Colony to Nigeria, as the Gold Coast is to Sierra Leone; and, apart from this, Sir Hugh had been away from Ceylon for somewhat more than twelve years before his appointment thither as Governor, and he had not been there for any length of time before we learnt of his appointment to another sphere. It seems somewhat remarkable that the retired Governor of the Gold Coast, Sir Gordon Guggisberg had not even yet arrived in England ere our Governor was appointed to succeed him, and announcement officiary made of such appointment. The announcement of the appointment of a successor to a retired Governor used to be made at the expiration of the leave of the retiring Governor, whether on promotion or from the service. Hence, about six months or so used to intervene between the time of the final departure of a Governor from a Colony, and the time another assumed the reins of administration of that Colony. But in this case there has been a departure. May unbounded success await the administration of His Excellency on the Gold Coast.

Concrete Construction Age.—Slowly but surely, the City of Freetown is undergoing some transformation by means of which its physical aspect is destined to be improved in the not distant future. Amongst the innovations entailing such transformation, may be cited the construction of some private houses, Government offices and mercantile establishments with concrete blocks, in some instances, and in others, by concreting. Steadily, the age of building houses with planks and laterite stones is spending out itself. Those such as have already been constructed, and those that are under construction, are largely contributing to beautifying the cities in which they are, can be seen in that massive pile of buildings, the new Law Courts, at Westmoreland Street—in that building at Wilberforce Street, owned by Messrs. Paterson Zochonis, and Co., Ltd—a building which depicts a masterly portraiture of beauty in simplicity—the house of Messrs. the African and Eastern Trade Corporation, the City Hotel, La Reterada, the business premises of Messrs. P. Ratcliffe and Co., the Connaught Hospital, and some private houses here and there have all cast some shade of beauty to the sites in which they stand respectively. Whatever may be the disadvantages of block-buildings, the fact that they are in no way as inflammable as buildings, constructed with planks, either wholly or partially, gives them a superiority which is essentially desirable in a city whose fire brigade is of negligible quality. It is said that in consequence of the porousness of block, houses constructed with these materials are not much favourable to health. But such porosity may not be inherent in blocks, but may rather be the outcome of uneven distribution of their composite parts, in which case it may not be unpreventable. It is said that the forests of the world are about exhausted. This being so, the introduction of concreting here is somewhat fortunate. In this matter of world's forests exhaustion, the following quotation may not be uninteresting to many:

World's Forests About Exhausted.—"The British Imperial Forestry Conference has submitted a report shewing that the forests of the world are nearing exhaustion. Only twenty-seven per cent. of the virgin forests of Canada now remain standing. In the United States there is now left but twenty-five years supply, and that is located mostly in three States. Concrete construction did not come any too soon. Consideration is now being paid to the fact that on the river bottoms of Michegan rivers there are now probably seventy-five million feet of good timber which has lain there for a generation. It is believed that this can easily be recovered, but it belongs, theoretically, to many owners. Some of the Companies which cut this timber in the first place, and put their marks upon it, have long since ceased to exist."

FOURTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS.

The Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations of New York City, with the co-operation of many persons and organizations throughout the United States, is hereby calling a Fourth Pan-African Congress to meet in the City of New York, United States of America, August 21, 22, 23 and 24, 1927. The Circle and those who are united in this call believe:

1. That conference is the beginning of wisdom.
2. That the three Pan-African Congress of 1919. 1921, 1923, held in London, Paris, Brussels and Lisbon, were valuable steps in bringing together widely separated groups of men and women of Negro blood and their friends to consult on the present condition and the future of the black race and to achieve mutual understanding and acquaintanceship.
3. That such conferences—undertaken in no spirit of racial exclusiveness and with no thought of aggression upon the rights of others, but only with the earnest desire for light, freedom and self-expression for all men—are real steps for the social uplift of black folk; and that the day is far past when any man or group can speak for a people who are able and willing to speak for themselves.

Therefore the Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations invites you and your friends to be present at this Congress and to take part in it; and to induce as many others to attend as you may be able.

1. What is the meaning of the term Pan-African?

The adjective African needs no definition, the prefix "Pan" gives it the significance "All African."

2. What and where is Pan-Africa?

Pan-Africa is those parts of the world where the percentage of population of African descent is sufficiently large to cause a so-called "color" problem. Among the chief centres of this population are the Gold Coast, British West Africa, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Liberia, French Africa, Belgian Congo, Portuguese Africans in Lisbon, South Africa, Sudan, Abyssinia, the Islands of the Caribbean, British Guiana, Martinique, Guadaloupe, and the United States of America.

3. What is a Pan-African Congress?

A Pan-African Congress is a meeting of persons of Negro descent belonging to these widely scattered groups and citizens of different countries, for the purpose of fuller and more perfect acquaintance and understanding, as well as for the exposition and comparison of the many problems of race and social uplift which to-day confront these groups.

4. What is the necessity for a Pan-African discussion of the present status of the Negro?

The question of the status of the Negro in modern society is no longer a domestic problem of the United States, or a parochial problem of Jamaica, or a colonial policy problem. It is rather a great world wide problem to be viewed and considered as a whole, and the Congress particularly desires that the relations of the black and white races in various countries be considered to the end that greater harmony may ensue.

5. Is the Pan-African Congress a migratory, "back-to-Africa" movement?

No. The Pan-African Congress is not and never has been interested in a scheme of migration to Africa or elsewhere. It believes in the equality of men and races everywhere, but seeks to realize this through education, opportunity and period conferences.

6. Is the Pan-African Congress a political organization?

No. The Pan-African Congress has no political affiliation in any community. It aims to be an open forum of opinion and it has no connection, expressed or implied, with other organizations beyond its general object.

7. Is the idea of a Pan-African Congress something new?

No. As long ago as 1900, at the time of the Paris Exposition, a Pan-African Conference was held in London. Among the confreres were the Coienso family, T. J. Calloway, W. E. B. Du Bois, Coleridge-Taylor and Alexander Walters, the latter two now deceased. It was not until February 1919, however, that the dream of these men materialized in the holding of the first Pan-African Congress.

8. How many Pan-African Congresses have there been?

There have been three Pan-African Congresses, The first, held in Paris in 1919, was an outgrowth of the War; the second, held in 1921, had session in London, Brussels and Paris; and the third met in Lisbon in 1923.

9. What Negro groups have been represented at previous Congresses?

Chief among the Negro groups represented at the three previous Congresses are those in Abyssinia, Belgian Congo, Egypt, Algeria, French Africa, British Africa, England, San Domingo, Portuguese Colonies, Spanish Colonies, Liberia, France, Haiti, French West Indies, the United States of America, Nigeria, Gold Coast, Senegal, South Africa, British Guiana, Jamaica, Madagascar, Spain, Morocco, Portugal, India, Guadaloupe, Sierra Leone and Belgium.

10 Who are some of the people who have participated in previous Pan-African Congresses?

Blaise Diagne, Paul Panda and Isaac Beton of France, Ida Gibbs Hunt of France and the United States, Gratien Candace of Guadaloupe, John Alcindor of London, Kamba Simango of Portuguese East Africa, Chief Amoah III of the Gold Coast, Jose de Magalhaes of Lisbon, W. E. B. Du Bois, Jessie Fauset, Addie W. Hunton, John Hurst, R. R. Wright, Walter F. White, Channing H. Tobias, A. Wilberforce Williams of the United States.

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14. Who will be invited to the Fourth Pan-African Congress?

In addition to all groups of Negroes of African descent throughout the world, the leading organizations and cities of the United States will be asked to send representatives to the Congress.

15. What can I do to help further the Fourth Pan-African Congress?

I can seek to interest all whom I meet and induce them to give their moral and financial support to the effort of the Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations, which is sponsoring the Fourth Pan-African Congress.

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The Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations is an organization of American women who believe in the universality of the race problem. This year they have appointed a special committee to assemble the Fourth Pan-African Congress. This committee has its headquarters in Room 688 Bible House, 45, Astor Place, New York City, U.S.A., and will be glad to answer any inquiries.

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Graduation Day.

The Graduation ceremony at Fort Hare is now fixed for Wednesday, 18th May next when Dr. J. W Viljoen, M.A., Ph.D., as deputised by the University of South Africa, will officially confer the degrees of Arts on Messrs Alfred Ferreira of Pretoria, Thomas Carey of Ladysmith, Natal, and Samuel Oppelt of Malmesbury, who passed their examinations last December. This is the first occasion that the University of South Africa has officially appointed its deputy for this ceremony and the Fort Hare authorities are to be congratulated on the honour.

THE TRANSKEI COUNCIL.

The sessions of the Búnga at Umtata this year have been marked by events that have enhanced the reputation of all concerned in that august council. In the first place the dignity with which the Premier's Native Bills were debated provide a worthy example for imitation by many members of the House of Assembly itself. The so-called native unrest in the Territories which called forth the pantomimic exhibition of government aeroplanes was assessed at its proper value of relative unimportance by the councillors.

It must have been a matter of pride to the Natives to see one of their own esteemed clergymen, Councillor Rev. J. Manelle, given the honour to conduct the service at the foundation stone-laying of the new Búnga Hall which is to cost £22,000. All those interested in the upliftment of Native Education will receive with gratitude the news of the establishment of scholarships by the Búnga for the benefit of Transkei taxpayers at the Fort Hare University College. The motion was ably piloted by Cr. P. T. Xabanisa, supported by Cr. Mvinjelwa and by other members. It was this same Mr. Xabanisa who, along with the late Cr. Rev. Ben Mazwi, led this Council in 1907 to vote £10,000 to bring the Fort Hare College Scheme into realisation, and the thanks of all intelligent Africans to him are unbounded in that he has been spared to re-enter the council and make another remarkable contribution for the good of his people.

Among eminent visitors to the Búnga were Senator Dr. A. W. Roberts, Chief Inspector W. G. Bennie B.A., and the Administrator Mr. A. P. J. Fourie.

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It is now a foregone conclusion that the whole matter will be treated on strictly party divisions, as a select committee must from its very nature control all decisions by its majority in favour of the Government, regardless of the merits of the points of discussion.

The future of these momentous bills thus seems ominous as the weight of voting power must be loaded every time on the side of the Government. For that we shall wait and watch.

The Opposition was all out to give the Natives a fair chance to be personally represented in the proposed Commission, but the solitary member who stands for a purely Native constituency made a disappointingly retro-

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the Commission and thus se- cure of it the confidence of according to the press reports, "While he did not believe that the Prime Minister would consent to have a Native on the Commission, it would be possible to have a Sub-Commission of Natives which would travel round and advise
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Race Problem - 1927
Africa

BRITISH WEST AFRICA.

WEST AFRICAN ECHOES.

A Hundred Years Ago.

How great has been the change in British estimation of the value of the West African Colonies during the last hundred years is shown by the fact that in 1827 the Home Government took steps to withdraw from the Gold Coast. The whole colonial system of the time was thoroughly rotten. Commenting on the change of Ministry in September, 1827, when Lord Goderich succeeded to the Premiership on the death of Mr. Canning, "The Observer" (September 9, 1827) wrote:—"Mr. Huskisson (as Secretary of State for War and Colonies Department) enters upon an important office. The Colonies of England, as they have been hitherto managed, are millstones round the neck of the country. The system which considers each colony as a Government farm, upon which placemen may be turned out to pasture, has proved as ruinous to the colonies as it has been nefarious towards the Mother Country." No colonies suffered more from this system than the West African Possessions, to which no place-hunter would go who had sufficient influence to get an appointment elsewhere. It was probably at this time that the legend arose of the War Office map on which "*Rubbish May be Shot Here*" was said to be written across the West African Settlements. In his "Eighteen Years On the Gold Coast" Cruickshank gives a description of the Europeans on the Coast which seems to show that full advantage had been taken of the permission. He attributes the lack of European influence over the people to "the very low standard of morality among the Europeans. . . . They were, in general, ill-qualified to gain respect. Scenes of low debauchery were of very frequent occurrence, and the time of the Governor and Council appeared to have been principally occupied in attempting to keep them in order." He gives some amusing instances of their ignorance and illiteracy. A commandant of Komenda reported that his garrison was inefficient because "they were all sick, not from any acute distemporary disorder, but from old chronicle ones."

Wars With Ashanti.

Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century little attempt had been made to establish British authority. There were frequent bickerings with the people about debts and other trade matters, but, so far from claiming sovereignty, the representatives of the European Powers were content to pay rent for the ground on which the "forts" stood to the chiefs of the district or their overlords. Both parties were content to leave their relations undefined so as to have more liberty in bargaining. But in the opening years of the century a third party appeared upon the scene. The rising power of Ashanti began to push down to the coast in order to obtain free access to the ports and to trade directly with the Europeans without the intervention of the Fantis and other coast tribes, who claimed the right to act as middlemen and to prevent the contact. The Governor and Council at Cape Coast, who were the representatives of the Committee of Merchants of London, Bristol, and Liverpool which controlled the Settlements, involved themselves in the quarrel by feeble resistance to the Ashantis, alternately with fits of equally feeble subservience, by which they gained the enmity of the invaders, while losing the confidence of the coast tribes. The British Government was thereby involved in almost incessant trouble and expense for nearly twenty years. Governor Hope Smith's tortuous dealings with Ashanti brought the quarrel to a head. A treaty of trade and friendship, negotiated and signed on his behalf by his nephew, Bowdich, was repudiated on the return of the mission to the coast. A second treaty concluded by a Consul, commissioned by the King for the purpose, was also repudiated. The Settlements having, in the meantime, been taken over by the Crown, the nation found itself involved in a troublesome and lingering war, for the expense of which the value of such trade as existed after the abolition of the slave trade offered no prospect of compensation. To this was added the humiliation of a defeat when Sir Charles McCarthy was killed and his army destroyed at Nsamankow in 1824. During the two following years the Ashanti armies ravaged the country until they were defeated at Dodowa in August, 1826. Negotiations were then opened for making peace, and were continued throughout the year 1827 without any agreement being reached. The Home Government, having grown impatient at these delays, and considering that the prestige of the British name had been re-established by the victory of Dodowa, decided to abandon the possessions on the Gold Coast. A man-of-war was sent out to remove the merchants and their goods, and Major Ricketts, the officer in charge, was instructed to carry out the withdrawal and to destroy the forts.

The Opening of a New Era.

The merchants, however, had no desire to abandon their position. As Cruickshank says, they had counted the risks, and were prepared to face them in the hope of large profits. While they had suffered heavy losses through the disturbed state of the country they hoped that the peace now in sight would restore the trade and so enable them to recoup themselves. They not only declined to make use of the proffered means of withdrawal, but urged the Government to reconsider its decision. With the zealous support of Major Ricketts they persuaded the Government to adopt a middle course. Although adhering to its decision to give up direct participation in the administration of the Settlements it did not insist on evacuation but handed over the forts to the merchants, with control of their affairs by a committee of three London merchants engaged in the trade, instead of the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, to whom they were to render accounts of the expenditure of an annual grant of £4,000 and returns of the trade done. The London committee was free to select its own officers to conduct the administration on the spot. The British footing on the Gold Coast was thus retained, and by good judgment or fortune the committee appointed as their first representative Captain George Maclean, whose genius completely rehabilitated British prestige, established British authority, and negotiated a peace with Ashanti. Trade flourished, and the merchants and people prospered as long as his principles of administration were followed, but thirty years later the blunders of the officials who had succeeded the mercantile committee plunged the country into fresh disputes and troubles, which were only brought to an end in 1900. W. F. H.

THE SIERRA LEONE
WEEKLY NEWS
Saturday, August 6, 1927

RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL POLICY OF THE COLONY OF SIERRA LEONE.

AMALGAMATION SCHEME.

THE WEEDING-OFF OF POOR AND INEFFECTUAL SCHOOLS.

THE activities of the Director of Education in the re-organization of the Educational Policy of this Colony have been carried out with increasing interests and outstanding appreciation. Not only has he been busy with the re-organization of Elementary Education, but also with Secondary. One important feature in the plan of the Director is, that he has chosen to visit the people, some of them in their churches on Sundays, taking part in the service and afterwards addressing the congregation on the subject of his visit. There is no doubt that such a course will afford to his scheme one hundred per cent. more success than he might have, if he had remained in his official chair, content to circularize as was the vogue, those concerned with the working of the schools. The adoption of the long vacation by the Elementary Schools has proved its wisdom not only by saving the children from exposure to wet and cold in consequence of the very severe weather we have experienced during the month of July but also it has afforded teachers a relaxation and an opportunity of improving their stock of knowledge, which in the majority of cases is very limited and poor.

The question of the amalgamation of the schools however is the pivot on which the success of the whole project turns. It should be clearly understood that the whole project of the future financing of the schools by Government has been worked out on a definite basis of **Amalgamation.** If the scheme is to become a success, there is nothing for it than that the Director's proposals be given a chance, and that with the least possible delay, for time appears to be a principal element in the general success of the whole venture.

One consideration which we are not sure and Teachers of the Schools is that in view of the adoption of some of the proposals this year, it would create an awkward situation if the whole scheme is not developed so as to come into force with the new year. For it would appear to us that if the older regime is to be continued and the usual inspection is arranged for next year, many schools will stand the risk of losing grants because so many of the children would have failed to make the number of attendance required by the Education Rules.

Then there is also the need of enforcing the new rate of fees so that the school finance may not suffer by reason of the Long Vacation. The announcement which appeared a fortnight ago in one of our contemporaries about the closing of some secondary schools was to many as a bolt out of the blue. Last week, responsible statements were made by two of the Denominational Heads of the Schools concerned, that is to say the Collegiate School of the United Methodist Church and the Albert Academy of the United Brethren in Christ. Our minds have been greatly relieved by the letter of the Rev. H. H. THOMAS acting Superintendent of the United Brethren in Christ stating that there is no foundation in the rumour which was regrettably circulated for we join in giving assurance to the good and practical work the Albert Academy has done and is still doing in this Colony not only to youths of the Colony but in a greater degree to those in the Protectorate male and female. We have no difficulty in endorsing the statement of the acting Superintendent that that valuable Institution has endeavoured to afford a type of education that is very useful and helpful to the situation of this Colony. It is by no means in conflict with the policy pursued by other secondary schools and that in the long run such an education will make quite a creditable contribution to human welfare in this Colony. Unfortunately, it is the other way with the Collegiate School; the General Superintendent has confirmed the rumour; half way apologising and half way attempting to justify the inevitable closing up of the school. The career of this school has been during its brief span of existence one of feverish dramatic shocks.

We are afraid that the conception of starting the school was born in haste as the decision to close it appears also to be. In the judgment of many at the time, there were no justifiable grounds for the starting of another Methodist Secondary School as the Wesleyan Boys' High School appeared at the time to fulfil all that was required of the needs of Methodism. But perhaps the Denominational Authorities knew their own business better and so the start was made. The Rev. C. A. E. MACAULAY was appointed the first principal but not very long after he passed on to the Educational Department and began to function in the Inspectorate. After sixteen years Mr. MACAULAY in the

prospect of assuming the rôle of an Assistant Director of Education may perhaps have the solemn charge of confining the mortal remains of his first charge to its long sleep of oblivion by erasing the name out of the list of recognized Secondary Schools. But such is the way of life! That distinguished educationist Professor O. FADUMA was next invited to take charge of the school. Professor FADUMA went in with all the zest and enthusiasm his American connexion endowed him. He had succeeded in America and there was no reason why he should not pull up the latent resources of the school to noble and praiseworthy achievements.

But somehow or other the Professor did not last there and soon he found himself at the Government Model School where his talents were not given free opportunity and at last he had to seek for leave to return to America, but had to put up a fight, a thing he was not accustomed to, before he could be given the consideration he felt he was entitled to. Then came the Rev. JOHN BROWN NICHOLS who for a brief while acted as Principa Mr. NICHOLS health could not stand the strain and perhaps he was glad to get out of a situation in which he might have been thought, in some quarters to have been rather old fashioned. The Rev. ASAPANSA JOHNSON now took charge and to all appearances there were signs of progress in the public demonstrations which were staged annually though there were great disappointments that the school was never fortunate in its attempt at the Cambridge Examinations along with other schools. Now the General Superintendent has revealed a condition of the internal affairs of the school which will come as a surprise to many in the Community. Perhaps it is fortunate for the denomination that the prospect of Union with the other Methodist Churches is nigh at hand; but that could not justify the sudden closing of the school nor would even the amalgamated scheme, Mr. COCKER'S special pleading notwithstanding "give the rose a brighter colour."

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THE NATIVE PROBLEM IN AFRICA.

The Issue in Kenya.

By Norman Leys.

For several years the representatives of the European minorities in the six British Dependencies extending over 3,000 miles from Northern Rhodesia to Uganda have met in annual conference. Some of these minorities are very tiny, and the total population represented—men, women, and children, officials, missionaries merchants, shop hands, and planters—is less than 20,000. This conference met last month in Nairobi. In welcoming the delegates officially the Acting Governor of Kenya, Sir Edward Denham, said, as well he might, that past meetings of the conference had had an important influence over the course of events in Eastern Africa. Lord Delamere may be described as the leader of these conferences, in the absence of any more adequate term to express his importance in them. This year's conference is specially concerned with the proposal to federate the British East African Dependencies. Our Government has already appointed a Royal Commission to report on the subject and published the terms of reference. In his opening speech in the conference Lord Delamere is reported by the Nairobi press to have said:—

> To-day I believe that Kenya would be unwise to throw herself into the melting-pot of any scheme of federation unless her civilisation is safeguarded from the chance of being swamped by policies initiated from Downing Street and passed by the official majorities in States federated with her where the civilised populations have not yet secured the share in government which is the case in Kenya. It will be said that we are in the position to-day ourselves of being controlled by an official majority in our Legislature. That is the case, but it is infinitely more difficult for anyone in England to force a policy on Kenya standing alone and unanimous—because I think I can fairly say that our local government and officials and ourselves are in agreement on all main issues—than it would be to do the same thing where the agreement of the least articulate State in federation could be given as an excuse for using the official majority in the others. Everything is beautiful in the garden to-day. The atmosphere in which we work with our rulers in England is almost idyllic, thanks to many wise people there who have grasped the facts. But it is not so very long ago that we nearly lost the Constitution which we had laboured for for years, and it is surely excusable that we should say that we are determined to have definite safeguards against any return to a more bureaucratic form of government.
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"Beneficial Measures."

These sentences are only extracts from Lord Delamere's speech, and in fairness it should be added that he also laid great stress on the measures beneficial to the natives that the Europeans would carry out once they had an elected majority. He gave no indication of what these measures would be, nor any explanation of why so sympathetic an official majority should not have already carried them out. An examination of the resolutions passed by the conference in former years shows that it has advocated the grant to natives of the following benefits. Improved medical services in the reserves are advocated, suggesting what there is no evidence to support, that natives are healthier on the plantations than at home. Native education, it is urged, should be more suitable to Africans' place in society and less "literary." And the rendering of the lands remaining in native occupation secure is advocated by the transfer of their ownership and control from the Crown to boards of trustees consisting of representatives of the resident Europeans, which "benefit" the Government is at present engaged in carrying out. The conference has also succeeded in persuading the Government of Kenya to prohibit the growing by natives on land of their own the most profitable of the plantation products—namely, coffee—and in persuading the Government of Tanganyika to "discourage" it near the plantations, on the pretended ground that natives would allow coffee diseases to run riot.

The phrase about nearly losing the Constitution is an allusion to the time when the Europeans of Kenya threatened rebellion, as one of their "commandants" recently boasted in your columns, rather than allow educated Indians the vote on the same terms as themselves, as, five years ago, the Coalition Government, then in office, directed the Government of Kenya to effect. Last month the royal assent was given to a conscription ordinance from which a clause which the bill had contained requiring from conscripts an oath of allegiance has been deleted. This ordinance arms and trains the whole European male population, while neither Africans nor Asiatics are allowed to possess rifles.

It will be observed that Lord Delamere anticipates with the utmost confidence that the Commission will report in accordance with his wishes. His confidence is no doubt justified. One of the terms of reference of the Commission runs thus: "To make recommendations in regard to possible changes in the powers and composition of the various Legislative Councils of the several territories . . . so as to associate more closely in the responsibilities and trusteeship of government the immigrant communities domiciled in the country." These fine words Lord Delamere translates into "an elected European majority." The last British Government appointed a Commission to inquire into East African affairs. It was composed of equal numbers of the representatives of the three great parties in the State. When the present Government came into office it first suspended and then dissolved the Commission. The one just appointed is composed of two known advocates of the Delamere policy and two ex-officials. It is all quite simple. When the Government invites no member of the Opposition to join the Commission, and in its terms of reference decides in advance the chief question it is to inquire into, Lord Delamere may well say that "on all main issues" the authorities are in agreement with him.

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There are only two honourable alternatives before the Government. It could announce, as one of its predecessors did in the case of Natal, that race or colour should debar no man from any lawful right or privilege. The other alternative is to appoint a Commission equally representative of all parties and views, with terms of reference that would leave it free to report impartially on the whole problem of our country's policy in East Africa after the fullest investigation of all the relevant facts.

Race Problem - 1927

Pan-African Congress.

Africa

NEGRO CONGRESS TO MEET HERE

Fourth Pan-African Meeting Will Have Delegates From Several Countries—Problems of The Dark Continent to Be Discussed

TO the fourth Pan-African Congress meeting in New York Aug. 21 to 24, will come representatives of the negro populations of the Gold Coast, British West Africa, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, French Africa, Belgian Congo, Guadaloupe and the United States. This conference is not to mark a recrudescence of the now defunct "Back to Africa Movement," originated by Marcus Garvey, the self-styled Provisional President of All the Africas. Instead it aims to develop an international sentiment on the negro's problems by exposing them fully to view. It will meet unostentatiously in the negro churches of Harlem, with hardly more than one hundred delegates.

The congress represents the Pan African movement, which is intended to reinforce the efforts of negroes to improve their conditions in their present homes. Its effort is to draw the negro's problems and interests in all parts of the world into a common cause so that they may be faced with a united front. One of the announcements issued by the Committee on Foreign Policy of the Fourth Pan-African Congress reads:

"The question of the status of the negro in modern society is no longer a domestic problem of the United States, or a parochial problem of Jamaica, or a colonial policy problem. It is rather a great world-wide problem to be viewed and considered as a whole, and the congress particularly desires that the relations of the black and white races in various countries be considered to the end that greater harmony may ensue."

How the Race Is Faring.

The program arranged, while dealing mostly with Africa, begins with descriptions by the delegates of conditions existing at present in various countries. Opportunity will be provided to question the speakers and debate the points raised. The other topics included are: African missions, education in Africa, art and literature in Africa, the political partition of Africa, the history of Africa, the slave trade and the dispersed children of Africa, the economic development of Africa and its importance in the world and the future of Africa.

The congress centres in the personality of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, editor of Crisis and the leading protagonist of liberal opinion among negroes. The idea of the congress came into being in 1900, at the time of the Paris Expositon, when a Pan-African conference was held in London. Coleridge Taylor, the negro musical composer, of London; Dr. Du Bois, the Colenso family, Alexander Walters and T. J. Colloway were among the participants. But it took almost a score of years for the idea germinated at this conference to come to fruition.

Just after the World War, when the political atmosphere was charged with the doctrines of self-government, the negro manifested unrest. His demands for a greater degree of participation in economic and political life were let loose in the midst of acclamation of President Wilson's Fourteen Points. Out of this general political confusion and racial unrest issued the first Pan-African Congress, which met in Paris in February, 1919.

Since then there have been the second and third Pan-African congresses. The second, that of 1921 met in London, Brussels and Paris the third met in Lisbon in 1923.

A Voice in Their Government.

The first congress laid down its fundamental objective when it resolved that, "Wherever persons of African descent are civilized and able to meet the tests of surrounding culture they shall be accorded the same rights as their fellow citizens; they shall not be denied on account of race or color a voice in their own government, justice before the courts and economic and social equality according to ability and desert." For the natives of Africa it advocated participation in their "government as fast as their development permits, in conformity with the principle that Government exists for the natives, and not the natives for the Government."

The methods sanctioned by the congress for the realization of its ideals were solely moral suasion and the arousing of international public opinion. Its recommendation to the Peace Conference read:

"Whenever it is proved that African natives are not receiving just treatment at the hands of any State or that any State deliberately excludes its civilized citizens or subjects of negro descent from its body politic and cultural, it shall be the duty of the League of Nations to bring the matter to the attention of the civilized world."

The Negro's Eight Points.

The second Pan-African Congress petitioned the League of Nations to set aside a section in the International Bureau of Labor to deal with the conditions and needs of native labor, especially in Africa. The labor problems of the world, it asserted, could never be solved so long as colored labor "is enslaved and neglected," and it urged a thorough investigation.

The third Pan-African Congress took up the needs of the race as a whole. It urged the League to "appoint direct diplomatic representatives in the mandated territories with duties to investigate and report conditions," and to appoint representatives of the negro race on the Mandates Commission and in the International Labor Bureau. The Executive Committee, as well, formulated at that time the following needs of its people:

1. A voice in their own government.
2. The right of access to the land and its resources.
3. Trial by juries of their peers under established forms of law.
4. Free elementary education for all; broad training in modern industrial technique, and higher training of selected talent.
5. The development of Africa for the benefit of Africans, and not merely for the profit of Europeans.
6. The abolition of the slave trade and of the liquor traffic.
7. World disarmament, and the abolition of war; but failing this, and as long as white folk bear arms against black folk, the right of blacks to bear arms in their own defense.
8. The organization of commerce and industry so as to make the main objects of capital and labor the welfare of the many, rather than the enriching of the few.

These were proclaimed as the eight 'irreducible needs of our people."

Its Policy Peaceful.

The Congress has never sought to expropriate whites now in Africa, nor to engender feeling prejudicial to what has been conceded as the white man's portion in Africa. This absence of inflammatory racialism has earned for it much approbation.

Some of the leading delegates to the congress are expected to be Chief Amoah III of the Gold Coast, British West Africa; L. C. Delmonte, Deputy from Martinique; Lamin Senghor President of the Committee for the Defense of the Negro Race, Paris; Dantes Bellegarde, Port au Prince, Haiti, and Georges Sylvain, a young Haitian physician.

N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE

AUG 24 1927

Discuss Caribbean Islands

Pan-African Congress Also Hears Talk on Gold Coast

A discussion of conditions in the Caribbean Islands occupied the morning session of the third day of the Pan-African Congress yesterday at the Grace Congregational Church, 308 West 139th Street. The speakers included Professor H. H. Phillips, of the Cheney Normal School, and Dr. E. Luther Brooks, of Clark University.

About 150 persons attended the session, the low attendance being ascribed to the Negro Elks' parade, which drew enormous crowds in Harlem yesterday.

At the afternoon session W. Tzmansa, a trader along the African Gold Coast, urged business co-operation as the greatest need of the towns along the coast. Professor Leo Williams Hansbury, of Howard University, also spoke Dr. W. E. Burghardt DuBois presided. The congress will close to-day.

BRONX HOME NEWS

AUG 27 1927

Pan-African Convention Opens in Harlem Church

Delegates from all over the world were present yesterday at the opening of the four-day session of the Fourth Pan-African Congress under the auspices of the Circle of Peace and Foreign Relations, an organization of New York colored women, in St. Mark's M. E. Church, 550 St. Nicholas Ave.

A letter from Gov. Smith was read in which he expressed sympathy with the purpose of the Pan-African Congress. Mayor Walker also sent a letter in which he said that he "felt the people of New York City would be thoroughly in sympathy with the purposes and objects of the congress."

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois presided over the meeting after he was introduced by Mrs. Addie W. Hunton, president of the circle. He told of earlier efforts in different parts of the world to organize and laid emphasis on the many millions of colored people scattered throughout the world.

At the opening of the convention the circle had 150 paid memberships.

N. Y. TIMES

AUG 25 1927

NEGRO CONGRESS ENDS.

Educational Needs Discussed at Pan-African Meeting.

The Pan-African Congress held its last-day sessions yesterday at the Grace Congregational Church, 308 West 139th Street. The congress was held under the auspices of the Circle for Peace in Foreign Affairs, an organization of negro women.

Robert W. Bagnall, director of agencies for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was the only speaker. He told of the inadequate opportunities offered to the negro for education in the United States, especially in the South. W. E. C. Dubois, Executive Secretary of the council, presided.

At the afternoon session a resolution outlining several "legitimate aims and needs of the people of negro descent" was adopted. Professor H. H. Phillips of the Cheney Normal School, Cheney, Pa., and Professor Rayford W. Logan, head of the Department of Modern Languages at Virginia Union University, were the speakers in the afternoon.

The final session of the congress was held last night in the Abyssinian Baptist Church, 138th Street east of Seventh Avenue. The speakers included the Rev. William Mensching of Germany, Arthur Schomberg, collector of negro art and literature, and Eugene Hinckle-Jones, Executive Secretary of the Urban League.

FOURTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS IN NEW YORK

(By Frances E. Lewis)

The 4th Pan-African Congress held in New York Aug. 21-24, 1927 has continued the work of the previous Congress and has appointed a committee to call the Fifth Congress and to formulate plans for a permanent organization. Delegates from 42 states, various parts of Africa and the West Indies participated in the Congress, the Chairman of which was Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois.

The opening meeting at Grace Congregational had for the principal speaker Monsieur Bellegarde of Port au Prince, Hayti, whose address al-

though in a language unknown to most of his hearers was a master-piece of eloquence and its translation by Prof. Rayford Logan added greatly to its effect. Dantes Bellegarde is a member of the League of Nations and a Commander of the French Legion of Honour. He plead for aid to Hayti in shaking off the American domination and showed that the downfall of that Republic would prove to the world that the Negro was incapable of self-government. Nana Amoah III a chief from the Gold Coast of West Africa who made the largest single contribution to the conference spoke in English. In native costume, flowing robe and turban and sword symbolic of his election by various tribes it was wonderful to hear him in perfect English ask the American Negroes to send scientific men to Africa to assist the Africans in developing their own resources and to secure some measure of relief from European domination.

Rep. T. A. Toote of Massauae, Bahamas, representing San Salvador, where Columbus first landed in the Bahamas House of Association who has been twice Attorney General, Bishop Barrows of Barbadoes and Adolphe Sixto of the Virgin Islands voiced the difficulties under which the Negroes live in the Caribbean Isles.

Thorgie Sie of Siberia and H. K. Robkit of India and Wm. Perkins, who spoke on the Brussels Conference of Oppressed Races brought out the facts that most of our ills are economic.

The second day session was enlivened by Dr. Du Bois's explanation of the various charts and maps on various phases of Negro life. These represented a vast amount of work and showed the false propaganda about the Negro which is skilfully molding public opinion against us.

Two facts about Africa brought out much discussion—that the Mohammedan religion is outstripping Christianity and that all education is controlled by missions and governments in their own interests. This brought out two points of view—one by Richard H. Moore who desired constructive features that would inspire action and the other by Rev. J. W. Robinson who wished for investigation of all births whether distasteful or otherwise. Mrs. Helen Curtis, widow of a former minister to Liberia, addressed the audience on the necessity of supporting missions had with her two bright African children whom she plans to educate for service among their own people.

Tete-Ansa, native of Africa, favored peaceful adjustment of the difficulties with which the Africans are confronted; and in turn was scored as a pacifist.

The discussion brought out two trains of thought—One speaker wanted more intense purpose in the Resolutions and Rev. Walker of Cleveland who wanted an endorsement of the Garvey movement. Both of which amendments were voted down.

The closing exercises in the Abyssinian Church were largely attended and Mr. Vandecook's address on "What the White Man Does Not Know About African Customs" was instructive and interesting.

The resolutions recommended the withdrawal from Hayti of all military force, reversal of the Herzog government toward the Negroes in British South Africa, restoration of land ownership in the Belgian Congo, continued independence in Abyssinia, curbing of slave driving concessionaires in Portuguese colonies, urging Negroes in the U. S. to work for more political power, were adopted.

The Circle of Peace and Foreign Relations raised about $2,500 for the expense of Congress and with thanks for their efforts the Fourth Pan-African Congress adjourned.

4TH PAN-AFRICAN MEET ON

World-Wide Reform Sought By Body Composed of Delegates From Many Countries

Special To The St. Louis Argus.

NEW YORK, Aug. 17. — To the fourth Pan-African Congress meeting in New York Aug. 21 to 24, will come representatives of the Negro populations of the Gold Coast, British West Africa, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, French Africa, Belgian Congo, Guadeloupe and the United States. This conference is not to mark a recrudescence of the now defunct "Back to Africa Movement," originated by Marcus Garvey, the self styled Provisional President of All the Africas. Instead, it aims to develop an international sentiment on the Negroe's problems by exposing them fully to view. It will meet unostentatiously in the churches of Harlem, with hardly more than one hundred delegates.

Aims At World Wide Reform.

The congress represents the Pan African movement, which is intended to reinforce the efforts of Negroes to improve their conditions in their present homes. Its efforts is to draw the Race's problems and interests in all parts of the world into a common cause so that they may be faced with a united front. One of the announcements issued by the Committee on Foreign Policy of the Fourth Pan-African Congress reads: "The question of the status of the Negro in modern society is no longer a domestic problem of the United States, or a parochial problem of Jamaica, or a colonial policy problem. It is rather a great world-wide problem to be viewed and considered as a whole, and the congress particularly desires that the relations of the black and white races in various countries be considered to the end that greater harmony may ensue."

How the Race Is Faring.

The program arranged, while dealing mostly with Africa, begins with descriptions by the delegates of conditions existing at present in various countries. Opportunity will be provided to question the speakers and debate the points raised. The other topics included are: African missions, education in Africa, art and literarture in Africa, the political partition of Africa, the history of Africa, the slave trade and the dispersed children of Africa the economic development of Africa and its importance in the world and the future of Africa.

The congress centres in the personality of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois editor of Crisis and the leading Arotagonist of liberal opinion among Negroes. The idea of the congress came into being in 1900 at the time of the Paris Exposition, when a Pan-African conference was held in London. Coleridge Taylor, the musical composer, of London; Dr. Du Bois, the Colenso family, Alexander Walters and T. J. Colloway were among the participants. But it took almost a score of years for the idea germinated at this conference to come to fruition.

Just after the World War, when the political atmosphere was charged with the doctrines of self- government, the Negro manifested unrest. His demands for a greater degree of participation in economic and political life were let loose in the midst of acclamation of President Wilson's Fourteen Points. Out of this general political confusion and racial unrest issued the first Pan-African Congress, which met in Paris in February, 1919.

Since then there have been the second and third Pan-African congresses. The second, that of 1921, met in London, Brussels and Paris; the third met in Lisbon in 1923.

A Voice in Their Government.

The first congress laid down its fundamental objective when it resolved that, "Wherever persons of African descent are civilized and able to meet the tests of surrounding culture they shall be accorded the same rights as their fellow citizens; they shall not be denied on account of race or color a voice in their own government, justice before the courts and economic and social equality according to ability and desert." For the natives of Africa it advocated participation in their "government as fast as their development permits, in conformity with the principle that Government exists for the natives and not the natives for the Government."

The methods sanctioned by the congress for the realization of its ideals were solely moral suasion and the arousing of international public opinion. Its recommendation to the Peace Conference read:

"Whenever it is proved that African natives are not receiving just treatment at the hands of any State or that any State deliberately excludes its civilized citizens or subjects of Negro descent from its body politic and cultural, it shall be the duty of the League of Nations to bring the matter to the attention of the civilized world."

The Negroe's Eight Points.

The second Pan-African Congress petitioned the League of Nations to set aside a section in the International Bureau of Labor to deal with the conditions and needs of native labor, especially in Africa. The labor problems of the world, it asserted, could never be solved so long as colored labor "is enslaved and neglected" and it urged a thorough investigation.

The third Pan-African Congress took up the needs of the race as a whole. It urged the League to "appoint direct diplomatic representatives in the mandated territories with duties to investigate and report conditions," and to appoint represenatives of the Negro Race on the Mandates Commission and in the International Labor Bureau. The Executive Committee, as well, formulated at that time the following needs f its people:

1. A voice in their own government.
2. The right of access to the land and its resources.
3. Trial by juries of their peers under established forms of law.
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5. The development of Africa for the benefit of Africans, and not merely for the profit of Europeans.
6. The abolition of the slave trade and of the liquor traffic.

AFRICA LAUDED TO NEGROES

Harlem Convention Is Told That It Was the Cradle of Mankind.

The Fourth Pan-African Congress now in session in Harlem, heard a discussion of the economic conditions in the Caribbean Islands at its meeting yesterday morning in the Grace Congregational Church, 308 West 139th Street, while the afternoon gathering in the Beth Ephillah Fourth African Church, 124 West 136th Street considered the history and future of Africa.

Professor H. H. Phillips of the Department of African History at Cheney Normal School, Cheney, Pa., and Professor of Physics E. Luther Brooks of Clark University, Atlanta, Ga., were the speakers at the morning session. Professor Phillips, a native of the Granada Islands, told of conditions there while Professor Brooks discussed the economic situation of Jamaica.

In the afternoon meeting Professor Leo Williams Hansbury, a graduate of Harvard and authority on African civilization, connected with Howard University, Washington, D. C., argued that Africa rather than Asia was the cradle of the human race. Since paleontological discoveries in Africa in 1910, Professor Hansbury said that the only prominent scientist to cling to the Asiatic heory was Dr. Henry Fairfield Osborn.

An organ recital was given at the Salem Methodist Episcopal Church last night and a meeting this afternoon.

THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

NEW YORK CITY IS THE MECCA OF the darker races from all over the world this week, attending the sessions of the fourth Pan-African Congress.

The delegates converge from all points of the compass to not only discuss the status of the darker races, but to outline a fixed program designed to gain for them equal rights and opportunities the world over.

It is meet and fitting that these sessions be held in America where the American Negro, "the man farthest down" of the entire group has made greater progress in spite of all of his handicaps than any of the other groups represented.

Our globe trotters report that in all of their travels throughout the world, of oppressed peoples, the American Negro leads in attainments political, educational and commercial.

Race Problem - 1927

Pan-African Congress.

Africa

N.Y. TIMES

AUG 14 1927

NEGRO CONGRESS TO MEET HERE

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5. The development of Africa for the benefit of Africans, and not merely for the profit of Europeans.
6. The abolition of the slave trade and of the liquor traffic.
7. World disarmament and the abolition of war; but failing this, and as long as white folk bear arms against black folk, the right of blacks to bear arms in their own defense.
8. The organization of commerce and industry so as to make the main objects of capital and labor the welfare of the many, rather than the enriching of the few.

These were proclaimed as the eight irreducible needs of our people."

Its Policy Peaceful.

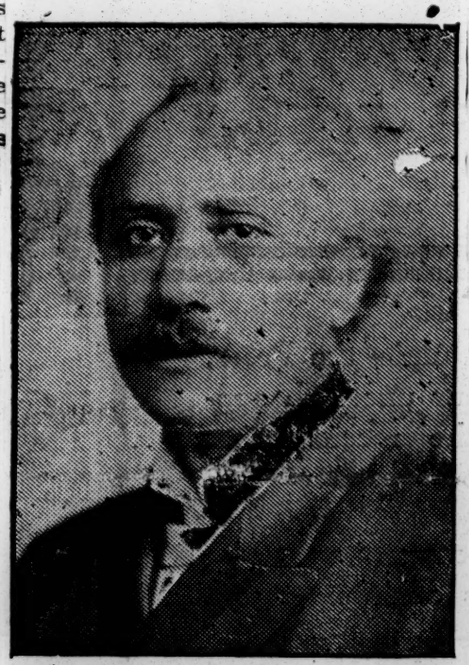
The Congress has never sought to expropriate whites now in Africa, nor to engender feeling prejudicial to what has been conceded as the white man's portion in Africa. This absence of inflammatory racialism has earned for it much approbation.

Some of the leading delegates to the congress are expected to be Chief Amoah III of the Gold Coast, British West Africa; L. C. Delmonte, Deputy from Martinique; Lamin Senghor President of the Committee for the Defense of the Negro Race, Paris; Dantes Bellegarde, Port au Prince, Haiti, and Georges Sylvain, a young Haitian physician.

AFRO-UNITY URGED

LARGE CONVENTION IN NEW YORK DEALS CHIEFLY WITH AFRICA'S HISTORY AND PRESENT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS — OPPRESSION IN HAITI AND WEST INDIES DWELT MUCH UPON—EARNESTNESS & UNITY DOE DUMAS SHOWN—W. E. DuBOIS PRESIDES AND DIRECTS SESSIONS—ALL PARTS OF U. S. AND SEVERAL COUNTRIES REPRESENTED—STRESS PUT UPON HISTORY OF RACE IN SCHOOLS

New York, N. Y., Aug. 25, 1927:—The Fourth Pan-African Congress, a constructive movement for the social, economical, educational and political development of the Afric peoples of the world, held its session in New York from August 21st to 24th, and brought here representative leaders from many sections of the country, and several foreign countries. The Congress meeting for the first time in America, concentrated on working out a program that will make for the economic betterment of Africa, as well as to call attention to the remarkable bckground of Africa, and its ocntribution to world history. Every phase of the African question was discussed and brought to the attention of the Congress, and charts were exhibited showing the strategic position of Africa as it relates to the sociological relationship of the black peoples of the world.



BISHOP REVERDY C. RANSOM
Who moved that Pan-African Congress be made an organization and permanent.

Haitian Delegate Speaks

Haiti came in for a great deal of discussion at the Congress, and M. Dantes Bellegarde, a distinguished Haitian, who represented Haiti at the League of Nations, made a plea for that country, and scored the American occupation for the policy it has persued in Haiti, and said that the American people had lost prestige in that country. Monsieur Bellegrade is one of the most picturesque delegates at the convention.

Chief Amoah of Africa

Another prominent delegate is Chief Amoah, the third, from the Gold Coast, who has brought to the attention of the Congress the exact status of Africa, and has interpreted the African philosopsy as it relates to customs and habits. There were 155 delegates representing leadership of the race both in America, and in other countries at the Congress, and the sessions were largely attended. Keen interest was shown in the program outlined by the Congress for a better knowledge and understanding of the darker peoples of the world.

DuBois In Charge

Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, editor of the Crisis, and who has been foremost in the Pan-African movement, has been the general director of the Congress, and has brought to its attention vital problems affecting the race in Africa Haiti, the West Indies, and America The addresses of Dr. Dubois have been one of the features of the Congress, in which he has urged a closer study of the problems affecting Afros throughout the world.

Congress Opens

The headquarters of the Congress was at the Grace Congregational Church where the morning and afternoon sessions were held. The Congress was sponsored by the Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations of which Mrs. A. W. Hunton is President. The opening session of the Congress was held at the St. Mark's M. E. Church, where a large gathering was present Sunday night. Mrs. Hunton told of the efforts of the Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations to have the Congress come to America for its fourth session ,and earnestness with which it worked to bring it back. Dr. DuBois was presented as chairman.

4th Pan-African Congress Ends, Issues Manifesto

Americans Urged To Use Ballot And Quit Working For Minor Jobs

NEW YORK (The Fourth Pan-African Congress, ending its session here Wednesday night published a manifesto in the name of its delegates "from twenty American states from nearly all the West Indies, from Germany Japan, India, South America, Africa and South Africa."

The manifesto states the following main demands of Negroes throughout the world:

1. A voice in their own government.
2. Native rights to the land and its natural resources.
3. Modern education for all children.
4. The development of Africa for the Africans and not merely for the profit of Europeans.
5. The re-organization of commerce and industry so as to make the welfare of the many rather than the enriching of the few.
6. The treatment of the white man as civilized men despite differences of birth, race or color.

Withdraw From Haiti

The manifesto further demands the withdrawal of American armed forces from the black Republic of Haiti and the restoration of self-government there; condemns the attempt of white South Africans to monopolize the land belonging to the black natives; and after touching on African conditions says of conditions in America:

"We believe that the Negroes of the United States should begin the effective use of their political power and that instead of working for a few minor offices or for merely local favors and concessions, they should vote with their eyes fixed upon the international problems of the color line and the national problems which affect the Negro race in the United States."

Trade Unions

The following manifesto urges the entrance of Negroes into trade unions in this country and says:

"We urge the white workers of the world to realize that no program of labor uplift can be successfully carried through in Europe or America so long as colored labor is exploited and enslaved and deprived, of all political power."

South America

On international affairs the Pan-such session. The international com-mittee chosen to plan the Fifth Pan-African Congress was also going to work out a permanent international organization", said Dr. DuBois.

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Two members of the staff of the National Association for the Ad-vancement of Colored Peoplet Robert Bagnall, Director of Branches and Publicity, whose membership in-cludes W. E. B. DuBois, Mrs. Addie and William Pickens, Field Secre-tary, served as regular delegates to the Congress. An international com-mittee has been chosen to plan the next session of the Congress two years hence.

Largest Congress

Commenting upon the session just ended Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, founder of the movement said: "The Fourth Congress with its upwards of 200 delegates was the largest in the series and that it had received the largest amount of carefully catalogued in-formation concerning the peoples of African descent presented to any session. The international com-mittee chosen to plan the Fifth Pan-African Congress was also going to work out a permanent international organization", said Dr. DuBois.

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He gave a history of the Pan-African movement, and told of its aims and objects.

West Indies Conspicuous

He said at the first Congress in Paris, there were 57 persons present, representing 12 different countries. At the second Congress in London 110 delegates from 31 different countries and the third in Lisbon, 25 delegates from 10 different countries. Greetings were brought to the Congress by Chief Amoah, the third, representing Africa; Hon. T. Augustus Toote, a member of the legislature of Bahamas, who represented that Island; Bishop R. G. Barrow of Brooklyn who spoke for Barbadoes; H. E. Rahkit for the East Indies, M. Dantes Bellegarde of Haiti, and Hon. Adolph Sixto representing the Virgin Islands. Monsieur Bellegarde through the official interpreter of the Congress, Prof. Rayford Logan, made a fervent and affective plea for a better understanding of the Haitian peoples. Dr. William Pickens brought a report from the Brussels conference.

On Africa

The session on Monday morning had to do with a discussion on African missions and the work for the evangelization of Africa by missionaries. Dr. Dubois gave an exposition of conditions in Africa in which he told of the traits, customs, traditions, and habits of the people. Mrs. Coralie Franklin Cooke of Washington, D. C. opened the discussion. At the afternoon session the discussion continued on African misions.

Mrs. Helen Curtis, widow of the former Minister to Liberia, the late James L. Curtis, told of the work that she was doing in Africa for the training of the children. She urged a better support of the missionaries who go to Africa, and praised the work of the missionaries as being one of the most important in its development. Mrs. A. P. Camphor, wife of the late Bishop Camphor of Liberia, told of the mission work that was being done by the M. E. Church, and Mrs. A. W. Dickerson told of the work that the Baptist church was doing.

At the close of the afternoon session a public reception was tendered the delegates at the Y. W. C. A., where the American delegates had an opportunity to meet the foreign delegates and to give them their first hospitality of the American people. Addresses of greetings were made to the delegates.

Monday Night

The evening session on Monday was held at the St. James Presbyterian Church. A large audience was present. The discussion centered on the History of Africa. Dr. Charles H. Wesley, of Howard University told of the historical and cultural background of Africa. He said, "No peoples or nation has ever played a great part unless it was aware of its background," said that we should know more about the history of Africa, that the knowledge spread about Africa, which has given an erroneous impression, was due to missionaries and imperialists. Monsieur Dantes Bellegarde of Haiti, former Minister to France from Haiti, told of the existence of slavery in Haiti prior to the Independence of the Country in 1804. He scored the peonage system in America, and said that such conditions should end. Prof. Melville Herskovits spoke on the "American Negro and his Half Brother." He pointed out the development of the former into a distinct type, which made his background and culture different from that of the African.

Oppression in West Indies

At the session on Tuesday morning Dr. Dubois gave an exposition of conditions in the Caribbean Islands. He gave the historical background of the West Indies, and told of its struggles through various periods of its history. Prof. Hudson Philips of Cheney Institute said that the educational system in the West Indies must be changed for the best development of the peoples. He told of the situation as it faced the Island of Granada, and said such conditions were typical of the West Indies. Others who spoke were Eugene Corbie who told of conditions in Trinidad, and Mr. Brooks who spoke of the Jamacian situation.

Attacks American Occupation in Haiti

Monsieur Bellegarde of Haiti speaking in the discussion bitterly scored and condemned the American Occupation in Haiti. "The American occupation has destroyed the confidence and respect that the Haitians formerly held for Americans, and it has destroyed the American prestige.' Bellegarde told of the atrocities that the American practice upon the Haitians, and said that they are taken advantage of in every way. He said that the Haitians are not allowed to carry guns and this has put them to a disadvantage. He told of the need of a better educational system for Haiti, and said that if the Colored American does not take a greater interest in the Haitians and come to their rescue they are being faced with extermination. He told of the history of the Haitian republic, and said that it was a glorious one, according to Haitian history that President Borno is not legally the President of Haiti.

Committee on Permanent Organization

The afternoon session on Tuesday was held at the Fourth Moravian Church. The discussion had to do with addresses on "The future of Africa, and the History of Africa." The speakers were W. Tete, and Prof. Lee Williams Hansbury. The meeting was followed by a visit to the W. 135th Street Public Library to see the African exhibit and the Schomburg collection which is the largest collection on the Afro in the country. The evening session was held at Salem M. E. Church when addresses on The Economic development of Africa were made by Chief Amoah the III., of the Gold Coast, and Prof. Leslie Pinkney Hill. Chief Amoah asked the race here to be loyal to the U. S. A. but to be united everywhere, not forgetting its identity. A committee was created by motion of Rev. R. C. Ransom on permanent organization.

Africa to the End

The session on Wednesday morning began with an exposition of Conditions in Europe, and the United States and Possessions. The leaders in the discussion were Hon. J. F. Jenkins, and Rev. George F. Miller. In the afternoon The Political Partition of Africa was discussed with addresses by Dr. Y. Hikado, Prof. Hudson H. Phillips, and Prof. Rayford Logan.

The closing of the session of the Congress was held at Abysinnia Baptist Church. An address on Education in Africa was made by Dr. Wilhelm Mensching, and Art and Literature by John Vandercock, and Arthur Schomburg.

At the afternoon session the resolutions, framed by Dr. Dubois, were read and referred to a Committee of Five for final action. An effort was made by Rev. A. O. Walker of Cleveland, Ohio, to put in a plank for a request that Pres. Coolidge pardon Marcus Garvey, the martyr.

Headquarters Features

The headquarters took out an international aspect. Flags from most of the countries of the world were exhibited in which live large numbers of black peoples. The number who live in various countries of the world were given through maps and charts, as well as other charts showing the progress made in education, religion, business, industry and in other fields of endeavor. The exhibit in this direction has been one of the educational features of the Congress.

All of the meetings have been marked for their harmony and unity in aim. The general impression has prevailed at the Congress that there ought to be a closer bond of sympathy between the darker peoples of the world. The congress will go a long ways towards giving the international aspect to the problems of the Afro peoples of the world.

It is absolute folly to talk about getting European powers out of Africa, and even if they were to give up their possessions the American Afro could do but little to improve materially the condition of the natives, was the text enlarged upon Wednesday afternoon by Prof. Rayford M. Logan, head of the Department of Languages at Virginia Union University, Richmond, speaking at the last session of the fourth Pan-African Congress, which came to a close at Grace Congressional Church, 139th Street, near Eighth Avenue.

Prof. Logan expressed the belief that the best interests of Africa in the immediate future lie in the development of the country by European powers with as little exploitation as possible. His sentiments seemed to meet with the majority of his large audience.

It was pointed out that in 1875 European powers occupied less than one-tenth of Africa. A few years later King Leopold of Belgium suggested a partition of the country, but Great Britain, France and other countries were unable to reach an agreement. In 1878 Great Britain took over some more African territory, and was followed by France, Belgium and Portugal. Germany and Italy did not go into the Dark Continent until later.

The Congress was largely attended from out of town. Members of the Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations, under whose auspices the meeting was held, collected $2,500 to defray expenses.

Resolutions outlining the "legitimate aims and needs of people of Negro descent" were unanimously passed. The demands which included voice in government native rights to land and natural resources, development of Africa for Africans and not merely for the profit of Europeans; reorganization of commerce and industry to make the chief object of capital and labor the welfare of the many rather than the enriching of the few.

Evacuation of all military and naval forces from Haiti and restoration of the Republic to self-government, also the treatment of civilized people as civilized, despite race or color, were asked.

American Afros were urged to vote independently for candidates regardless of party for their political and economic freedom.

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South America

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Commenting upon the session just ended Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, founder of the movement said: 'The Fourth Congress with its upwards of 200 delegates was the largest in the series and that it had received the largest amount of carefully catalogued information concerning the peoples of African descent presented to any such session. The international committee chosen to plan the Fifth Pan-African Congress was also going to work out a permanent international organization", said Dr. DuBois.

Richard B. Moore, representing the American Negro Labor Congress failed in his efforts to secure appointment of laborers and peasants representative to the International Executive Council, whose membership includes W. E. B. DuBois, Mrs. Addie Hunton, D. Bellegude, M. Cannady and Bishop R. C. Ransome.

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Monday Night

The evening session on Monday was held at the St. James Presbyterian Church. A large audience was present. The discussion centered on the History of Africa. Dr. Charles H. Wesley, of Howard University told of the historical and cultural background of Africa. He said, "Negro history is the history of Africa in the development of the American Negro peoples or nation has ever played a great part unless it was aware of its background," said that we should know more about the history of Africa when addresses on The

Africa to the End

The session on Wednesday morning was followed by Germany and Italy did not go into the Dark Continent until later.

The Congress was largely attended from out of town. Members of the Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations, under whose auspices the meeting was held, collected $2,500 to defray expenses.

Resolutions outlining the "legitimate aims and needs of people of descent" were unanimously passed. The demands which included voice in government native rights to land and natural resources, development of Africa for Africans and not merely for the profit of Europeans; reorganization of commerce and industry to make the chief object of the welfare of the many rather than the enriching of

Prof. Melville more African territory, and was followed by France, Belgium and Portugal.

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On Africa

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Evacuation of all military and naval forces from Haiti and restoration of the Republic to self-government, also the treatment of civilized people as civilized, despite race or color, were asked.

American Afros were urged to vote independently for candidates regardless of party for their political and economic freedom.

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Race Problem - 1927

Pan-African Congress.

Africa

PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS TO MEET IN N. Y.

Prominent Colonials to Attend Session

New York. — Final preparations for the Fourth Pan-African congress which will assemble in this city within the next three weeks have been completed here by the local committee. Among the distinguished delegates are:

M. Dantes Bellegarde, a distinguished Haitan, who has been decorated by the French government; Dr. Georges Normail Sylvain, son of the late Haitian patriot, a young physician, but a representative of life and mellow culture of Haiti; Chief Amooh of the Gold coast, B. W. I. who already has contributed substantially to the financial support of the congress, and very probably M. Lamin Senghor, president Comite de Defense de la Race Negre, who made the outstanding address at the recent Brussels conference. Rayford Logan, who has been purposeful active in past Pan-African congresses, stated that the congress will be attended by other outstanding colonials now in France.

In the United States there are, besides the local arrangement committee here in New York, in many cities groups of women organized under a hostess. These women are working very hard to arouse the interest of the United States in the conference and to make the Fourth Pan-African congress a financial possibility. Out in Oregon, Mrs. E. D. Cannady, has been hostess at several interracial teas in the interest of the congress. Wisconsin is sending both delegates and money. Miss Maybelle Baylor, hostess at Milwaukee, reported that her group has raised more than half of its financial quota. In Washington, D. C., the women under Mrs. Percy Bond held a very successful card pary for the benefit of the congress fund; Miss Violet Johnson, Summit, N. J., led her group in staging a fashion show and a lawn party, both of which were invaluable from the point of view of publicity, while in and around Orange, N. J., Miss Lottie Cooper is working with tremendous zeal in the interest of the congress. It remained, however, for Miss Nadine Wright, Cambridge, to be the first hostess to send in her check for the full amount of her quota. Sororities, fraternities and other organizations the country over have contributed to the support of the congress and are sending delegates to it. It is significant that among the organizations are more than several organizations of white persons.

About thirty business men, professional and clergymen of Greater New York and New Jersey recently participated in a supper conference preliminary to the congress. This group evinced a splendid enthusiasm for the Fourth Pan-African congress and pledged its support to the effort of the circle for peace and foreign relations in assembling the Fourth Pan-African congress.

The circle now has headquarters at Grace Congregational church, 308 W. 139th St., N. Y. city. Grace Congregational church will also be convention headquarters and any further information concerning the Fourth Pan-African congress can be secured there either before Aug. 21 or during the congress Aug. 21-24.

N. Y. HOLDS FIRST NEGRO CONFERENCE

Pan-African Congress Opens Four-Day Session in Harlem Church

POPULATION DATA GIVEN

Figure of 11,000,000 Given for U. S. Believed Correct

The fourth Pan-African Congress, under the auspices of the Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations, an organization of New York Negro women, opened a four-day session yesterday afternoon at St. Mark's Methodist Episcopal Church, No. 550 St. Nicholas Avenue. A large gathering from both in and out of the city was in attendance. Delegates were present from the Virgin Islands, the Bahamas, Haiti, Gold Coast, West Africa, Jamaica, the East Indies, Barbadoes, France, Belgium, Germany and Canada. When the congress convened 150 had paid membership fees.

A letter was read from Gov. Smith, who wrote: "I regret that I have not the time to give to a study of the purpose of the Pan-African Congress, but if it has for its purpose the advancement of the colored race I am certainly in sympathy with it."

Mayor Walker, in a letter stating that he felt the people of New York would be thoroughly in sympathy with the purposes and objects of the congress, wrote: "The advancement of the colored people is a matter in which all right-minded citizens should be interested, and this is especially so of New York City, which has such an extensive colored population."

The meeting was presided over by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, who was introduced by Mrs. Addie W. Hunton, President of the circle. Dr. Du Bois told of the earlier efforts of Negroes in different parts of the world to organize and of the difficulties and opposition encountered in holding sessions in other countries. This is the first time the congress has been held in the United States.

Dr. Du Bois had young women carrying flags of different nations appear before the audience to impress them with the large number of people of Negro descent throughout the world. On each flag were prominently displayed figures giving the respective Negro populations.

The estimate given was: Great Britain, 50,000,000; France, 25,000,000; the United States, 11,000,000; Abyssinia 10,000; Brazil, 9,000,000; Belgium, 8,500,000; Portugal, 6,000,000; Egypt, 4,000,000 Liberia, 2,500,000; Haiti, 2,000,000; Dominican Republic, 800,000; Cuba, 800,000; Italy, 682,000, and Holland, 147,000

These figures were not considered authentic. The speaker said it was a difficult matter to ascertain accurately the number of people of Negro descent and that those on the United States were the most nearly correct of all.

The aim of the Pan-African Congress were announced as being: First, to gather information about those of Negro descent throughout the world; second, to become acquainted, and, third to work in unison for a common interest, despite differences in language customs and environment.

NEGROES ATTACK AFRICAN MISSIONS

Whites Discriminate Against Natives, Pan-African Congress Is Informed

CHILD DENIED HOSPITAL AID

Advancement in Education Since 1920 Shown

The charge that white missionaries in Africa discriminate against Negro missionaries and natives was made yesterday at the second day's session of the fourth Pan-African Congress which was held at Grace Congregational Church, No. 308 West 139th Street.

Thorgues Sea, a native Liberian, led in the attack on white missionaries relating specific instances of discrimination which he said had come under his personal observation. He recited that on one occasion a native child was denied treatment in a hospital, while the child of a white missionary was given every consideration. European powers frown on Negro missionaries in Africa, it was declared.

The morning and afternoon sessions were presided over by Mrs. Coralie Franklin Cook of Washington. Talks were made by Mrs. Helen Curtis, Mrs. A. B. Camphor and Mrs. Addie W. Dickerson.

Negro Education Increase

A wealth of statistical information about the American Negro is being presented by charts. There was one Negro college graduate in the United States in 1820, three from 1820 to 1829, seven from 1830 to 1849, twelve from 1850 to 1859, forty-four from 1860 to 1869, 313 from 1870 to 1879, 738 from 1880 to 1889, 1,163 from 1900 to 1909, 2,861 from 1910 to 1919, and it is approximated there will be 7,500 from 1920 to 1929.

Two hundred and fifty Negroes were graduated from colleges in 1914; 281 in 115, 338 in 1916, 455 in 1917, 384 in 1918, 373 in 1919, 364 in 1920, 461 in 1921, 523 in 1922, 643 in 1923, 675 in 1924, 752 in 1925, 985 in 1926 and 1,030 in 1927.

The Negro school attendance in 1920 was 2,030,269, of which 969,066 were males and 1,061,203 were females.

According to figures submitted at yesterday's session, Negro illiteracy in 1870 was 80 per cent.; in 1880, 70 per cent.; in 1890, 57 per cent.; in 1900 45 per cent.; in 1910, 30 per cent., and in 1920, 23 per cent.

Following was the growth of the Negro population in this country: 1750, 220,000; 1770, 462,000; 1790, 757,208; 1800, 1,002,037; 1810, 1,377,808; 1820, 1,771,656; 1830, 2,328,642; 1840, 2,873,645; 1850, 3,638,808; 1860, 4,441,830; 1870, 4,880,009; 1880, 6,580,793; 1890; 7,488,788; 1900, 8,840,789; 1910, 9,827,763; 1920, 10,463,131; approximate estimate for 1930, 11,200,000.

The evening session was held at St. James Presbyterian Church, St. Nicholas Avenue and 141st Street. Addresses were delivered by Dr. Charles H. Wesley, Howard University; Prof. Melville Herskovitz, Columbia University, and M. Dantes Bellegrade, Port au Prince, Haiti, former Haitian Minister to France.

HAITIANS HERE FOR PAN-AFRIC MEE

M. Bellegarde Arrives—Com patriot Detained By U. S Maybe

CHIEF AMOAH THIRD, REPRESENTS W. AFRICA

Sessions Of Fourth Pan-Afri- can Congress To Begin Next Week

NEW YORK—Arrival in New York Wednesday of M. Dantes Bellegarde commander of the Legion of Honor for the Fourth Pan-African Congress, is already indicative of the international character and far-reaching importance of this convention.

Few men are better able to discuss authoritatively questions pertaining to the Negro throughout the world than this distinguished Haitian. His equipment results from service as Minister of Education Minister from Haiti to France, delegate to the League of Nations, and only recently as delegate to the third Pan-African Commercial Congress. At the time of his plea before the League of Nations in 192 in behalf of the mandated African territories, the English were astonished at his eloquent emotion and logical incisive indictment of the situation in some sections of Africa His public and diplomatic training has given him recognition in the world's greatest deliberative gatherings.

Unless the American Occupation Haiti finds means of preventing his departure, Dr. Normail Sylvain son of one of Haiti's greatest patriots and heroes, and himself a worthy successor of his father, will likewise arrive in time for congress. The West Indies will be further represented by M. Adolphe Sixto, of the Virgin Islands, a man well-known for his studies of the Negro in his international aspect.

Chief Amoah III, Gold Coast West Africa, brings a point of view as new and as authorative as that of M. Bellegarde. His knowledge of conditions not only in the English colonies but also in the French and Portugese colonies of the West Coast is founded on years of careful personal study. Hearing him is like a trip thru Africa.

Hon. T. August Toote, formerly acting Attorney General of the Bahamas is here and will speak for those Islands.

Especial efforts are being made to have foreign students take an active part in the sessions. Mr. Narayan B. Parulekar, an East Indian lecturer of the Board of Education, will have his country represented, for the East Indian problem in Africa has a direct repercussion on the Status of the Negro.

On the afternoon of the twenty-fourth, Mrs. H. P. Camphor, wife of Bishop Camphor who spent a number of years in Africa will discuss some phase of missionary work in Africa. The discussion will be continued by Rev. Florence Randolph who likewise lived in Africa. An address will also be delivered by Mrs. Helen Curtis, who is recognized authority on Liberia. Mrs. A. W. Dickerson, vice president, will represent the International Council of Women of the Darker Races.

Headquarters are located at Grace Congregational Church, 308 W. 12th street. Mr. Hayford Logan, who served as secretary and interpreter of the former Pan-African Congress, has arrived to again act in the same capacity.

PAN-AFRICAN SESSION OPENS

Native Ruler of Gold Coast Is a Delegate Here.

The opening session of the fourth Pan-African Congress was held yesterday afternoon at St. Mark's Methodist Episcopal Church, Edgecombe Avenue and 137th Street. Representatives of negro groups from various parts of the world are attending the four-day congress called to discuss problems of the race. Among the delegates is Chief Amoah III, native ruler on the Gold Coast in Africa, who presented his curved and carved magisterial sword as his credentials.

The congress was arranged through the efforts of the Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations headed by Mrs. A. W. Hunton. Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, founder of the first congress is the presiding officer. At yesterday afternoon's session reports and messages were delivered by several delegates.

At to night's session at the St. James Presbyterian Church, St. Nicholas Avenue and 141st Street, Dr. Charles H. Wesley of Howard University and Professor Melville Hershkowitz of Columbia University are scheduled to speak.

Pan-African Congress Plans Definitely Announced

New York City, N. Y., August 10—The plans for the Fourth Pan-African Congress are being definitely announced. Headquarters are at Grace Congregational Church where all the morning sessions will be held. Opening session will be at St. Mark's M. E. Church Sunday afternoon, August 21, with eminent speakers from the United States and abroad. The evening sessions will be held at St. James Presbyterian, Salem and Abyssinia churches respectively.

Mrs. Flournoy Miller will act as chairman of the Reception Committee for delegates and friends at the Y. W. C. A., Monday afternoon. Mrs. Eva Parks, chairman of the Entertainment Committee will preside at a tea at the public library, Tuesday afternoon when the African Art Exhibit will be featured.

Mr. Dantes Bellegarde is en route to the Congress from Haiti. Dr. Wilhelm Mensching of Petzen-Germany and Dr. Y. Hikda of Japan will attend the Congress. Mrs. Lottie Cooper, hostess for the Granges has just forwarded $50.00 for the Congress from the women of that section. Of special interest is the fact that the New York Times will carry a feature story from the pen of Mr. Abraham Harris.

PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS TO HOLD FORUM

Problems of Africa to Be Debated

New York, Aug. 19.—The fourth Pan-African congress will meet in this city in various churches of Harlem next Sunday and will stay in session until Wednesday. More than one hundred delegates are expected to be in attendance from all parts of the world. The purpose of the congress is to develop an international sentiment on the problems of the Race throughout the world by exposing them fully to the world.

The policy of the congress was set forth in one of the announcements issued by the committee on foreign policy of the fourth Pan-American congress, which reads:

"The question of the status of the Negro in modern society is no longer a domestic problem of the United States, or a parochial problem of Jamaica, or a colonial policy problem. It is rather a great world-wide problem to be viewed and considered as a whole, and the congress particularly desires that the relations of the black and white races in various countries be considered to the end that greater harmony may ensue."

To Hold Forum

The program arranged, while dealing mostly with Africa, begins with descriptions by the delegates of conditions existing at present in various countries. Opportunity will be provided to question the speakers and debate the points raised. The other topics included are: African missions, education in Africa, art and literature in Africa, the political partition of Africa, the history of Africa, the slave trade and the dispersed children of Africa, the economic development of Africa and its importance in the world and the future of Africa.

The idea of the congress came into being in 1900, at the time of the Paris exposition, when a Pan-African conference was held in London. Coleridge Taylor, the musical composer of London; Dr. Du Bois, the Colenso family, Alexander Walters and T. J. Colloway were among the participants. But it took almost a score of years for the idea germinated at this conference to come to fruition.

Outgrowth of World War

Just after the World war, when the political atmosphere was charged with the doctrines of self-government, the Black Race manifested unrest. Their demand for a greater degree of participation in economic and political life were let loose in the midst of acclamation of President Wilson's fourteen points. Out of this general political confusion and racial unrest issued the first Pan-African congress, which met in Paris in February, 1919. Since then there have been the second and third Pan-African congresses. The second that of 1921, met in London, Brussels and Paris; the third met in Lisbon in 1923.

Some of the leading delegates to the congress are: Chief Amoah II of the Gold Coast, British West Africa; L. C. Delmonte, deputy from Martinique; Lamin Senghor, president of the committee for the defense of the Negro race, Paris; Dantes Bellegarde, Port au Prince Haiti, and Georges Sylvain, a young Haitian physician.

PAN-AFRICAN DELEGATES ARE IN N. Y. FOR MEET

Chief Amoah 111 And Many Other Notables Arrive In Gotham

NEW YORK, Aug. 17.—The arrival here on Wednesday of M. Dantes Bellegarde, commander of the Legion of Honor for the Fourth Pan-African Congress, is already indicative of the international character and far- reaching importance of this convention. Few men are better able to discuss authoritatively questions pertaining to colored people throughout the world than this distinguished Haitian. His equipment results from service as Minister of Education, Minister from Haiti to France, delegate to the League of Nations, and only recently as delegate to the Third Pan-American Commercial Congress. At the time of his plea before the League of Nations in 1921 in behalf of the mandated African territories, an English reporter was astounded at his eloquent emotion and logical incisive indictment of the situation in some sections of Africa. His public and diplomatic training has given him recognition in the world's greatest deliberative gatherings—Americans will now have an opportunity of hearing the views of a man who can judge Pan-African from the vantage points of Europe, the West Indies and America.

Unless the American Occupation in Haiti finds means of preventing his departure, Dr. Normail Sylvain, son of one of Haiti's greatest patriots and heroes, and himself a worthy successor of his father, will likewise arrive in time for the Congress. The West Indies will be further represented by M. Adolphe Sixto, of the Virgin Islands, a man well-known for his studies of the Negro in his international aspect.

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The American delegates are already beginning to arrive from points as far distant as Tuskegee. Practically every organization is sending delegates and the office staff at the Headquarters, Grace Congregational Church, 308 West 139th Street, is pushing vigorously final preparations.

THE PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

Next week there will be held in New York a meeting of the Pan-African Congress. It is not any easy matter to define this organization and state its aims and purposes. It is still more difficult to determine its composition and membership. From literature that has come to us, we learn that any one may, if he be a Negro, become an active member upon the payment of a stipulated sum, and that white people may participate in the proceedings provided they also pay, the extent of their participation not being exactly defined.

The Pan-African Congress historically appears to be the conception of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. It has usually met in the summer season, when there was a prospect that there would be enough tourists and vacationists at large to make up what might appropriately constitute an assembly. Dr. DuBois himself is much given to travel abroad, and his active mind must have something to ruminate upon while he "wanders on a foreign strand."

The announcement of the meeting in New York contains the statement that the Pan-African Congress is unlike the Garvey movement and has no "back to Africa" aim. It then proceeds to set forth in very general terms the objects of the congress, and these embrace practically every topic relating to Negro governments and colonial subjects.

As every one knows who can be credited with knowing anything, there is not within the meaning of international law, a single free, independent and equal Negro government anywhere on the face of the earth. Not only this, but with the possible exception of Japan there is no government of dark men that conforms to the usually accepted international definition of nationality.

Whether the Pan-African Congress will serve any other purpose than to provide material for newspaper and magazine craftsmen we do not know. Its objects are either too vague or too all-embracing. There is not enough substance in it to cover the large surface which it seeks to encompass. If it can do no good, it is equally certain it can do no harm.

If we may have an opinion in the premises, we would suggest that there must be nationally and locally existing dynamic groups before there can be an international group. The great task, before American Negroes at least, is to so vitalize and solidify the eleven millions that make up their group that these millions may be able to think one thing as to some one subject. That is not true today. Had we not better cease chasing international hares, and give all our energy to national wolves?

Race Problem - 1927

Pan-African Congress.

Africa

Pickens Addresses Pan-African Congress

EDITOR'S NOTE — The DAILY WORKER herewith publishes in full the address of William Pickens before the Fourth Pan-African Congress now being held in New York City.

* * *

A CONFERENCE of the oppressed is the beginning of the end of the oppression. The result of mere individual effort at emancipation of any kind is so infinitesimally small that it can be put down as zero — for all the social good it may accomplish.

The beginning of the end of American slavery was not in sight until a group of run-away slaves like Frederick Douglass began to confer and co-operate with white abolitionists like Garrison and Phillips. After nominal emancipation was achieved repression, disfranchisement and segregation might have gone on unchallenged for generations, had not brave black men, like W. E. Burghardt DuBois, begun to confer and co-operate with just and equally brave white men, like Moorfield Storey.

8-23-27

The devouring of Africa, the raping of Haiti, and the bullying of Nicaragua will go forward as far as human selfishness will carry them unless those whose welfare is at stake shall begin to confer and co-operate. The proletariat, the workers, the producers of the goods of human society and beginning to sense a common interest in a common cause, and a need for mutual support,—in Moscow, in Hankow, in Paris and in Passaic.

Daily Worker

New York, N.Y.

The Workers Know No Race.

THE ultimate causes, then, lie deeper than race or color; and any ultimate success must call for -ooperation beyond all racial and color lines.

In spite of the powerful tradition of the myth of race, we wish to say that a likeness in economic condition is far sounder basis for co-operation among men than is a similarity of skin-color or nose-shape.

If there is a factory or a mill that employs many people of many different races, the destiny of those people is far more involved in their work and wages than in their language and birth-places.

Put the superstition of race and of nationality is so strong in the minds of men that many movements for the good of mankind still find themselves at first narrowly limited by racial and national lines.

This shows that man's social development has not kept pace with his scientific advancement: for human science has in the last one hundred years reduced the relative size of the earth and made of it such a small community that everybody is economically elbowing everybody else.

Coal miners in India are helping to fix the wages of coal miners in Wales; for English ships may coal in India and make a trip to Europe and perhaps back to India, without re-coaling. The speed of transportation and the instantaneousness of communication have made mere racial and national policies unstatesmanlike and silly. Human science is fast making of the world one market of goods and one community of social interests, so that enslaved workers in South Africa will surely lower the standard of living for supposedly free workers in the Mississippi Valley. Self-seeking wealth and capital will find it advantages as water finds its level, with the unerring constancy of natural law. Tariff walls and customs officials are a most pitiful defense against the inevitable. It is like shutting out the tide with a picket fence.

Economic Lines Deeper Than Race.

BUT a movement for improvement must begin sometimes somewhere. The psychology of the masses must be recognized for what it is: The Pan-African Congress a biennial conference of all the descendants of Africa thruout the world, was conceived by the far-seeing genius of Dr. DuBois and was first organized in Paris in 1919. It recognizes the fact that in a world largely dominated by a group-conscious white men there is a "color problem" for the colored people of the world, and especially for the descendants of Africa.

Perhaps nobody dreams that the problem of the Negro or of the Chinaman can ever be solved simply by the co-operation of Negroes or of Chinese with Chinese. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People began with the conference and cooperation of a group of colored men styling themselves "The Niagara Movement," and also headed by W. E. Burghardt DuBois. This movement became a real national power when by protest and publicity it brought some of the more socially-minded ... te people to see that they had a common interest in the claims and aims of the movement of the colored men. Racial organization is simply local fermentation,—a first stage in the evolution of world organization and co-operation along economic lines. Economic lines are societally more fundamental than racial lines. The effective agent is not the theorist and his theory nor the doctrinaire and his doctrine, but human science is the miner and sapper which is laying seige to the whole works of nationalism and racialism. In the end human sciences, rather than religion, will bring to pass, not by persuasion but thru necessity, a condition of universal brotherhood.

Congress of Oppressed Peoples.

IT is interesting that the first world's conference of the oppressed has met in Brussels, Belgium, in February, 1927, eight years after the founding of the Pan-African Congress in Paris. This conference represents the first grouping together of the submerged masses thru the barb-wire barriers of racial and national consciousness. This congress of the oppressed was so new that nearly every group which came to it, had a different name for it. It was variously called "The Anti-Imperialist Conference," "The League for the Suppression of Colonial Violence," the congress of "Oppressed Peoples and the Working Class," etc.

When the representatives of Indonesia, or the Dutch Indies, presented their resolution to the meeting, they addressed the assembled delegates as "the Congress against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism." When the Persian delegation got the floor, it addressed the assembly as "the International Congress of Oppressed Peoples." The South Africans addressed it as "the first International Conference of Workers and Oppressed Peoples in all Imperialist countries and Colonies." The Chinese said "the Congress Against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism."

And the resolution on the Negro Question of the world spoke up in a sort of mixture of French and English and called the gathering "The International Congress contre the Colonial Oppression and Imperialism."

Abolition of Racial and Economic Oppression.

IT is clear that imperialism, oppression, suppression, financial and commercial robbery, colonial and semi-colonial tyranny, are for the first time put into the same rank together, where they belong.

The congress also put race prejudice in the same rank when it called for "Immediate abolition of all racial restrictions, social, political and economic." This first league of the economically, politically and socially oppressed called for complete racial equality thruout the world.

Some day posterity will marvel, not only that such a call was even necessary, but that it should have fallen on deaf and even hostile ears.

French Imperialism Attacked.

IT was noticeable that French Imperialism in Indo-China and in North Africa was just as severely accused as the imperialism of English-speaking nations. Colored people are accustomed to regard the French as especially just to other races. The French may lack a color psychosis and may be more cosmopolitan in their attitude on the abstract subject of "race," but a French imperialist or economic robber is just like any other. Economic exploitation knows neither race nor color. It will attack that group which is most helpless, most open to exploitation.

The Negroes of Africa were not enslaved because they were Negroes but because they offered the greatest return for the smallest amount of outlay and effort to the slave hunter. The poorly organized and defenseless congeries of tribes appealed to the slave-raider as a Klondike, an El Dorado. They were enslaved not for being black, but for offering a resistance of spear heads to powder-driven lead balls. The French may be careless of race and color in both Paris and North Africa, but they will practice economic exploitation in the place where economic exploitation is most profitable, and that is in North Africa. Capitalistic exploiters are a natural class, not to be distinguished by race, color, language or ancient history. Even an American Negro capitalist, late descendant of raped Africa, is just exactly like other capitalists. He must be like the others. A Negro who owns a thousand acres in Olabama or Texas, pays his tenants and "hands" just as little and charges them just as much as any white farm-owner in the neighborhood.

The American Negro and the Pan-African Congress must see common interest and make common cause with the other oppressed and exploited peoples of the world.

The world is my country.

To do good is my religion.

The Human Race is my race.

MAY AIR HAITI AT PAN-AFRICAN MEET

NEW YORK CITY. — That the Haitian Republic may form an important discussion at the coming session of the Pan-African Congress to be held in New York, August 21-24, was indicated by the announcement that M. Dantes Bellegrade, distinguished Haitian, will be one of the speakers on the program.

Officials of the program committee announce this week that plans for a successful meeting are going forward. Other speakers include Dr. Georges Normail Sylvain, son of the Leading Haitian patriot; Chief Amoan, 3rd., of British West Africa and probably M. Lamin Senghor, president of the convention for the Defense of the Negro Race, who made the outstanding address at the Brussells Conference.

The headquarters of the congress will be at Grace Congregational Church, 308 W. 139th street.

Pan-African Congress Meets in New York

Plan Program for Economic and Social Development of Africa—Says Negroes Should Know More About African History and Culture—Condemns Exploitation of Darker Peoples—Monsieur Bellegarde Pleads for Haiti and Scores American Occupation—Says American Negroes Must Come to the Rescue of Haiti—American and Foreign Delegates Present—Congress Scores Lynching and Segregation—Asks Withdrawal of Americans from Haiti.

By Cleveland G. Allen

THE fourth Pan-African Congress, one of the most constructive movements for the social and economic betterment of the Negro peoples of the world, closed its four-days' session on Wednesday evening, August 24, with a large meeting at the Abyssinian Baptist Church. The congress was held from August 21-24, and brought here representative Negro leaders from twenty-one States of the country, all of the West Indies Islands, Haiti, Africa, and Germany. The congress was one of the most successful held, and before it adjourned it went down on record as being opposed to the exploitation of Africa; asks that the Negro be entitled to his own land; urged the federation of the West Indies Islands; asks for larger political opportunities for the Negro; scored lynching and prejudice in America; urged the withdrawal of the Americans from Haiti; asked for the selection of Haiti in 1928, and advocated a larger interest in the economic and social development of the darker peoples of the world.

The congress, meeting for the first time in America, concentrated on working out a program that will make for the betterment of Africa, as well as to call attention to the remarkable background of Africa and its contribution to world history. Every phase of the African question was discussed and brought to the attention of the congress. Charts and maps were exhibited showing the strategic position of Africa, as well as showing the progress that the Negro has made in education, business, religion, and art.

Haiti came in for a great deal of discussion at the congress, and M. Dantes Bellegarde, a distinguished Haitian, who represented Haiti at the League of Nations, made a plea for that country, and scored the American occupation for the policy it has pursued in Haiti. He said that the American people had lost prestige in that country. Monsieur Bellegarde was one of the most picturesque delegates at the congress.

Another prominent delegate was Chief Amoah III, from the Gold Coast, who brought to the attention of the congress the exact status of Africa, and interpreted the African philosophy as it relates to customs and habits. There were 155 delegates present, representing the best leadership of the Negro race. All of the sessions were largely attended, and keen interest shown in the proceedings. Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, editor of the Crisis, and who had been foremost in the Pan-African movement, was the general director of the congress, and brought to its attention vital problems affecting the Negroes of Africa, Haiti, the West Indies, and America. Dr. Dubois urged a closer study of the problems affecting the Negro throughout the world.

The headquarters of the congress was at the Grace Congregational Church, where the morning and afternoon sessions were held. The congress was sponsored by the Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations, of which Mrs. A. W. Hunton is president. The opening session of the congress was held at St. Mark's Methodist Episcopal Church, where a large gathering was present. Mrs. Hunton told of the efforts of the Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations to have the congress come to America for its fourth session, and the earnestness with which it worked to bring it here.

Dr. Dubois presided. He gave a history of the Pan-African movement and told of its aims and objects. He said that at the first congress, which met in Paris, there were fifty-seven persons present, representing twelve different countries. At the second congress, he said, which met in London there were 110 delegates from thirty-one different countries, and the third, which met in Lisbon, there were twenty-five delegates from ten different countries.

Greetings were brought to the congress by Chief Amoah III, representing Africa; the Hon. Augustus Toote, a member of the legislature of Bahamas, who represented that island; Bishop R. G. Barrow, who spoke for Barbadoes; H. E. Rahkit, for the East Indies; M. Dantes Bellegarde, of Haiti, and the Hon. Adolph Sixto, who represented the Virgin Islands. Monsieur Bellegarde, through the official interpreter of the congress, Prof. Rayford Logan, made a fervent and effective plea for a better understanding of the Haitian peoples. Dr. William Pickens brought a report from the conference at Brussels.

The session on Monday began with an exposition of conditions in Africa, led by Dr. Dubois. He told of the traits, customs, traditions, and habits of the people. This discussion was opened by Mrs. Coralie Franklin Cooke, of Washington, D. C. The afternoon session had to do with a discussion on African missions. Mrs. Helen Curtis, widow of the former minister to Liberia, the late James L. Curtis, told of the work that she was doing in Africa for the training of the children. She urged a better support of the missionaries who go to Africa, and praised the work of the missionaries as being one of the most important in its development. Mrs. A. P. Camphor, wife of the late Bishop Camphor, of Liberia, told of the mission work that was being done by the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Mrs. A. W. Dickerson told of the work that the Baptist Church was doing in its missionary program in Africa.

At the close of the afternoon session a public reception was tendered the delegates at the Y. W. C. A. At the reception the American delegates had an opportunity to meet the foreign delegates and to give them their first welcome to America. The evening session on Monday was held at the St. James Presbyterian Church. The discussion had to do with the history of Africa. Dr. Charles H. Wesley, of Howard University, told of the historical and cultural background of Africa. He said, "No peoples or nation has ever played a great part unless it was aware of its background." Dr. Wesley said that we should know more about the history of Africa. He said that the knowledge spread about Africa, which has given an erroneous impression, was due to missionaries and imperialists. M. Bellegarde, of Haiti, and former minister to France, told of the existence of slavery in Haiti prior to the independence of the country in 1804. He scored the peonage system in America, and said that such conditions should end.

Prof. Melville Herskovits spoke on the "American Negro and His Half-Brother." He pointed out the development of the American Negro into a distinct type, which made his background and culture different from that of Africa. At the session on Tuesday morning, Dr. Dubois gave an exposition of conditions in the Caribbean Islands. Prof. Hudson Phillips, of Cheney Institute, said that the educational system in the West Indies must be changed for the best development of the peoples. He told of the situation as it faced the Island of Granada, and said that such conditions were typical of the West Indies. Others who spoke were Eugene Corbie, who told of conditions in Trinidad; Mr. Brooks, of Jamaica, and Richard B. Moore.

M. Bellegarde, of Haiti, speaking in the discussion through his interpreter, Prof. Logan, bitterly scored and assailed the American occupation in Haiti. "The American occupation has destroyed the confidence and respect that the Haitians formerly held for Americans, and it has destroyed the American prestige," he said. Bellegarde told of the atrocities that the Americans practiced upon the Haitians, and said that they are taken advantage of in every way. He said that the Haitians are not allowed to carry guns, and this has put them to the mercy of the marines. He told how Haitians had been shot down by Americans, and cited cases where American officers had raped Haitian girls. He told of a need of a better educational system for Haiti, and said that if the American Negro does not take a greater interest in the Haitians, and come to their rescue, they will be exterminated. He told of the history of the Haitian republic and said that it was a glorious one. He said that according to Haitian history, President Borno is not legally president of Haiti. The addresses of Monsieur Bellegarde to the congress have given a new estimate of the character and history of the Haitian peoples.

The afternoon session on Tuesday was held at the Fourth Moravian Church. The addresses were on "The Future and the History of Africa." The speakers were W. Tete Ansa and Prof. William Hansbury. The discussion at this meeting was one of the most interesting of the afternoon meetings. The meeting was followed by a visit to the West 135th Street Public Library, to see the African exhibit and the Schomburg collection which is the largest collection on the Negro in the world.

The evening session was held at Salem Methodist Episcopal Church. The discussion centered around "The Economic Development of Africa." Chief Amoah III, of the Gold Coast, said that Africa has an area of 11,000,000 square miles, and a population of 142,000,000. He said that Africa was one fifth of the area of the world. He told of its vast resources, and said that education was one of the greatest needs for the development of the resources of the country.

Prof. Leslie Pinkney Hill, of Cheney Normal School, told of the need of an educational campaign that would serve to get the case of the Negro before the peoples of the world. He said that Negroes should ally themselves with every agency making for the general betterment and advancement of the world.

M. Bellegarde, of Haiti, made a motion that the congress form a permanent organization. Bishop R. C. Ransom, of Nashville, Tenn., seconded the motion, and spoke strongly in support of the motion.

The session on Wednesday morning began with an exposition of conditions in Europe and the United States, led by Dr. Dubois —vital questions affecting the moral, intellectual, social, and economic welfare of the

(Continued from page 718)

At the afternoon session the discussion had to do with "Political Partition of Africa." Prof. Hudson Phillips spoke on "The Need of Negro History Being Taught in Schools and Colleges." He told of a campaign that was conducted to reach the students of the various institutions to interest them in Negro history. Prof. Rayford Logan, in speaking on "Political Partition of Africa," told of the need of greater political power and control of the people of Africa. A committee consisting of Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, Mrs. A. W. Hunton, Prof. Rayford Logan, Dantes Bellegarde, Prof. Hudson Phillips, Bishop R. C. Ransom, Mrs. Cannady, Chief Amoah III, Eugene Corbie, and Chris Huiswoud, and others was appointed to work out plans for a permanent organization.

Resolutions were read asking the congress to go down on record as being opposed to all forms of social and economic exploitation of the Negro peoples of the world. The Rev. D. W. Walker, of Cleveland, Ohio, asked the congress to include in its demands clemency for Marcus Garvey.

The closing session was held at Abyssinian Baptist Church on Wednesday evening. Two thousand people were present, and the meeting was one of the most inspiring of the sessions. The discussion was "Education in Africa." The speakers were Dr. Wilhelm Mensching, of Germany, and John Vandercook, author of "Tom Tom." Both addresses dealt with the cultural contributions and gifts of the African peoples. Dr. Dubois in his closing address surveyed the economic, political, and social conditions in Europe as these relate to the Negro.

Governor J. L. Patterson, of Oregon, sent a letter endorsing the aims and purpose of the congress.

There were many prominent delegates in attendance at the congress who came from various sections of the country, and other parts of the world.

Bishop C. H. Phillips, of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, was one of the prominent delegates in attendance. He is keenly interested in the purposes of the Pan-African Congress.

L. M. Hershaw, of Washington, D. C., and Dr. James R. White, of Chicago, were also present.

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Pan-African Congress

Negro in Europe and America. He told of the educational system of Abyssinia, and said that the real need of Africa was more colleges. He said that the increase in college education among the Negroes in America was remarkable, there being 12,000 Negro college students in America.

Race Problem- 1927

Pan- African Congress.

Africa

PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS FAVORS UNIONIZATION OF NEGRO WORKERS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

The Daily Worker

N.Y. 8-30-27

By ESTHER LOWELL.

Organization of colored workers in unions, in cooperatives and for political action were hotly discussed at the Pan-African Congress held in New York. Delegates numbering 155 attended from population groups of Negro descent scattered around the world.

"We urge the white workers of the world to realize that no program of labor uplift can be successfully carried through in Europe or America so long as colored labor is exploited and enslaved and deprived of all political power," the congress declared in its final summation.

Caribbean Policy Criticized.

United States policy toward Negroes at home and towards Caribbean Islands was severely criticized. M. Dantes Bellegarde, Haiti's delegate to the League of Nations until the U. S. occupation objected, won from the congress a "demand that actual self-government be restored" to the black republic. Withdrawal of all U. S. military, naval and other officers except regularly accredited diplomatic or consular representatives was demanded likewise.

West Indians were urged "to begin an earnest movement for the federation of these islands; the reduction of their present outrageous expenses of government; the broadening of educational facilities on modern lines and labor legislation to protect the workers against industrial exploitation." Color prejudice among themselves should be eradicated as the first step.

Voice In Government.

Negroes everywhere need, the congress stated, a voice in their own government; native rights to the land and its natural resources; modern education for all children (vocational or otherwise was much discussed); development of Africa for the Africans and not merely for profit of Europeans; re-organization of commerce and industry to make the main object of capital and labor the welfare of the many rather than enriching of few; treatment of civilized men as civilized despite differences of birth, race or color.

Pan-Africa was explained by presiding officer Dr. W. E. N. DuBois as the total of peoples of African Negro descent. His estimates of Negro populations under various flags was graphically depicted by a procession of young women bearing flags and placards carrying the figures (in millions): Great Britain, 50; France, 25; U. S., 11; Abyssinia, 10; Brazil, 9; Belgium, 8.5; Portugal, 8; Egypt, 4; Liberia, 2.5; Haiti, 2; Dominican Republic, 8; Cuba, 8; Italy, 6; and Dutch colonies, 1. The total is 132.3 millions.

Firestone Rubber Concession.

Liberian and American Negroes were warned to be on the alert lest the Firestone rubber concession "encroach upon the political independence of Liberia."

Greetings and a message of solidarity from the executive of the League Against Imperialism meeting in Cologne was read to the congress by William Pickens of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Pickens reported on the Brussels conference of the League in February—the first such meeting of delegates from oppressed peoples. Pickens declared "that a likeness in economic condition is a far sounder basis for cooperation among men than is a similarity of skin-color or nose shape."

Moore Speaks.

Richard Moore, organizer for the American Negro Labor Congress, pointed out that most American Negroes are workers and urged their organization in trade unions. He criticized the congress for not delving deeply enough into colored workers' problems. He proposed alliance with other groups working against imperialism.

"The Negro began to learn class consciousness as well as race consciousness when he came in contact with industry and organized labor in the years of the war and in the migrations to the north," declared Robert Bagnall of the N. A. A. C. P.

The congress expressed appreciation "to the Soviet government of Russia for its liberal attitude toward the colored races and for the help which it has extended to them from time to time." A committee was chosen to work toward establishing a permanent and continuously functioning organization.

All Parts of the Globe to be Well Represented at Pan African Cong.

The arrival in New York on August 10th of M. Dantes, Bellegarde, commander of the Legion of Honor for the Fourth Pan-African Congress, is already indicative of the international character and far-reaching importance of this convention. Few men are better able to discuss authoritatively questions pertaining to the Negro throughout the world than this distinguished Haitian. His equipment results from service as Minister of Education, Minister from Haiti to France, delegate to the League of Nationsl, and only recently as delegate to the Third Pan-American Commercial Congress. At the time of his plea before the League of Nations in 1921 in behalf of the mandated African territories, an English reporter was astounded at his eloquent emotion and logical incisive indictment of the situation in some sections of Africa. His public and diplomatic training has given him recognition in the world's greatest deliberative gatherings—American Negroes will now have an opportunity of hearing the views of a man who can judge Pan-Africa from the vantage points of Europe, the West Indies, and America.

Unless the American Occupation in Haiti finds means of preventing his departure, Dr. Normail Sylvain, son of one of Haiti's greatest patriots and heroes, and himself a worthy successor of his father, will likewise arrive in time for the Congress. The West Indies will be further represented by N. Adolphe Sixto, of the Virgin Islands, a man well-known for his studies of the Negro in his international aspect.

Chief Amooh III, Gold Coast West Africa, brings a point of view as new and as authoritative as that of M. Bellegarde. His knowledge of conditions not only in the English colonies, but also in the French and Portuguese colonies of the West Coast is founded on years of careful personal study. Hearing him is like a trip through Africa.

Hon. T. Augustus Toote, formerly acting Attorney General of the Bahamas, is here and will speak for those Islands.

Especial efforts are being made to have foreign students take an active part in the sessions. Mr. Narayan B. Parulekar, an East Indian Lecturer of the Board of Education, will have his country represented for the East Indian Problem in Africa has a direct repercussion on the Status of the Negro.

Noted Women to Speak

On the afternoon of the twenty-fourth, Mrs. H. P. Camphor, wife of Bishop Camphor, who spent a number of years in Africa, will discuss some phase of missionary work in Africa. The discussion will be continued by Rev. Florence Randolph, who likewise lived in Africa. An address will also be delivered by Mrs. Helen Curtis, who is a recognized authority on Liberia. Mrs. A. W. Dickerson, vice president, will represent the International Council of Women of the Darker Races.

The sessions would not have been complete without the presentation of some phase by a member of the other group. The Executive Committee is happy to announce a discussion, The African Negro and his American Half-Brother, by Mr. Melville J. Herkowitz, the brilliant anthropologist of Columbia University.

Among other outstanding colored men who are expected to participate on the program are Mr. Eugene Kruckle Jones, Mr. Chas Johnson, Hon. James Weldon Johnson and Dr. William Pickens.

The American delegates are already beginning to arrive from points as far distant as Tuskegee. Practically every organization is sending delegates and the office staff at the headquarters, Grace Congregational Church, 308 West 139th street, is pushing vigorously final preparations.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, editor of the Crisis, and founder of the Pan-African Congress, is general chairman of the meetings.

Mr. Hayford Logan, who served as secretary and interpreter of the former Pan-African Congress, has arrived to again act in the same capacity.

Harlem is truly the Mecca of the Negro.

N. Y. HERALD TRIBUNE

AUG 23 1927

White Mission Plan Assailed

Natives' Needs Held Secondary African Congress Is Told

The attitude of white missions toward Negro missions and the natives was attacked yesterday at the afternoon session of the Pan-African Congress at the Grace Congregational Church. It was charged that the white missions are governed in their policy less by the needs of the natives than by the arbitrary dictation of the various countries from which they come.

The discussion followed the afternoon address on "African Missions," by Mrs. Helen Curtis, widow of the former American Minister to Liberia. It was led by Mrs. A. B. Camphor.

The proceedings of the second day of the congress were opened by a discussion of social, religious and economic conditions in Africa. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, executive secretary of the congress, presided. The critique was led by Mrs. Coralie Franklin Cook, former member of of the Board of Education of Washington. Eugene Hinckle Jones, executive secretary of the Urban League, will address the congress to-day.

N. Y. WORLD

AUG 22 1927

N. Y. HOLDS FIRST NEGRO CONFERENCE

Pan-African Congress Opens a Four-Day Session in Harlem Church

POPULATION DATA GIVEN

Figure of 11,000,000 Given for U. S. Believed Correct

The fourth Pan-African Congress, under the auspices of the Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations, an organization of New York Negro women, opened a four-day session yesterday afternoon at St. Mark's Methodist Episcopal Church, No. 550 St. Nicholas Avenue. A large gathering from both in and out of the city was in attendance.

Delegates were present from the Virgin Islands, the Bahamas Haiti, Gold Coast, West Africa, Jamaica, the East Indies, Barbadoes, France, Belgium, Germany and Canada. When the congress convened 150 had paid membership fees.

A letter was read from Gov. Smith, who wrote: "I regret that I have not the time to give to a study of the purpose of the Pan-African Congress, but if it has for its purpose the advancement of the colored race I am certainly in sympathy with it."

Mayor Walker, in a letter stating that he felt the people of New York would be thoroughly in sympathy with the purposes and objects of the congress, wrote: "The advancement of the colored people is a matter in which all right-minded citizens should be interested, and this is especially so of New York City, which has such an extensive colored population."

The meeting was presided over by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, who was introduced by Mrs. Addie W. Hunton, President of the circle. Dr. Du Bois told of the earlier efforts of Negroes in different parts of the world to organize and of the difficulties and opposition encountered in holding sessions in other countries. This is the first time the congress has been held in the United States.

Dr. Du Bois had young women carrying flags of different nations appear before the audience to impress them with the large number of people of Negro descent throughout the world. On each flag were prominently displayed figures giving the respective Negro populations.

The estimate given was: Great Britain, 50,000,000; France, 25,000,000; the United States, 11,000,000; Abyssinia 10,000; Brazil, 9,000,000; Belgium, 8,500,000; Portugal, 6,000,000; Egypt, 4,000,000; Liberia, 2,500,000; Haiti, 2,000,000; Dominican Republic, 800,000; Cuba, 800,000; Italy, 682,000, and Holland, 147,000.

These figures were not considered authentic. The speaker said it was a difficult matter to ascertain accurately the number of people of Negro descent and that those on the United States were the most nearly correct of all.

The aim of the Pan-African Congress were announced as being: First, to gather information about those of Negro descent throughout the world; second, to become acquainted, and, third, to work in unison for a common interest, despite differences in language, customs and environment.

At the evening session, in St. James's Presbyterian Church, 141st Street and St. Nicholas Avenue, Professor Melville Herskovicz of the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University, characterized the African as a "hand-brother" of the American negro and professed to see a new physical type of the American negro, attained through cross-breeding. Dantes Bellegarde, former Minister to France from Haiti, spoke on "The Dispersed Children of Africa."

The Negro school attendance in 1920 was 2,030,269, of which 969,066 were males and 1,061,203 were females.

According to figures submitted at yesterday's session, Negro illiteracy in 1870 was 80 per cent.; in 1880, 70 per cent.; in 1890, 57 per cent.; in 1900, 45 per cent.; in 1910, 30 per cent., and in 1920, 23 per cent.

Following was the growth of the Negro population in this country: 1750, 220,000; 1770, 462,000; 1790, 757,208; 1800, 1,002,037; 1810, 1,377,808; 1820, 1,771,656; 1830, 2,328,642; 1840, 2,873,645; 1850, 3,638,808; 1860, 4,441,830; 1870, 4,880,009; 1880, 6,580,793; 1890, 7,488,788; 1900, 8,840,789; 1910, 9,827,763; 1920, 10,463,131; approximate estimate for 1930, 11,200,000.

The evening session was held at St. James Presbyterian Church, St. Nicholas Avenue and 141st Street. Addresses were delivered by Dr. Charles H. Wesley, Howard University; Prof. Melville Herskovitz, Columbia University, and M. Dantes Bellegrade, Port au Prince, Haiti, former Haitian Minister to France.

WORLD

AUG 23 1927

NEGROES ATTACK AFRICAN MISSIONS

Whites Discriminate Against Natives, Pan-African Congress Is Informed

CHILD DENIED HOSPITAL AID

Advancement in Education Since 1820 Shown

The charge that white missionaries in Africa discriminate against Negro missionaries and natives was made yesterday at the second day's session of the fourth Pan-African Congress, which was held at Grace Congregational Church, No. 308 West 139th Street.

Thorgues Sea, a native Liberian, led in the attack on white missionaries, relating specific instances of discrimination which he said had come under his personal observation. He recited that on one occasion a native child was denied treatment in a hospital, while the child of a white missionary was given every consideration. European powers frown on Negro missionaries in Africa, it was declared.

The morning and afternoon sessions were presided over by Mrs. Coralie Franklin Cook of Washington. Talks were made by Mrs. Helen Curtis, Mrs. A. B. Camphor and Mrs. Addie W. Dickerson.

Negro Education Increase

A wealth of statistical information about the American Negro is being presented by charts. There was one Negro college graduate in the United States in 1820, three from 1820 to 1829, seven from 1830 to 1849, twelve from 1850 to 1859, forty-four from 1860 to 1869, 313 from 1870 to 1879, 738 from 1880 to 1889, 1,163 from 1900 to 1909, 2,861 from 1910 to 1919, and it is approximated there will be 7,500 from 1920 to 1929.

Two hundred and fifty Negroes were graduated from colleges in 1914; 281 in 115, 338 in 1916, 455 in 1917, 384 in 1918, 373 in 1919, 364 in 1920, 461 in 1921, 523 in 1922, 643 in 1923, 675 in 1924, 752 in 1925, 985 in 1926 and 1,030 in 1927.

TIMES

AUG 23 1927

NEGROES SCORE MISSIONS.

Charge White Prejudice Toward Their Workers in Africa.

The second day of the Fourth Pan-African Congress, which started on Sunday at Grace Congregational Church, 308 West 139th Street, opened yesterday with a discussion of social, religious and economic conditions in Africa led by Mrs. Coralie Franklin Cook, former member of the Washington (D. C.) Board of Education. Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, Executive Secretary of the congress, presided.

At the afternoon session Mrs. Helen Curtis, widow of the former American Minister to Liberia, addressed the delegate on "African Missions." In the discussion which followed Mrs. Curtis's speech white missionaries were criticized for their allegedly prejudiced attitude toward negro religious workers. Mrs. Addie W. Dickerson, Vice President of the International Council of Oppressed Women of Darker Races, also spoke.

Race Problem-1927.
Africa.

Pan-African Congress.

Pan-African Congress

IT has been announced that the *Fourth Pan-African Congress* will be convened in New York City this August 21-24, under auspices of *The Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations*.

In regard to this congress, which has now become a fixed factor in promoting the welfare of the darker races of the world in contact with other races, there is a gradual and definitely accumulating body of intelligent and favorable opinion. The congress is looming big upon the horizon of thinkers and students of social affairs as one of the factors uniquely adapted to make a splendid contribution to intergroup comity and co-operation for better relationships, and it is justly expected that there shall come to this movement the most generous support of all outstanding Negro organizations and leading individuals.

The purpose and objectives of the Pan-African Congress bespeak its worth as a social institution. That is acknowledged and strengthened by its endorsement on part of influential groups and individuals in our national life. College fraternities and sororities have endorsed and made to it substantial appropriations; and besides the National Association of College Women, President Coolidge, through his secretary, extends to the movement his wishes for its success.

Ample information will be found in bulletins issued by *The Circle for Peace* at their headquarters, Room 688, Bible House, Astor Place, New York, and from invitations to the congress which will be sent out to the leading colored groups of the world.

All who keep abreast of international thinking, who realize the necessity of group unity in thought and action in order to effect the best solution possible for the world's acute interracial problems, will follow the work of the Pan-African Congress with active interest and give to it the wide support it deserves.

Pan African Congress To Meet

NEW YORK.—The Pan African Congress will meet here in August. The congress, which was organized by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, editor of the Crisis, is one of the most important international gatherings of Negroes in the world, and will bring together outstanding leaders of the darker races, from every section of the world.

PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS IN NEW YORK CITY

(By The Associated Negro Press)

New York City.—The fourth Pan-African Congress is to meet next August 21, 22, 23 and 24, announcement was made this week by the Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations of New York City, which with the cooperation of many persons and organizations throughout the United States is sponsoring the meeting.

The public is invited to take part in the congress and a pamphlet explaining the purposes of the conference has been issued.

Among the informing points set forth are the following:

"Pan-African" means "all African."

A Pan-African Congress is a meeting of persons of Negro descent belonging to these widely scattered groups and citizens of different countries, for the purpose of fuller and more perfect acquaintance and understanding, as well as for the exposition and comparison of the many problems of race and social uplift which today confront these groups.

The question of the status of the Negro in modern society is no longer a domestic problem of the United States, or a parochial problem of Jamaica, or a colonial policy problem. It is rather a great worldwide problem to be viewed and considered as a whole, and the Congress particularly desires that the relations of the black and white races in various countries to the end that greater harmony may be considered.

Pan-African Congress has no political affiliation in any community. It aims to be an open forum of opinion, and it has no connection, expressed or implied, with other organizations beyond its general object.

The Pan-African Congress is being held in the western hemisphere this time because it has been held three successive times in Europe.

An attempt was made to place it in the West Indies, but it seems that other than in the United States there is not sufficient money, energy, enthusiasm or jolitical liberty to accomplish a Pan-African Congress at the present time. In fact, the last two Pan-African congresses have been held largely upon American initiative and money.

In addition to all groups of Negroes of African descent throughout the world, the leading organizations and cities of the United States will be asked to send representatives to the Congress.

PAN AFRICAN MEET PROGRAM READY

NEW YORK.—The plans for the Fourth Pan-African Congress are being definitely announced.

Headquarters are at Grace Congregational Church where all the morning sessions will be held.

Opening session will be held at St. Mark's M. E. Church, Sunday afternoon, August 21, with eminent speakers from the United States and abroad. The evening sessions will be held at St. James Presbyterian, Salem and Abyssinia Churches respectively.

Mrs. Flournoy Miller will act as chairman of the Reception Committee for delegates and friends at the Y. W. C. A. Monday afternoon.

Mrs. Eva Parks, chairman of the Entertainment Committee will preside at a board the Public Library, Tuesday afternoon when the African Art Exhibit will be featured.

Mr. Dantes Bellegarde is en route to the Congress from Haiti. Doctor Wilhelm Mensching of Petzen, Germany, and Dr. Y. Hikda of Japan, will attend the Congress.

PAN AFRICAN CONGRESS WILL MEET IN NEW YORK CITY AUGUST 21 TO 24

Assoiated Negro Press

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The so-called Pan-American conference promoted by Professor W. E. B. DuBois, of the Crisis, and for which he received a Spingarn medal some years ago, from an organization of which he was a member, as having accomplished the greatest race achievement for the current year, is nothing less than a Garvey movement under another name, or a crude imitation of Garvey's thirty-day world congress, which drew representatives of the darker races from the four corners of the earth.

Professor DuBois was the leading opponent in this country against Garvey's world congress, and everything that looked like Garvey; but if the public will follow closely the career of both these leaders, they will find that Garvey is the originator of many ideas which the professor has adopted by imitation. Garvey's congress had for its purpose the establishment of a common understanding and unity of purpose among the darker races throughout the world, and Professor DuBois' movement which he calls the Pan-American Conference, the fourth session of which is to convene in New York this month, has for its purpose the same common cause, except it does not seek to unite or bring to a common understanding all the darker races of the world. The two movements are largely international. Professor DuBois seeks to bring together the African people, and Garvey all of the darker races. Garvey's dream was to build a world-wide organization, whose purpose would be to reclaim Africa for Africans, and to establish a common purpose among all people of the darker races upon the face of the earth. Just what the ultimate purpose of Professor DuBois' movement is, as a world factor, we haven't been able to decipher.

Professor DuBois appeals to the upper ten, the higher ups, the philosophers, or in fact he seeks to bring together that class of people who do not live from the production of their own labor, or by work with the hands, but from work with the mind, or better said, the intellectuals. Garvey appeals to the masses, including the intellectuals, none are too high to assist in his movement, and none are too low, just so you do not belong to the Caucasian or Nordic race, you are welcome to his movement. As an evidence of the stabiilty and the faith of his movement, his followers have furnished him millions for the support of his movement, and had the movement been properly managed, jealousy and selfishness kept out, it may have proved a wonderful factor in the solution of our world problems. His movement never went a begging until he was disposed of largely by the school of thought led by Professor DuBois. Instead of helping Garvey, his school of philosophy felt that they could not succeed unless Garvey was out of they way, so they proceeded to dispose of him at the risk of destroying his movement and threatening the overthrowal of their own, which in fact, has failed.

The Pan-American movement has been shifted by its leaders, largely to the shoulders of the women, led by some eminent and sincere women, but misguided and directed by the reason of the immensity of the task resting upon their shoulders. The movement has never had enough following to become self-supporting, as did the Garvey movement. It has always been a pauper, depending upon the public for a hand out, without an organization of such merit and tangibility for the donor to know whom he was sending his money, or for what purpose; and true to its history, the coming meeting which will convene in New York is dependent upon cold charity for expenses to cover the meeting. The good women who are mothering the movement are sending out appeals to churches, societies, fraternities and sororities for money to entertain the delegates without intelligently knowing whether there will be anybody there, except a few women who go off to spend a vacation around New York and other places in summer.

But the conclusion of the whole matter is the movement is an imitation of the Garvey movement and has proved an utter failure. It was an attempt on the part of the Pan-American people to prove to the World Conference people that brain and not brawn runs the world, that philosophy and not work was the panacea for our afflictions. There are still spots of the Garvey movement throughout the world that contributes far more and has a far larger following than the entire Pan-American Conference. Garvey out of the pen today will corral and assemble five hundred thousand American Negroes in a year, whereas the Pan-American, never in prison, and always writing philosophy, and solving problems miles away, can not muster five hundred American followers among the Negroes in ten years, if ever.

Whether Garvey or DuBois are right and have the solution of our economic and political problems in hand, is a question that we will not undertake to determine, but will let the people who confront the problems judge for themselves. We have our personal opinion, but we will make no comparative statement. The masses of the people are honest and sincere and will follow the man or set of men who they believe honest and sincere, and can remedy the evils from which they suffer. Some people say the masses do not know what they want, that they can not be trusted to look out for themselves, that they must have a guide, but we are willing to trust the masses; we largely believe in the axiom that the voice of the people is the voice of God, and can not escape the conclusion that the man knows about as well what he wants and needs as the other fellow knows for him.

Our opinion is that the Pan-American Conference is merely an imitation of Garvey's World Congress by the intellectuals.

PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

SESSIONS TO BE HELD IN NEW YORK CITY

Notice received here last week from the Executive Committee of the Pan-African Congress brings the information that the Fourth National Convention will be held in New York City, beginning August 21st. The information came to Rev. Henry A. Boyd, a member of the Executive Committee, calling his attention to the fact that his presence is much needed at this session. It is not known whether he will attend, due to the fact that he has scores of invitations already on hand calling him as far East as New York and Richmond, as far west as Denver.

The opening session of the Pan-African Congress, which is promoted by the Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations, will be held at St. Mark Methodist Episcopal Church, at the corner of St. Nichols Avenue and 138th street, Sunday afternoon, August 21. at 3:30. A recent letter to Mr. Boyd said:

"Some time ago you were elected to a place on the American Reception Committee for the Fourth Pan-African Congress which convenes in this city Aug. 21-24. No doubt you will be glad to know that the outlook is very hopeful for a very representative and interesting Congress. It will be thoroughly international in its character, as we already have the assurance of the presence of foreigners from various sections of the world.

"We are earnestly trusting that you will find it possible to attend the Congress as a delegate, and so help put the Pan-African Congress on a permanent organized basis, with the international membership. We are also very anxious that a representative American group shall welcome our foreign friends.

"The headquarters of the Conference are established at the Grace Congregational Church, 308 West 139th St., and the delegates will register and receive information there."

The membership of this international body is composed of some of the leading men of the world. Their first session was held in Paris, France in 1919; the second session was held in London, Brussells, Paris in 1921; third session was held in London, Lisbon in 1923. Much interest is already being attached to the coming meeting to be held in New York.

NOTABLE COLONIAL NEGROES TO ATTEND PAN-AFRICAN MEET

M. Dantes Bellegarde of Haiti, Chief Amooh, of Gold Coast Expected In New York

Special to the Journal and Guide

New York City.—The fourth Pan-African Congress will assemble here three weeks hence, and though there is yet much to be done in completing arrangements for the Congress a great deal has been accomplished in the past few weeks and the prospects for a successful Congress seem very hopeful, reports the Congress Circle which has headquarters on West 139th street.

Among those who will attend the Congress are M. Dantes Bellegrade, a distinguished Haitian, who has been decorated by the French Government; Dr. Georges Normail Sylvain, a son of the late Haitian patriot, a young physician but a representative of life and mellow culture of Haiti: Chief Amooh III of the Gold Coast, B. W. A. who already has contributed substantially to the financial support of the Congress, and very probably M. Lamin Senghor, president Comite de Defense de la Race Negre, who made the outstanding address at the recent Brussels conference. From Mr. Rayford Logan who has been quite active in past Pan-African Congresses it is learned that the presence of other distinguished Colonials now in France may be expected.

Local Arrangement Committee

In the United States there are, besides the local arrangement Committee here in New York, in many cities groups of women organized under a hostess. These women are working very hard to arouse the interest of the United States in the Conference and to make the Fourth Pan-African Congress a financial possibility. Out in Oregon, Mrs. E. D. Cannady, has been hostess at several interracial teas in the interest of the Congress. The Badger State is sending in both delegates and money. Then we hear from Miss Maybelle Baylor, hostess at Milwaukee who reports that her group has raised more than half of its financial quota. In Washington, D. C., the women under Mrs. Percy Bond held a very successful Card Party for the benefit of the Congress fund; Miss Violet Johnson of Summit, New Jersey, led her group in staging a fashion show and a lawn party, which were invaluable from the point of publicity, while in and around Orange, N. J. Miss Lottie Cooper is working with tremendous zeal in the interest of the Congress. It remained, however, for Miss Nadine Wright of Cambridge to be the first hostess to send in her check for the full amount of her quota.

Congress Circle Formed

On July 8, about thirty business men, professional and clergymen of Greater New York and New Jersey participated in a Supper Conference preliminary to the Congress. This group evinced a splendid enthusiasm for the Fourth Pan-African Congress and pledged its support to the effort of the Circle for Peace and Foreign Relations in assembling the Fourth Pan-African Congress.

The Circle now has headquarters at Grace Congregational Church, 308 W. 139th street, New York City. Grace Congregational Church will also be Convention headquarters and any further information concerning the Fourth Pan-African Congress can be secured there either before August 21 or during the Congress, August 21-24, 1927.

Race Problem - 1927 I.
Africa

Native Education In Basutoland In 1925-26.

Report.

(Continued)

88. From a purely department view the chief argument is the same to-day as it was twenty years ago against the suggested introduction of fees, that the effect on attendance may be disastrous. Those who so argue include the Director of Education, the heads of the three mission societies, and the Paramount Chief as voiced by his representative on the Advisory Board. A strong combination though if he will forgive me for saying so, I believe that the Director is not a convinced "Die-hard" opponent, and I trust I am not doing an injustice to the Missionaries if I venture the opinion that they look on the question rather from the point of view of evangelisation than that of education. For myself, not forgetting that my stay in the country was but a short one and that my knowledge of it is necessarily but small, I am led to believe that any serious decrease in attendance would be but temporary. There would inevitably be some grumbling (so there will be over an increased tax); there would be at first a good many refusals to send children to school. But the desire for education is probably too deep-seated to be eradicated, and the communal spirit too strong in the people to allow a permanent slump, on what base I do not know, but a decrease of 50 per cent, was suggested as a probable result of imposing fees, let it be granted. I ask those who know the Basuto well whether half of those already started on their studies, or their parents for them, are going to let the other half get away with the results of study and all that they think and know that that implies.

89. But few have doubted the ability of the poorer to pay a fee that average only 5d. per mensem, and these doubters did not strongly maintain their position when it was suggested that parents who desired their children to be taught could spare that sum from their beer-money and still assuage their thirst and appetite. One of them stated that his mission would have to pay the fees for its pupils. A mission in the position to do this hardly seems to need much assistance from Government in the way of grants and could hardly be said to be acting sympathetically in co-operation with Government if it took such action, and would presumably be stealing an unfair march on the other less wealthy missions if it so subsidised its pupils.

90. Suppose, however, that the imposition of a fee were to have the effect anticipated of very adversely affecting attendance, it is by no means certain that the country would be the sufferer in the long run. Smaller classes in the sub-standards and lower standards would be better taught, and the general level of school efficiency consequently raised. At present there are many pupils in the schools all over the country whose attendance is only spasmodic; there are many others who cease to attend after one year or two. The loss of many or all of these from the roll of students would not, I believe, be a matter of grave national importance, and there would be at least a compensation in the increased attention that could be given to those that remain. Also, so large a decrease would inevitably mean that a number of schools would close, as several depleted schools in one neighbourhood could combine. Considerable economies also be its accredited and supported agent in seeing that its policy is carried out in its entirety.

Lenyalo ke papali-manyalo a mangata a joalo bophelo bona ke selotho, le bona bophelo ho phela bantle ho seng hona mantsiboea u botebile ho phela kamonate ho molemo baholo hofeta leruo ke baka leo ha u tsoare hile ke mokhohlane na ha u rate ho nchafatsa bophelo ba hao. Itsose uena, letsatsi la khale Loants'a sera hang ka Woods' Great Peppermint Cure.

CONCLUSION.

65. The whole of Head 3, section (f), of the report of the East African (Command 2387) is very deserving of study by all interested in the question of native Education, and much that is written therein is applicable to Basutoland. I would draw especial attention to the following points emphasised by the Commission —

(a) The primary object of missionary Educational work has ever been evangelisation.

(b) There is a danger lest over-emphasising of literary Education produce an unemployable clerical classes of men, divorced from the interests and activities of their fellows, dissatisfied with the rewards that can be earned on the completion of their studies. National Education needs to be linked up with bygiene, agriculture and handicrafts.

(c) It is important that a Diretor of Education be given a status not lower than those of the heads of other important departments, and where possible made a member of the Executive and Legislative Councils.

(d) Every effort should be made, both indiretly through missionary bodies and by direct provision of Government trained teachers, to improve the standard of teachers, especially in the elementary schools.

(e) The medium of instruction should be the native language, English being introduced at a later stage. English, when taught, should be taught thoroughly and properly, a smattering being both useless and undesirable.

(f) What should be considered of still more importance is the influence of the school on the character and outlook of its members. Great emphasise should be laid on dicipline and the inculcation of social reponsibility, especial attention being paid to the class from which the future chiefs will be drawn.

66. To summarise, then, the following recommendations are made:—

(1) That Government should assume compiete control of the Educational policy of the count y.

(2) That Government appoint a committee to consider (a) the advisability of drawing up a new syllabus of work for use in the schools of the territory; (a) the advisability of conducting its own examinations and issuing its own certificates

(3) That the position and duties of the Director of Education be more clearly defined.

(4) That the staff of the Education Department be increased by the addition of three European and native Native inspectors, and that each inspector visit not less than seventy five schools in a year.

(5) That the departmental estimates when finally approved should not be considered confidential; the Director's annual report should show how all sum have been allocated item by item; that all Educational accounts of the missions should be open at any time to inspection by the Director or his representive.

(6) That no school should qualify

HO HONG HO TS'EPEHANG

Lets'ollo le batla le atisa hoba teng baholo kapa banyane ka khoeli ena' Lula u le loketse- Chamberlain's Colic. le Diarrhoea Remedy e ts'oanetse le o fumanoa kheisng ea hao ea meriana ka mehla. 'Me hoo ke polo-ko qetellong. E phekola ka mehla 'me e phekola ka pele. E rekisoa ke bahoebi bohle.

General Hertzog and the Natives.

There is much uneasiness here among the workers for native interests about the trend of General Hertzog's legislation in South Africa. The Colour Bar Bill, which gives the Government power to exclude natives from the skilled trades, is now law, and a further series of measures is proposed which in one way or another is detrimental to the position of the natives. One of these measures is a Bill which sweeps away the Cape native franchise and substitutes a limited and indirect vote.

The difficulty is to discover some way in which criticism in this country can be made effective. It is often said that nothing whatever can be done, that these matters are now entirely the concern of South Africa. Nevertheless, efforts will be made to obtain publicity here for the views of Englishmen who oppose anti-native legislation in South Africa. One proposal is that no further territories occupied by natives should be transferred to the Union Government while the Colour Bar Act and similar legislation remains operative. It is possible that a debate on the whole question will be arranged in the House of Lords early in the session.

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The difficulty is to discover some way in which criticism in this country can be made effective. It is often said that nothing whatever can be done, that these matters are now entirely the concern of South Africa. Nevertheless, efforts will be made to obtain publicity here for the views of Englishmen who oppose anti-native legislation in South Africa. One proposal is that no further territories occupied by natives should be transferred to the Union Government while the Colour Bar Act and similar legislation remains operative. It is possible that a debate on the whole question will be arranged in the House of Lords early in the session.

LIBERIA AND THE MISSIONARIES

According to press reports recently received in this country, President C. D. B. King of Liberia is said to have recommended to the legislature of his country that the good offices of the foreign Christian missionaries be dispensed with and that the control of such activities be left to the citizens of Liberia. This alleged suggestion of the head of the Liberian Government has naturally aroused considerable discussion. To those religious organizations that have for nearly a century sent men, women and money into Liberia this naturally seems like a very ungrateful gesture. Something like a quarter of a million dollars is spent by Negro denominations for missionary work in Africa and a large portion of that amount is spent in Liberia, and much good work has probably been accomplished. It is said that the Negro missionaries in Liberia have done much to aid the little West African Republic in house building and general economic improvement.

Such an action as that recommended by President King is not, of course unprecedented. Henry VIII of England broke with the Catholics and founded the Anglican Church and in the 17th Century the Japanese authorities expelled all Christian missionaries from their Empire. In both instances the reason for this action was similar to that stated by President King, namely to get rid of foreign educational influences and place the control of such activities under natives of the country.

Liberia, like all countries, has its special problems and doubtless feels that they can best be solved by Liberians. This is unquestionably in line with the theory of self-determination of nations enunciated by the late President Wilson. Liberia can doubtless struggle along without foreign missionaries, Negro or Caucasian, particularly since the Firestone Company has guaranteed the economic advantages that the missionaries have tried to give. As for the Negro missionaries and the thousands of dollars that they spend annually in Liberia, they can use both their time and money and talents to as good, and probably better, advantage right here in the United States. Better housing and better economic advantages are sorely needed among American Negroes, and the challenge of decreasing church membership among Aframericans should certainly stimulate the Negro missionaries to more intensive and intelligent activity right here in these so obviously United States.

Hence, the loss to Liberia (if such it should prove to be) may redound to the advantage of the American Negroes.

THE AFRICAN AS "ECONOMIC MAN."

The address of Sir Ransford Slater to the Legislative Council of Sierra Leone, referred to in our leading article to-day, forms the subject of a leading article in the "Manchester Guardian," in the course of which that journal remarks :—

It is most interesting to learn that the Government has met with difficulty in carrying out the recommendations of the Advisory Committee on Native Education recently set up by the Colonial Office. The Committee advised that all teachers should belong to the same tribe as the children they teach, and that the tribal language should be the only medium of instruction. The report tells us that "the people in the Protectorate strongly object to the Native language being taught in the schools." The report also points out the remarkable fact that there are very few teachers who are capable of teaching in a Native language. One is glad to find the Governor coming down strongly on the side of African opinion despite the advice of the Colonial Office "experts," even to the extent of allowing English to be taught from the first standard. One hopes the moral will not be lost on the Colonial Office. Experts are invaluable people, and their increasing employment in African administration is a sign of progress. The mystery is why people who have never taught Africans should be considered experts in African education.

The problem of the day in West Africa is whether competition with the fruit of plantation-grown oil-palms elsewhere in the tropics is going to affect the prosperity of the oil-palm industry in British West Africa, where the fruit of wild palms only is gathered. On this subject the report is rather disappointing. So far as one can judge, the plans of the Government were wisely laid. But just why their execution failed is not explained. It is impossible not to believe that even if the threatened competition were not in question the planting of the more valuable varieties of the palm would not vastly increase the yield and diminish the labour of gathering the nuts and kernels. It is greatly to be hoped that next year the Governor will be able to report the planting of an adequate number of experimental stations. In a sense the whole future of agriculture in the tropics depends on what happens in British West Africa, since nowhere else do economic crops and the land they grow upon belong to the people of the soil. Cocoa gave the African his first chance to prove his independence as an "economic man."

UNPREJUDICED ACCOUNT OF WHAT ENGLAND HAS DONE IN KENYA, AFRICA

Entering the Country Under Pretext of Protection, They Shamefully Dispossessed Natives and Reduced Them to Peons

By DR. NORMAN LEYS
In The London New Leader

Conservatives tell us that our tropical dependencies are models for the world. Most Socialists believe that their inhabitants have been enslaved by British Capitalists. Let us take Africa and try to state without prejudice exactly what the facts are.

There are four British dependencies in West Africa and five in East Africa. The Colonial Office is in control of all the nine. But its West African policy is totally different from its East African policy. Generally speaking, the land in West Africa is native owned. In the countries of British East Africa not the natives but the Governments own the land, and in these countries they have given large areas of it to British planters. Some of the items of our country's policy in West Africa Socialists cannot approve of. But we ought to recognize that the countries of British West Africa are the only ones in all tropical Africa in which either the best of the land or the whole of it has not been stolen from the natives. That is what has happened, not only in French and Belgian and Portuguese Africa, but in British East Africa, notably in Kenya Colony.

Europeans Take the Best Land

Imperialists justify this theft of land—for compensation for its seizure is never paid—on two grounds. There are large areas of high, healthy country in East Africa, with a climate that Europeans enjoy. Only an Imperialist would think it a good excuse for stealing to say that the thieves wanted what they stole. The second excuse is more subtle. We had best state it in the words of the most responsible authorities.

The governors of the five dependencies in British East Africa had a conference last spring, and published a report in which they laid down a policy to which Mr. Amery has just given the approval of the Imperial Government. In that report they write:—

> Where the population is sufficiently numerous, development can be carried on under European administration and the produce marketed by European merchants. That is the natural course of affairs in West Africa. But in East Africa the pouulation is not sufficient to secure development in the same manner. . . . For these reasons East Africa has already been committed to what is known as the dual policy, that is, to a combination of non-native and native production. . . . In the Highlands of Kenya the native population is totally insufficient and unfitted to develop the country.

What this means is this. Nearly all the natives in Kenya lived in these very Highlands. It is true that the population was not nearly large enough to cultivate the whole area. There would have been sense, and perhaps justice, too, in giving the land in the uninhabited parts to strangers to cultivate, since the natives were too few to cultivate it all themselves. One would suppose from the words of this report that we did so. In fact we did the very opposite.

Taking the Other Way

The Government gave about half the best of the land to fewer than two thousand Europeans, and then did everything in its power—and it has powers unheard of elsewhere—to get

Bantu Men's Social Centre.

Special Announcement for November

B M. S. C. Constitution; You will find enclosed with this months bulletin a copy of the B. M. S. C. Constitution which has been printed for your benefit. We hope you will make use of it and keep it for the future reference.

Membership Campaign: One more week before the membership campagin comes to a close. The score now stands:

Kumalo	**17**
Msimang	**15**
Rathebe J. R.	8
Mpama	0
Rathebe, I.	0

The captains and Mr Adams may be coming around to see you this week about renewing your member ship, but don't wait for them to come before you decide to renew!

GUEST NIGHT: November 12th, 1926. Mrs Bridgman, wife of the late Dr Bridgman will be our guest, having just returned from America. Let us all turn out to welcome her back to Johannesbug. It will be a fine evening for all, with special music, comedy play, special comedy, Bioscope films and refreshments. Come and bring your wife and kiddies

CRICKET: Application has been made for the use of the new sports grounds on the Wemmer Barracks property. We are confident that this

Race Problem - 1927 II

parcel of the mother country. Abyssinia and Liberia have at least germs of political existence, and as members of the League they are entitled to respect. But from Sahara to Kalahari the rest of the huge continent is still in a plastic state.

"*A first solution would consist in pooling the whole area* under the ægis of the League or at least under the collective mandate of the western European nations. Italians and Germans would then feel themselves free, and anybody's equal on the banks of the Niger, the Congo, the Zambesi, or the Upper Nile. There is a sinister shadow across such a fair scheme; the ghost of the lamentable Congo Free State....One failure, however, is no final argument....The chief difficulty is that of language."

The writer then goes on to suggest the use of Esperanto as a common use of speech in the administration of the entire zone, as the use of any two European languages would give such nations undue advantage over others. But not being entirely satisfied with the practicability of this solution, and citing Tangiers as an example of the failure of international administration, he further suggests *partitioning tropical* Africa among the European Power, but says he—

"In such a partition the danger would consist in systematically sacrificing the weak. It would be easy enough to satisfy Germany and Italy at the sole expense of Belgium and Portugal. Indeed, England was toying, and more than toying, with such a nation just before the outbreak of the Great War England and France would lose nothing; on the contrary they might collect a commission for their services as honest brokers; or, in the blunt Bismarckian phrase, receive a tip."

Still Mr. Guerard makes a third suggestion, enlarging on the second suggestion for partitioning tropical Africa—

"If France and England jointly would match, mile for mile, what Portugal and Belgium had to jettison, a very handsome mass would be created wherewith to satisfy Italy and Germany. England and France would retain all their possessions outside Africa; and in Africa their share would still be larger and more valuable than those of their new associates....Roughly speaking, we might suggest, that England should keep the east coast from Cape to Cairo, and France rule the Niger Basin, leaving the rest to Italy and Germany."

Of course the writer stipulates that the "Open Door" should be maintained in all exchanged territories. And so we have before us the scheme to partition tropical Africa on a grand scale, in order to admit Italy and Germany into full partnership with the other despoilers of Africa and her wealth. As Europeans can not live and thrive in any large numbers in tropical Africa, it is unqestionably a scheme to further exploit the raw material of that rich continent, because Africans at home are not strong enough to protect their country from further invasion and exploitation. The wealth derived from Africa would then be used by these two nations for aggressions in Europe and elsewhere, and their excuse would be that they need territory for their surplus populations, which is now their daily cry.

Mr. Guerard, however, admits that the question cannot be settled for all times along such lines, and that the imperialists are anxious now, "because they feel that in 50 years it will be too late;" yet not wanting to give Negroes credit for manly ambitions, common to all peoples, and that is independence and self-government, he states—

"Africa for the Africans is not a political cry or a pious wish; it is a necessity which we can bend to our will only in a small degree."

While Mr. Geurard seems to think that partitioning tropical Africa among the European nations will prevent another war during the next half-century, we believe he is reckoning without his host, for with the growing spirit of Nationalism in Africa, and the natural repercussion from Asia throwing off white domination; it does not seem wise to think that European nations can, for another 50 years, plunder the wealth of Africa. Any attempt to carry out Mr. Guerard's proposals, will only tend to heighten the hatred of people of African descent toward Europeans and solidify them more strongly in their effort to redeem Africa and rule themselves. Nine years ago Marcus Garvey said—

"Africa is the bone of contention among the robber-nations of the world;" it is this conviction that urged him to pursue the word of African Redemption, and we who were short-sighted enough as not to follow him, are now beginning to value him as a prophet, and appreciate his great work.

A Non-European Conference.

A conference of non-European organisations and prominent non European leaders, the first of its kind to be held in South Africa, is being convened to meet in Kimberley on Thursday, June 23, Dr. A. Abdurrahman is the convener having been asked to act as such by the informal gathering of leading men of the non-European community which was held in Capetown early this year This gathering, which was quite representative was attended among others by Chief Fenyang, D.T.S., Mr. Le Fleur of the African National Bond. Rev. A Peterson, Professor Jabavu, Mr. J. G Gumbs of the I.C.U. Mr. R. V Selope-Thema, Mr Erkstein of the Cape Malay Association, Mr. M Pelem of the Bantu Union, Mr de Vries of the South African Moslem Association, Mr. Ismail of the South African Indian Congress, Mr R. de Norman of the Colonial Born Indian Association, Mr. Jackson of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, Dr. Abdurahman and Mr S. Wentzel of the African Peoples Organisation. Dr. Abdurahman, who presided at this informal gathering, explained that he had been urged again and again to call together a non-European conference in South Africa He hoped that those present, although they held no mandate from their respective organisations would not hesitate to express their opinion freely and fearlessly. The discussion which ensued showed that there was perfect unanimity as to the desirability of encouraging the movement and of holding a conference It was regretted that no attempt had been made in the past to call together the non-European organisations during the critical periods through which the non-European peoples had passed Eventually the following resolutions were unanimously adopted :—

(a) That in the opinion of this meeting it is essential for the future welfare of our people that there should be closer co-operation among non-European organisations; and (b) that a conference be held towards the end of June in Kimberley.

It is a strange coincidence that when the two white races are engaged in a controversy over the Flag Bill, a controversy which is threatening to assume an ugly aspect, the non-European races of this land should think of closing up their ranks Hitherto the non-European have been divided because it was the policy of successive Governments to "divide and rule." It was Lord Selborne who warned South Africa against treating the coloured races of this land alike. He favoured different al treatment because that would keep them separated Evidently the Prime Minister in formulating his Native policy took into consideration this warning, for we find in his four Bills that the Coloureds and the Malays are to be treated as a separate unit.

It is not the intention of the promoters of this conference to bring about an amalgmation of non-European organisations Their sole object is to encourage co-operation, goodwill and harmony, in order that the various races may be enabled to take co-operative action whenever occasion calls for a defence of their rights. It must be remembered that the problem which General Hertzog is endeavouring to solve is a world wide problem. It is a question of colour, and not a question of Natives, Asiatics or coloureds.—"Umteteli."

ABYSSINIAN CHURCH PLANS VATICAN UNION

Coldness of Nations Leads to Alliance

Addis Ababa, Abyssinia.—The friendly spirit shown by Italy and the Vatican at Rome and the disappointment of the Abyssinian government when the United States and other nations did not send minister residents to the state ceremonies last spring has led the negus of Abyssinia to turn toward Rome.

Duca Degli Abruzzi of Italy appeared on the scene last spring bringing a luxurious automobile for the regent, Ras Tafari, a watch for the king, a diamond bracelet for the dowager queen and mechanical and beautiful toys for the royal children. The cousin of the king of Italy was also accompanied by an important official of the Vatican, traveling incognito as the Abbe Brucardi.

ITALY AND ABYSSINIA FORGET DIFFERENCES

The result of this mission, judging from the official organ of the court of the "negus negusti," or king of kings and the reaction produced in the press of Italy, has been a great revival of diplomatic and commercial bonds between Italy and Abyssinia and the obliteration of all memory of the alleged conspiracy on the part of Italy and England a year ago to obtain political dominance in the kingdom. It is also said that the mission of the "Abbe," which was to establish a modus vivendi between the church in Abyssinia and the Vatican, has every promise of an early success.

In Abyssinia the state religion has a modification of the Coptic Christian church, which has been most expensive to carry on because the bishop is "purchased" from the Coptic patriarch at Cairo, the doubtful successor of the patriarchs of Alexandria, one of whom appointed Frumentius, later declared a saint, as the first ruling ecclesiastic in the fourth century. Since then, with the exception of eight years in the 17th century, when the authority of Rome was acknowledged, successive Abyssinian bishops have been appointed by the head of the Coptic church in Egypt, and in the old days wars were fought to sustain his authority.

ITALY MOVES TO REGAIN POWER LOST IN 1604

Early in the 16th century, unknown to the authorities in Egypt, a mission was sent to the Vatican, and later the Portuguese mission succeeded in having Andre de Oviedo sent as the first papal nuncio. This was done, however, without any attempt to dispute the authority of the Coptic hierarchy in Egypt.

The crisis came in 1604, when the king of kings made full submission to Rome, was dethroned and slain by the army of the Coptis, who even exiled the Society of Jesus, the Portuguese priests who had succeeded in bringing many parishes under Rome, and firmly re-established the authority of the patriarch of Alexandria.

Recently Rome ecclesiastics, urged on by the Fascista government of Italy, it is said, have deemed that the time was ripe to make an attempt to win back the church in Abyssinia. In the past many missionaries have sought to do what Abbe Brucardi seems to be on the point of accomplishing. Seventy years ago Michael Ghebre became a martyr in the cause and was recently elevated to altar honors by Pope Pius XI.

Ras Tafari has great respect for both the Quirinal and the Vatican. In spite of objections from Cairo he permits the Abyssinian church to use

native missionaries trained in the Abyssinian Ecclesiastical college of Rome, and is said to be ready to enter the fold of Rome just as soon as a sufficient number of parishes acknowledge the pope, so as to make objections from Cairo of no great importance.

AFRICAN AGENT SECURES A TWO MILLION LOAN

Plan for Co-operative Cocoa Market

New York, Aug. 26.—Winifred Tete-Ansa of Accra, Gold coast, West Africa, announced Sunday he had concluded the preliminaries for a $2,000,00 loan from New York banking interests. The loan will be used to market co-operatively Gold Coast cocoa. Mr. Ansa, who is a native of Africa, and the cocoa producers, who are his clients are the paramount chiefs of tribes along the Gold coast, plan to establish a co-operative crop bank of $100,000 capital.

Shortly after the world war Mr. Tete-Ansa went to London from the Gold coast determined, he said, to find some way to break the African and Eastern's hold on the Gold coast's cocoa industry, the colony's principal crop. He studied the methods of British co-operatives.

Seek World For Funds

He returned to Gold coast and persuaded the feudal chieftains to form a co-operative of their own.

Mr. Tete-Ansa proposed that the chieftans and their subjects should send part of their cocoa direct to Europe or America, to be exchanged there for the manufactured goods which they require. If this could be done successfully, he prophesied all other traders would be forced to meet the co-operative's terms and the exploitation would cease.

With the chieftain's consent gained, it then remained to find the capital to put the co-operative in motion. Mr. Tete-Ansa returned to London. He could get no credit there, because, he says, of the African and Eastern's hostility. He went to Berlin. There he was partly successful. Six weeks ago he came to New York.

Mr. Tete-Ansa quoted British government reports to show the Gold coast produced 52 per cent of the world's cocoa. None of this now comes to the United States. It all goes through London.

Most of it is handled by the African and Eastern, an amalgamation of London cocoa importing interests formed during the war. Mr. Tete-Ansa declares the African and Eastern and its subsidiaries fix the price of cocoa on the Gold coast, and fix it far below the world price level.

To Take American Staff

The financial representative of the African chiefs stated when questioned as to the bank staff and management personnel to run the newly formed co-operative cocoa enterprise said:

"I'm taking a white staff back with me, a white bank manager and accountants. I'll need Americans, because a good part of the bank's business will be with America. No, I won't use any New York Negroes. You see"—Mr. Tete-Ansa's manner showed he did not want to be impolite to his hosts with whom he was stopping in Harlem—"while I haven't been in New York very long, I've got the impression Negroes over here haven't much business training and experience. There are a few insurance brokers or real estate brokers, but no one who seems to have any grasp of sound business principles."

COTTON GROWING IN THE CONGO.

Successful Belgian Experiment.

Native cotton planting in the Belgian Congo is developing rapidly, states a special report of the Comité Belge d'Etudes et d'Expansion, a non-commercial body formed to encourage colonial enterprise in general. As a result of its enterprise in this form of agricultural activity native planters will this year receive for their cotton crops a total of over 12,000,000 francs. Cotton cultivation is giving good results and increasingly large numbers of natives are being attracted to this form of industry.

Both the Government, for purposes of revenue by means of labour and other taxes, and private companies for the sake of trading profits, are actively encouraging the natives to take up large plots for cotton cultivation. The factories in the Congo for treating the raw material are mostly of American design, provided with the latest labour-saving devices and capable of dealing with up to 4,000 tons per season. The Belgian mills, which manufacture most of the cotton thus treated, will this year handle an estimated turnover of something like 40,000,000 francs worth of Congo cotton.

There is every reason to believe, states the report, that in the course of a few years, and provided the native planters continue to receive practical help from Government and trading companies, the bulk of the 40,000 tons required to keep the Belgian mills busy will be supplied by the Congo. On this basis the resultant revenue for Belgian industry will work out, it is estimated, at a good half-million francs per annum. Government experimental plantations are being used more and more by native planters desirous of mastering technical details of selection, cultivation and cropping.—"Financial Times"

COLUMBIA, S. C.
State
JUN 14 1927

A Fight for a "White" Africa.

The fight is not, of course, for a "white Africa" continent. That would be preposterous, even should the European countries, aided by the United States in Liberia, undertake to rub all the black off the surface of the Dark Continent and repaint it white.

The Negro is in Africa to stay; it has been his world since, perhaps, the prime of the race or races—unless there are those that still reckon with Ham, the dark son of Noah. That Africa, with the exception of relatively small territories, such as South Africa, Egypt, French Africa, and, in a certain measure, Abyssinia, will remain permanently Negro, there can hardly be any question.

The fight we refer to is over "color" in South Africa, still a part of the British Empire. In that region as in parts of this country, there is the inevitable struggle for the survival of the fittest to survive—physically. Both of the white races in the territory, British and Boer, are opposed to the blackman, but the English are willing to suffer his presence in the Colony and a share in a small way, of the privileges and perquisites of citizenship. The Boer however, wishes none of him. The Dutch would exclude the blacks from entering white territory, but would compensate them with cessions of land in certain areas.

The difference of opinion antedates the Boer struggle for independence. The situation is said by those familiar with the scene to be finely and fairly sketched in "The South-Africans" by Sarah Gertrude Millin, who seems, nevertheless, to favor or at least incline to, the Boer side of the controversy between the two white elements that are gradually crowding out the black.

The real black, or Negro, part of the question belongs, for us of the South in America, in a familiar setting. But there is another feature in the South-African controversy that is of universal interest and is somewhat closer to our own business and bosoms.

In South Africa the Indian, the Hindu, is tremendously involved with the Negro. Although the better opinion of white peoples everywhere, outside South Africa, classes the Indian as white and Caucasian to the Africanders they are "colored people," blacks, Negro. All the dark peoples look alike to the Dutch although the Dutch get on better with so-called inferior races than any of the white conquistadores. It was the hard condition of his people in South Africa that so aroused the "mahatma" and prophet and liberator in the soul of the great Gandhi, who later carried his crusade home to India itself.

The colored races, no matter how civilized and how highly they derive, will fare ill in this "hard Dutch-stubborned land." The Boer, brave and hardy and violently independent, is very intolerant of any sort of resistance to his own peculiar culture. From a review of this book, by Rebecca Hourwich, in the New Republic, we quote the following:

Because the native was not a friend, because he was and is lazy, the sugar planters of the '60s brought to South Africa indentured labor from India. As is often the way of downtrodden races, the Indians toiled early and late and hoarded every penny, and because they were natural lovers of fruits and flowers they turned Natal into a garden colony and made it yield them gold. From these humble beginnings, the Indians rose to almost complete control of the trade of Natal. And then a hue and cry was raised; and then the passive resistance movement in which Gandhi now leads India, and then led South Africa, was born. Other countries may class the Indian as a Caucasian, but South Africa has its own anthropology. There the Indian comes under the color bar.

This seems almost a leaf torn from the history of the experience of California with the Japanese and Chinese—of the experience of the Southern planters, of the experience of every settled people that needs cheaper labor than its own, and imports colonists, slaves, the seeds of disaster.

The experiment that is making in South Africa, although in a more intolerant spirit than would be exercised in this country or in most others, will be watched with peculiar and not altogether reminiscent interest by both coasts of the United States.

SHOULD THE TERM "CREOLE" BE APPLIED TO THE SIERRA LEONEAN?

From the frequent use by the Honourable Mr. Ormsby Gore of the term Creole as applied to the People of Freetown and the subjoined extract from the very able, informing and practical speech of the Rural Member, Mr. A. E. Tuboku Metzger we desire to open a symposium and request some of our leading educational lights to contribute their views. We have known the term to have been used rather loosely in referring to the dirty hards and some times the dare-devils amongst Sierra Leoneans; but have never thought it could be used as has been done by the Under-Secretary of State in his report where scientific facts and expressions must count. It was rather gratifying when on the debate on the last address of His Excellency the Governor, Mr. Tuboku Metzger, a living encyclopeodia of things historic in this Colony, took the matter up and in the able way our readers would find, dealt with it until it brought forth the retort from the Honourable the Colonial Secretary Mr. H. C. Luke, that "no one uses the term as applying to Sierra Leoneans more than the local Press." Undoubtedly this is a poor retort to have come from such a high official. But it is true, and we have often wondered why some of our editors and other writers find themselves wedded to it. As for ourselves we have never used it. We are asking therefore some of our leading citizens to give us and our readers the benefit of their views on the subjects. We do not confine ourselves to any particular persons but naturally we expect to hear something from the African Principals and tutors in our schools and college. We should expect to hear from our public spirited champion for the people's rights, Mr. J. C. Shorunkeh Sawyerr and perhaps for reasons known to us, we would also invite the opinion of the Rev. F. H. Johnson. Mr. Metzger's views are as follows:

"It is unfortunate that Mr. Ormsby-Gore used the word "creoles" in that report. It is a misnomer to apply the word to the people of Sierra Leone. I observed that in all Your Excellency's despatches, addresses or writings, you have never employed the term. I observed Your Excellency to have used it twice only. I noticed it, once in a certain writing, and another time in addressing the common people, to make yourself understood. The word is a French word derived from a Spanish word, originally and strictly applied to the Spanish, French and Portuguese colonies of America and in the West Indies, either to natives of pure English parentage and blood, born in the colonies in opposition to the emmigrants themselves born in Europe or their offspring of mixed blood born in the Colony. The word was first imported into this colony by the Nova Scotians, who came from Nova Scotia where they were accustomed to hear the word applied to the children of European immigrants born in the Colonies to distinguish them from the immigrants themselves. The Nova Scotian settlers who first settled here, were not so intelligent, and with their ideas they misapplied the word "Creoles" to their children born in the colony. In opposition to themselves who were tranplanted here. Lately the liberated Africans who knew no better, adopted the word and misapplied it to their children born in the Colony. Now we often hear aboriginal Temnes, Mendes, Limbas and other tribes, use and apply the term to their children born in the Colony as distinguished from those born in the protectorate. Hence we hear such expression Temne creole, Mende creole, Limba creole, Madinga creole, and so forth. The early writers of the history the Colony governors, officials, missionaries and philologists never used the term in their writings, because it was not what may be termed an educational or literate expression. The first official I observed to have used it in a Government document was Mr. Wilbraham, commissioner of Census 1911. He was a youngman who never studied the history of the country as Major Crooks his predecessor as Commissoner of Census did, and the Government accepted it. The expression is a slang; and, in colloquial talks, may be used as conveying a certain idea in the Community. But it seems a degeneracy from the proper use of English expression and English language to use it in any educational books, as it is a misapplication.

I am sorry that our Government publications have mis-led such a highly placed Englishman as Mr. Ormsby-Gore, to use in his report an inappropriate term. I am not a creole, I dislike the expression which is being misused in the Colony when the word Sierra Leonean could be apporpriately used.

The Colonial Secretary: Your Excellency, no one uses the term as applying to Sierra Leoneans more than the local Press.

The Rural Member: Our newspaper writers who should know better are to blame for indulging in the use of it so often."

Then we ask our readers for an expression of their opinions on the subject.

Race Problem - 1927

Canada.

THE FIRST

General Convention

OF THE

Dawn of Tomorrow

Canadian League for Advancement of Colored People

WILL BE HELD IN THE

10-8-27

Old City Hall, London

Dundas and Rectory Streets

London Canada.

Monday, October the 10th, 1927

Race Problem - 1927
Asia.

'WHITE MASTERY OVER ASIA IN PERIL'

'DOMINATING PRESTIGE LOST THROUGH VACILLATING POLICY IN CHINA

'Militaristic West, Grown Pacifistic Since War, Now Faces Orient Becoming Militant.'

By KARL H. VON WIEGAND.

SHANGHAI, May, 1927.

THE political domination of the white race in the Far East is doomed. The mastery of the white man in Asia is breaking. Its end, a considerable way off yet, but short as time counts in the Orient, is in sight. With it, by progressive stages, the very supremacy of the western races in the world may be drawn into question unless those races succeed in finding a common basis of solidarity for their mutual interests and western culture.

It is difficult to escape this conviction after traveling, as I have recently, from Morocco to Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, from Moscow to Manchuria and Harbin, Mukden, Peking to Shanghai, studying conditions, talking with representatives of every race and color, hearing what they have to say, what they think today of the white man and what their aspirations are.

Nowhere have I been more impressed with this than in China, and particularly here in Shanghai. Something like 100 warcraft of one kind or other, of the different powers, great and small, are concentrated in Chinese waters.

American and British gunboats and destroyers dash up and down the Yangtze River. Often they are fired upon. I am told, but have not verified it, that forty-five cases of Americans being fired upon have been reported to Washington since the first of the year. Britain, with about 20,000 troops, has occupied Shanghai.

A great display of force. Nothing happens. The Chinese laugh. A few Americans and more British have been killed, suffered injury and insult, have been robbed and their houses looted. There was much thundering, but no lightning struck; rumble of drastic notes, joint actions of the powers, sanctions, reprisals. The notes were tame, the demands tamer. There was no joint action, though identical notes. Up to this writing nothing has happened.

"JEALOUSIES, RIVALRIES, SUSPICIOUS"

The Chinese laugh. And well they might. They do not consider themselves in the slightest danger of anything drastic. They know that jealousies, trade rivalry, suspicion will keep the front of the powers well broken and that no power, not even Britain, is very likely to take real drastic steps or intervene to bring order out of chaos, uphold the white man's prestige and inculcate again respect for him and his power, because of the fear that another power may reap the benefits.

This is no argument for intervention in China. That is a matter of opinion. I am merely stating facts and conditions as I find them.

The white man's prestige is at a low ebb in China. He has lost "face." What that means only those who have been in China and elsewhere in the Orient understand in its full significance. The white man has dominated on his "face." He has been protected by his prestige.

Nothing better illustrates this than the fact that the British, with relatively only a few thousand white troops in India, rule more than 300,000,000 people in that country. Marshal Lyautey, the French "Fremont" of Morocco, told me, in Rabat, with how incredibly few white French officers and native troops he held that vast empire for France. While I was in Egypt, the British had only about 5,000 of their own troops in and around Cairo. Prestige and "face" did the rest.

"GRAVEDIGGERS OF PRESTIGE"

The gravedigger of white prestige and the white man's "face" in China, as elsewhere in the Orient, has been the white man. It began with the World War, when, hard pressed, the British brought native troops from India; the French, colored troops from Algiers, Morocco, Senegambia and Indo-China. They did not seem to realize that they were putting acid to the pillars of their own colonial empires when they aught their subject races to have no fear of the power or rowess of the white man.

In China it really began in this era with the Japanese' splendid colonial monument left behind by the Germans in that colony. Tsingtao, with wide avenues, tree-lined, beautiful buildings, big schools, wonderful harbor, is the neatest, cleanest and prettiest little town that I have so far seen in China. It looks like a town transplanted from Thuringia.

I traveled more than 300 miles through Shantung province. The railway built by the Germans is the best constructed and even today the best run of any railway in China. Along the entire stretch groves and young forests mark the work of the German forestry experts. And Germany was

To make matters worse, the British put white women, children, men—Germans, it is true, but white people at that—on freight steamers at Shanghai, with few accommodations, crowding and packing them in like cattle. The Chinese saw whites do that to whites. They saw British Germans—whites at spit at Germans. Today the Chinese are spitting at British!

"The Chinese Laugh"

If some of the stories told me here are true, then Chinese of the lowest mob have even dared to violate white—English—women in some of the recent excesses against foreigners.

Came the "American evac-

Race Problem - 1927
Asia.

'WHITE MASTERY OVER ASIA' IN PERIL, DOMINATING PRESTIGE LOST

THROUGH VACILLATING POLICY IN CHINA

'Militaristic West, Grown Pacifistic Since War, Now Faces Orient Becoming Militant.'

By KARL H. VON WIEGAND.

SHANGHAI, May, 1927.

THE political domination of the white race in the Far East is doomed.

The mastery of the white man in Asia is breaking. Its end, a considerable way in the future, but short as time counts in the Orient, is in sight. With it, by progressive stages, they very significantly [illegible] western faces in the world may be drawn into question unless those races succeed in finding a common basis of solidarity for their mutual interests and [illegible] culture.

It is difficult to escape this conviction after traveling, as I have recently, from Morocco to Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, from Moscow to Manchuria and Harbin, Mukden, Peking to Shanghai, studying conditions, talking with representatives of every race and color, seeing what they have to say, what they think today of the white man and what their aspirations are.

Nowhere have I been more impressed with this than in China, and particularly here in Shanghai. Something like 100 warcraft of one kind or other, of the different powers, great and small, are concentrated in Chinese waters.

American and British gunboats and destroyers dash up and down the Yangtze River. Often they are fired upon. I am told, but have not verified it, that forty-five cases of Americans being fired upon have been reported to Washington since the first of the year. Britain, with about 20,000 troops, has occupied Shanghai.

A great display of force. Nothing happens. The Chinese laugh. A few Americans and more British have been robbed and their houses suffered injury and insult, have been looted. There was much thundering, but no lightning struck; rumble of drastic notes, joint actions of the powers, sanctions, reprisals. The notes were tame, the demands tamer. There was no joint action, though identical notes. Up to this writing nothing has happened.

"JEALOUSIES, RIVALRIES, SUSPICIOUS"

The Chinese laugh. And well they might. They do not consider themselves in the slightest danger of anything drastic. They know that jealousies, trade rivalry, suspicion will keep the front of the powers well broken and that no power, not even Britain, is very likely to take real drastic steps or intervene to bring order out of chaos, uphold the white man's prestige and inculcate again respect for him and his power, because of the fear that another power may reap the benefits.

This is no argument for intervention in China. That is a matter of opinion. I am merely stating facts and conditions as I find them.

The white man's prestige is at a low ebb in China. He has lost "face." What that means only those who have been in China and elsewhere in the Orient understand in its full significance. The white man has dominated on his "face." He has been protected by his prestige.

Nothing better illustrates this than the fact that the British, with relatively only a few thousand white troops in India, rule more than 300,000,000 people in that country. Marshal Lyautey, the French "Fremont" of Morocco, told me, in Rabat, with how incredibly few white French officers and native troops he held that vast empire for France. While I was in Egypt, the British had only about 5,000 of their own troops in and around Cairo. Prestige and "face" did the rest.

"GRAVEDIGGERS OF PRESTIGE"

To make matters worse, the British put white women, children, men—Germans, it is true, but white people at that—on freight steamers at Shanghai, with few accommodations, crowding and packing them in like cattle. The Chinese saw whites do that to whites. They saw British spit at Germans—whites at whites. Today the Chinese are spitting at British!

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In China it really began in this era with the Japanese'—with the consent of the British—kicking Germany out of its colony at Tsingtao and Kiaochow, little realizing what it would mean to Britain to thus break the white solidarity of interests in China.

I was in Chingtao the other day and was amazed at the splendid colonial monument left behind by the Germans in that colony. Tsingtao, with wide avenues, tree-lined, beautiful buildings, big schools, wonderful harbor, is the neatest, cleanest and prettiest little town that I have so far seen in China. It looks like a town transplanted from Thuringia.

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Chinese Laugh at Fears of Foreigners'

uation hysteria," as it is called out here. Americans, men, women and children, fled. It demonstrated to the Chinese that the whites feared them, that the country of these whites could not, at least did not, protect them. Loss of "face," loss of prestige. The Chinese laughed.

Whites afraid! And no harm came to the Chinese even when the whites were mobbed, insulted, beaten, robbed, killed. And yet there are around here more than 100 warships.

"Flunny whites," as one Chinese remarked to me. He knew of the Boxer Expedition of American and European powers in 1900. He could understand that. Also the Chinese even of the lower class can understand beheading and being shot.

"A Vacillating Policy"

With the return of the German colony at Tsingtau to China, the Chinese got a new taste. Why not the colonies and concessions of the others? Helped and inspired by the Third International in Moscow, which claims solidarity with the white race and has its own little game to play, the Chinese began to kick the nationals of the other western powers around, including Americans. The Germans they leave alone.

I talked with missionaries in Shantung, where Americans and British had "evacuated"—a new word for fleeing. The Germans declared they had no intention of "evacuating."

In Shanghai, in Hankow, in Canton—everywhere—the Germans are sitting on the side line, doing business and looking on while the British and the Americans are getting a spoonful of the bitter medicine of which the Germans had to swallow a barrel. The Germans were put out of the international clubs in Shanghai and elsewhere. Now they are being begged to come in "to show the solidarity of the white races in the Far East!" A little late!

At that the Germans, I find, have no illusions. Neutral, as they are wise enough to be, they know full well that they are in the same boat with the other Western races; that the Chinese really make no distinction between them and other "foreigners," and that any trade advantages which flow to them as a result of the hatred toward the British and Americans are but temporary. For anything that affects the status of the Europeans and Americans is bound in the end to affect them, too.

England War-Weary

Sir Austen Chamberlain, has his monocled eye so glued to the Rhineland frontier and on the Locarno policy in Europe that he seems not to have known what has been going on in China for several years. Perhaps he is powerless. England is tired of wars. He was forced to concessions that meant loss of prestige and "face." A vacillating policy has brought it thus far in China. If he had been able by one show of force to stamp out the dangerous situation in Hankow at its inception the prestige of white diplomacy might have been saved. Now it is gone.

"Our government seems to pay no attention to our reports from here. What is happening I have told in my reports for two years was bound to happen unless proper action were taken," disgustedly remarked a high diplomat to me in Pekin. Another diplomat from another of the big powers said:

"What is the use of making long reports home? I don't believe they read them, else they would not act so surprised at what has happened." A third representative said: "It is so difficult to make my government understand."

What I have said is no argument against China becoming free, independent or why the selfish Chinese war lords, some of whom rose to great power and wealth from bandit chieftains, should not be put down and a real national government established, which certainly China has not now. But there are ways and means for that without killing Americans and Europeans and robbing them.

The Militant East

What I am trying to show from facts and conditions is that the weak, vacillating policies followed by the different powers, thinking only of their own particular interests, and very poorly and inadequately at that, has led to a crime against the white race through sacrifice of prestige and loss of "face" where those two imponderables are of the most vital importance.

The mills of the gods grind slowly. The Chinese mills are grinding to dust the prestige, the standing, the future of the white races, and the White Man himself is turning that mill. A sensible joint policy, aiding the best elements in China to mastery of their own country, and revision of unfair and unequal treaties and rights, doing justice to the Chinese, but safeguarding the justified interests of Americans and Europeans, can still accomplish much.

The wheel of destiny turns. The militaristic West is becoming pacifistic since the World War. The pacifistic East is awakening slowly but surely, and becoming militant.

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TWO typical fighting men in the front-line trenches in China, who are representative of the militant spirit that is now aroused in the Far East. They were caught by the camera during one of the recent battles between the Northern and Southern Chinese armies.

Race Problem - 1927

Asia

INDIA'S COTTON WORRIES

THE PENT-UP FORCES of antagonism between the cotton industry in Bombay and Lancashire give indications of peace again flaring up in India. Strange to say, Japan has supplied the match that promises to set this tinder of accumulated passion on fire. For years past the Japanese mill-owners have been buying cotton from India and sending it back in the form of cotton cloth. The mill-owners in Bombay, tho enjoying protection of 11 per cent. duty on imports, have been unable to meet this competition. The Japanese cotton imports into India exceeded $86,700,000 in 1925. On the plea of suffering from unprecedented depression, the Bombay mill-owners recently prevailed upon the Government of India to undertake an inquiry as to what steps could be taken to safeguard the interests of that industry. The special tariff board set up for that purpose recommended, among other things, the raising of the import duty to 15 per cent. The Government of India has refused to take that step, Indian leaders are openly interpreting this refusal as actuated by the British desire to protect Lancashire. But the Japanese press, which are keenly interested in Indian cotton, as will be seen later, tell us that the increased duties on imported cotton yarns have been sanctioned by the Lower House in India and they predict that they will be sanctioned also by the Upper Chamber. Indian leaders claim that something like half of the total exports from Britain into India consist of cloth, that the value of cotton goods shipped from England into India is three or four times the value of similar goods from Japan, and, therefore, the British are naturally anxious to safeguard Lancashire interests. Even so distinguished a leader as M. K. Gandhi—acclaimed in India as Mahatma, or high-souled—has not refrained from pressing such charges. He writes in his organ, *Young India* (Ahmadabad):

"This question of protection for mill industry against Lancashire and other foreign competition is a question of life and death for India as it is supposed to be one of life and death also for Lancashire. . . . Lancashire has risen on the ashes of India's cotton industry and it is sustained by the exploitation of the helpless millions of this land. The native mill industry is really regarded as an interloper and if it could be decently crusht in the interest of Lancashire it would be suppresst without ceremony.

"The stupendous interest of Lancashire is allowed to override every moral consideration. The existence of that industry harms both Lancashire and India. It has reduced India to pauperism and India's pauperism reduces Lancashire to moral bankruptcy."

In the view of Mahatma Gandhi, only if Indian capitalists and workers unite can they get the better of Lancashire, and he declares:

"The mill-owners of India will never be able to vindicate their position in the face of this almost unsurmountable obstacle unless they courageously make common cause with the people and force protection from the Government. It is the country's right. If the country has the right to determine the composition of its inhabitants and to exclude those whom it considers to be detrimental to its existence, it has a greater right to determine the composition of the goods that it would permit to be imported within its border and to exclude those that it may consider to be harmful to its population.

"There can be no doubt that foreign cloth is the most harmful among all our imports. The mill industry may for a time flourish somehow, it may also show temporary prosperity by various manipulations, or by favorable accidents, but unless it secures an effective protection against all foreign cloth it is bound to go under sooner or later and certainly much sooner than one expects.

"Some day or other there is bound to be a real sustained mass awakening, whether mad and indisciplined or—as I hope—disciplined and organized non-violently. And when it comes, the native mill industry, unless it is recognized as their own by the masses, will perish in the flames that must overtake foreign cloth.

"It is time for the mill-owners to make common cause with *Khadi* (hand-woven cloth) and wrest protection from the unwilling Government. There is room enough for years to come for both, if the province of each is now marked out and rigidly respected. It will be then possible for them to prosper in spite of government aloofness and even insidious opposition. But this presupposes intelligent sacrifice on the part of the mill-owners, a vital combination among them and an iron determination to carry through their program."

Mahatma Gandhi also makes out that the Government of India has artificially forced the exchange value of the Indian rupee to one shilling and sixpence instead of one shilling and fourpence—that is to say, twelve and a half per cent. higher. In so doing, he points out, that Government has enabled Lancashire to get out of India 12½ per cent. more than it would be able to get otherwise. He asks whether this hit aimed at the Indian cotton industry will stir that industry to "right action," and says: "No petition, no resolution in the Legislative Assembly, will be of any use unless it is backed up by elective mass action."

Meanwhile the mere proposal that the Indian Government increase custom duties on imported cotton yarns arouses the Japanese press, which interpret it as an obvious indication that imports from Japan are to be excluded. Thus the Osaka *Asahi* observes:

"The change will seriously influence trade with India, but the movement in Bombay against Japanese cotton yarns was broken down by the opposition of Delhi business bodies to the proposed abrogation of the Indo-Japanese treaty of commerce and navigation. The anti-Japanese movement has recurred at the instigation of cotton spinners in Great Britain, who wished to exclude Japanese goods through the establishment of a preferential tariff between Great Britain and India, but this was dropt for fear of making the situation acute. The tariff policy under contemplation seeks to support Great Britain at the expense of Japan and to retain India as a subject nation permanently so far as economic questions are concerned.

"The policy under discussion is extraordinary, tho it aims at the protection of India's industry, because it intends to impose heavy duties upon necessaries. In the past cotton spinners in India urged the revision of the tariff rate upon imported cotton yarns without objection by Indian consumers, but this did not imply the support of the policy by the Indians. The absence of opposition was attributed to the feebleness of the swaraj movement. The revised tariff now projected proposes heavy duties upon generally consumed yarns with light duties upon those descriptions which are considered luxurious. Such a policy conflicts with the interest of consumers.

"British cotton spinners will be immune from the effect of the revision, for they are exporters of fine qualities, and the encouragement for Indian spinners who turn out yarns of coarse qualities will prevent them from manufacturing those of fine qualities. Co-operation by British and Indian spinners will mitigate the heat of anti-British feeling prevalent among the Indians, will give an opportunity to institute the preferential tariff, and will enable British spinners to monopolize the cotton business in India. Such a measure is, however, suggestive of the decline of Britain's economic influence in her possession, and from this it may be seen that the suzerain nation is not in a position to maintain its prosperity for a long time.

"The increase of customs duties will advance the prices of cotton yarns and fabrics in India and will prove favorable to Japanese exporters to some extent at the considerable loss of the Indians. The tariff warfare among the nations of the world is coming to an end and evils resultant from it will soon be set right.

"It is a well-known fact that the cotton industry in India is in an undesirable state, from which it must be saved for the general welfare, and we confidently expect that opposition to the revised tariff policy will be voiced by the Indians and that their opposition will conduce to the growth of the national movement."

According to the Tokyo *Chugai Shogyo*, the increased duties on imported cotton yarns have been sanctioned by the Lower House in India, and this journal believes the bill will be accepted by the Upper Chamber. According to the latest report, this newspaper adds, India is undertaking similar action in connection with imported cotton fabrics, and it is stated that:

"This is a great question for our spinning industry. We have to lay down a plan to stand against the proposal to assert our interest.

"This policy can be retaliated by increased levies upon imports from India, but the blow to the Indians will react upon ourselves. Our difficulties will be greater than those of the Indians. Owing to the scarcity of natural resources, Japan is under the necessity of introducing raw materials to turn out goods at the reduced cost of production and to safeguard our position in the international market. The increase of customs duties had better be avoided, or else this should be done at the least possible rate in case of pressing necessity. Retaliation is ill-advised."



International Newsreel photograph

TARIFF PROTECTION FOR INDIA'S COTTON INDUSTRY IS "A QUESTION OF LIFE AND DEATH"



International Newsreel photograph

A LITTLE COTTON LADY IN INDIA

Pickens Finds Hindus Have Set Up A Little India In England- Prejudice Less

English Eat Few Vegetables, But Many Fruits.—arble Arch Like Boston Common Place Where Soap Orators Are Undisturbed

Fruit Ships

By William Pickens

(For The Associated Negro Press)

BRISTOL, ENGLAND.— Bristol in the southwest of England, was the great haven of the merchant ships and shippers who traded in African slaves. The Wood Clif House, on "Constitution Hill" where I stayed, was one of the grea mansions of these slave traders, built two hundred years ago.

Today it has many marks of its ancient masters: gun racks over the ample mantels, "hound gates" at the foot of the broad stairway, to keep the hunting dogs, which must have been much in the house, from going upstairs, great wide halls and rooms, and vast gardens.—Bristol is on the Avon (not the "Little Avon" on which Shakespeare's home is), and is really about five miles from the sea, but many ships come up the Avon with the tides, while the bigger ships unload at Avonmouth, the real seaport of Bristol.

A great "riverside drive" costing four million dollars, extends along the Avon from Bristol to its port. Driving along, one passes the ancient docks of the Roman galleys,—the great Roman masonry still standing as testimony to the solid work of those who mastered Britain under the Caesars of the early Christian centuries. Many Roman coins have been found about these crumbling docks.

At Avonmouth a great white fruit ship was just in from the West Indies, and was unloading bananas and grape fruit and oranges, —several trainloads of fruits. The British Islands seem to feed mostly on the rest of the world,—and one sees little vegetables on the average British table, but plenty of meat and many fruits. The fruits are less delicious than those we get in the United States, for with weeks of ocean travel ahead, they have to start with very green fruits from the far west.

The present population in Bristol seems as interested in the defense of freedom and equality as the slave trading population was in defense of slavery. Slavery was the source of vast wealth in Bristol, and even the preachers defended it, in the usual way, by finding Bible texts that supported slavery.

"The Garden Cities"

My next two meetings were in the Garden Cities of Letchworth and Welwyn, near London,—called garden cities, because each residence in them must have a garden, and there can be only a small number of dwellings to the acre. These cities were laid out and planned in every way, even as to shopping districts and public building plots.—They are beautiful cities, but the enforced maintenance of big lawns, flower gardens, and long hedges, is a burden to some of the poorer inhabitants, who cannot keep many servants.

Hindu Nationalism

On one of my last days in my December visit in Britain, I was invited to the "Union of Indian Students." It has a membership of about six hundred, and two hundred fifty appeared at lunch that day. They worship their native culture in this "union". I noticed that even the white women servants wore Indian headdress, to be more in harmony with the general atmosphere of the place.

There are students from every part of India, and the menu is Indian, with choices of "English" dishes. The pictures on the walls depict Indian religion, legend and culture. Nearly one hundred per cent of those students return to India, I was told. This center of life will therefore have a vast influence on the future of India. We can feel "nationalism" in the air.

They are suspicious, as are some American Negroes, when any white Englishman comes to them in a friendly approach: they think he must have some trick up his sleeve. This is unfortunate,—suspicion is a barrier,—and there are always some white people who are as sincere as any people can be in this world.

Little Prejudice

For 16 or 17 days they worked me as hard in England as I ever worked in the states; in that time I count up 14 meetings and conferences, mostly meetings of the "forum" type, where after the address there followed a half hour or more of questions, answers, and sometimes discussions from members of the audiences. Usually the chairman had to stop the meetings by request. The English are far less prejudiced along racial lines than are the Americans.

Slavery spoiled the American, as oppression in South Africa is spoiling the transplanted Englishmen there. There are many people in England who do not agree with the "color bar" spirit of South Africa —but the Union of South Africa has the control of its own local affairs as has Canada. But the Great INFLUENCE of the English can modify the policy in any part of the British empire, if that influence is aroused and directed.

The Quakers

Undoubtedly the most wonderful little group of people in all the British empire today are the Friends, as they so properly call themselves. They are true patriots, but also to their principles of human relationships. They will work and go to jail and die for their country,—but will not kill anybody else for it. That seems like a strange attitude to the present world, but will be a simple principle in the not so distant future. Science has made the world too small a community of interests for men to be willing to kill other men on any other part of the earth.

Nothing Wild

There is nothing wild or fanatical about these Quakers. They are the coolest, sanest, most hard-working people. They are only a small group, but they have just built in London a great quadrangle of offices for the conduct of their world service and their home services. They call this simply "The Friends House". In co-operation with American Quakers they maintain centers of service (not of proselytism) in many European cities, including Russia. This "house" of the English Quakers will have great an influence on the future of human relationships as a certain house in Downing street.

"Marble Arch"

London has an instiution which it would pay any large city to imitate; a special place for outdoor speaking, where any one, without permit, can go and get on his soapbog and talk to his heart's content, on any day, and especially on Sundays. Those, therefore, who want to listen, may go there, and those who don't, may stay away. And everybody is satisfied; the steam is blown off here, freely and unhindered.

"Fascist"

Sometimes a "Fascist" may be speaking right next to a Communist,—or an atheist may have his crowd next to a crowd listening to a Catholic. In the open spaces at the Marble Arch anybody may te "his", unhindered by police or an body else.—This is very shrewd the English. It is the best way e er invented to keep trouble witl bounds. When most people ha fully expressed themselves, they a "through". To prevent or hind their expression, is to make th little pots boil and ferment.—T may all talk it out at the Mart Arch,—and those who do not ca to hear it, can got to—everywhe else.

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Asia.

SENATOR BINGHAM HITS NORDIC SNOBBERY

NOT ONLY IS United States Senator Hiram W. Bingham of Connecticut able to see the under dog's point of view—others have done that before him—but he is also willing to fly in the face of tradition and precedent by taking up the cudgels in defense of that much-abused animal. At a dinner given recently in his honor in Honolulu, his native city, by Gov. Wallace F. Farrington, of Hawaii, he fired this sensational broadside at his astonished fellow guests, as reported by the New York *Evening Post:* "I want to tell you right now that if a half-dozen of the prominent white people of Manila were to invite a few of the cultured and prominent Filipinos to be their guests at a tea, the agitation for Philippine independence would die right then and there!"

Literary Digest

The world-wide social discrimination, not to say ostracism, that our Oriental brethren have so long patiently endured at the hands of the so-called superior race has been observed and accepted as a matter of course by generations of whites, the great majority of them men of kindly heart and decent feeling. But this has by no means been the case with Senator Bingham. With sorrow not unmixed with wrath he has seen the cynical attitude of superiority adopted by Caucasians of all classes toward the teeming millions of the Orient more or less directly under their control. To this openly exprest contempt of the white man for his brown and yellow contemporaries, camouflaged tho it may be here and there by a show of affable condescension, he attributes much of the anti-American feeling to be found to-day in our island possessions, as well as the general dislike and distrust of the dominant race manifested in China and, in fact, throughout Asia. From long dwelling upon these, to him, highly dangerous conditions the Senator was finally moved to speech, and we are told that his remarkably frank comments upon "white snobbery" roused his audience to enthusiastic approval.

10-15-27

"At the beginning of his talk," says the New York *Evening Post*, "which blazed with indignation over the insolence of the Nordic toward those he looks upon as his inferiors, Senator Bingham made the statement: 'I am, I believe, the only American representative of government who has ever refused to enter the doors of the Army and Navy club in Manila!'" He then informed his hearers that during a recent visit to the Philippine capital he had been invited to be the guest of honor at this club, but had declined the invitation when, in reply to his query whether prominent Filipinos were to be present to meet him, it was explained to him "that no Filipinos were permitted to enter the sacred portals" of that exclusive institution.

"Senator Bingham's talk was made," *The Evening Post* tells us, "before a group of men including territorial government officials, representatives of the municipal government, and men prominent in the business, industrial, and social life of Hawaii. It is safe to say they heard truths that few persons in Hawaii have ever dared to utter publicly." The article goes on to say that the Senator "prefaced his remarks with the statement that he had some things to say that might hurt, but he believed they ought to be said. And then he opened up and said them." He spared nobody, paying his respects alike to those who are openly after the almighty dollar, those "who use religion as a cloak" for their selfishness and greed, and "those supercilious whites who have the effrontery to go to the lands of the colored races and treat their native inhabitants with snobbish arrogance." *The Evening Post* then quotes an experience of the Senator's in Shanghai, which he cited to illustrate "the snobbery of the white man in his contacts with the Oriental." He had called upon a wealthy and highly respected Chinaman in that city, a graduate of Yale, who happened to be an old friend. This man's wife had been educated, as had her daughters, in a first-rate girls' school in America and the two sons of the family had also graduated from Yale. "The Chinese desired to cash a check for some $1,800 to meet his pay-roll for the week. Bingham accompanied him to the bank of the International Banking Corporation. The Chinese went to the paying teller's window and presented the check to the white cashier for payment.

"'What the h—— do you mean coming in here?' snarled the gentlemanly Nordic. 'Get the h—— out of here, you d—— Chinaman, and go down to the other end of the building with the rest of the Chinamen!' The Chinese made no reply, but quietly withdrew."

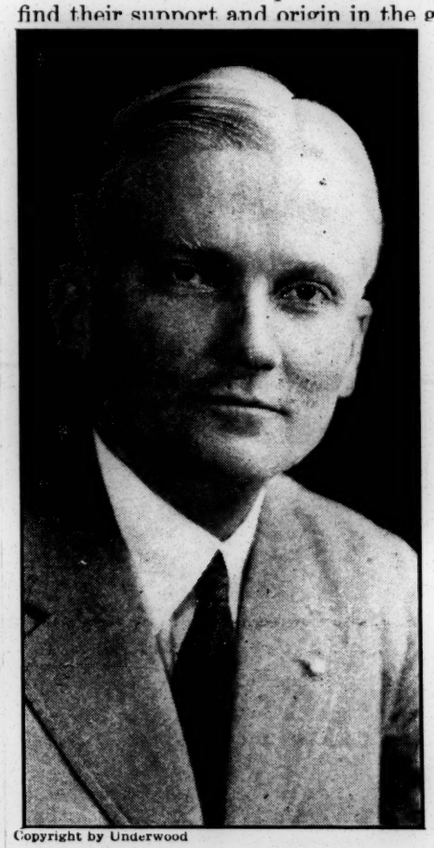
Later on in his address the Senator described a visit he paid to the parks of Shanghai—"parks on Chinese soil in a city where Chinese pay 60 per cent. of the taxes." In these parks he found himself confronted with signs reading: "No Chinamen or dogs allowed." He went on to tell of a conversation he had in Tientsin with another cultured Chinaman, also a graduate of Yale. He asked this man what was the real reason for the antiforeign feeling in China.

"The eyes of the Chinese blazed, he said, when he replied that it was the insolence, the snobbery, and assumption of superiority of the white man, his insulting treatment of the Chinese on their own soil. 'Never,' the Chinese said, 'can there be friendship as long as the white race send men to China, whether missionaries or business men, who treat the Chinese like dogs.'"

"Turning then from the Orient," says *The Evening Post*, "to Hawaii, where he was born and raised, and whose people are his own people, Senator Bingham uttered the warning: 'There's beginning to be too much of that kind of thing right here!'"

Much has been said, and justly, about "the white man's burden," but what about the brown man's cross thus feelingly portrayed by Senator Bingham? Is not the alien brother stretched upon it largely because of the superiority complex engendered in us Nordics through the administration of far-flung empires? That the press of the country is sympathetic to this point of view may be gathered from current comment. For example, the New Haven *Journal-Courier* remarks:

"The Senator has said something which should sink deep into the consciousness of those who are responsible forthe kind of men who are sent to the Orient, whether as missionaries or business men, and turn out to be inveterate snobs. That the practise on the part of the white men of treating their brown brethren with studied disdain leads inevitably to strained and bitter relations can not for a moment be questioned. We trust the Senator's observations will receive the widest possible circulation and comment. They find their support and origin in the gospel of good manners."



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"I AM SORRY, GENTLEMEN"

Said Senator Bingham when invited to a Club dinner at Manila, from which Filipinos were excluded, "but I shall not be able to accept your invitation"

THE CHINESE STRUGGLE AND THE NEGRO

(By C. V. BRIGGS)

The fight for Negro Liberation is being waged today on a wide front in countries far removed fro mthe centres of Negro population, and by non-Negroid peoples.

While the Negro continues apathetic to world politics as well as to domestic issues and seems resigned to the servile role to which he has been assigned by imperialist nations who first enslaved him, then robbed him of his fatherland and later doped him with an unintelligible patriotism for the very institutions under which he suffers, events bearing a far-reaching effect upon the Negro future are taking place in China in Europe and in Mexico.

So far as the interest of the Negro in the sensational events which are knelling the doom of white world dominion and consequent Negro liberation is concerned, these events might just as well be taking place on the distant planet Mars as in China, Europe and Mexico.

And not only is the Negro displaying no interest in the colossal onslaughts on white homeland, Europe but so complete is his ignorance of the reciproial relationship between the struggle of Chinese and Mexiran peoples and his own vague and to the present unactivised desire for liberation that a strong possibility exists that in a war forced upon Mexico by the oil interests of this country the Negro would be found suicidally lined up with the white imperialists and exploiters against his own racial interests and against the interests of the darker races

If this unthinkable treason to his own best racial interests and the common cause of the darker races is to be prevented, it is high time that courageous leaders and thinkers within the race get busy educating the Negro masses in the implications of world politics and the meaning and promise of the universal rebellion evident today on the part of the colored races against white world domination, whether in China, Africa, India, Mesopotamia, Java or Sumttra. To delay this education is to invite the use of the Negro as a tool in the bolstering up of white imperialism and thereby earn for the Negro the hatred of the Chinese and other colored peoples struggling agtinst white imperialism and pave the way for his perpetual subordination to the aims of the white imperialists.

It is high time that the Negro was familiarized with the Nationalist struggle in China, and informed of the relationship to the Negro liberation cause of the many victories won by the Red Cantonese armies in their orderly sweep Northward against the forces of the foreign supported Northern militarists. These victories of the Cantonese armies have already had their effect in Java and Sumatra where uprisings against Dutch imperialism have occurred lately. They have caused great joy and a militant stirring in India and the hinterland of Africa, where their importance is realized.

The British, realizing that not only are their thefts and "interests" in China threatened by the success of the Cantonese arms, but that their power in India would be shattered should a powerful and free China come into being, are doing all in their power to block the Cantonese advance, but already the British have been kicked out of Hankow and other places in the interior of China and the time is fast approaching when these imperialist thieves will have to surrender the Shanghaii and other 'concessions' to

Events in China clearly indicate the swift approaching crash of white imperialism. Will the Negro be alert to his opportunities when that clash comes? Will he be in a position to distinguish between his friends and his enemies, These are questions that Negro leaders and thinkers will have to face.

CHINESE JUST WON'T BE BOSSED BY WHITES

Fresno, Calif., June 8, 1927—"The Chinese are not anti-foreign. They want no foreign control. They welcome the foreigner but will not be bossed by him," declared C. H. Hamilton, professor of philosophy and psychology in Yanking University, China in a recent address at a mass meeting held in the First and Northside Congregational churches.

"America failed the reformers in China in a time of need," said Dr. Hamilton. "Up to then the sentiment was most favorable to this land. Then Russia stepped in at the critical time and won their favor. The missionary work has been temporarily stopped.

They are bitter against the opium trade. The Cantonese represents the whole national movement scattered over the land."

WM. PICKENS ADDRESSES CHINESE MASS MEETING

PHILADELPHIA.—A great demonstration was held here yesterday afternoon, participated in by 250 Chinese, 1,500 whites and a dozen or so Negroes. The principal speaker at the mass meeting was William Pickens of New York, who has been elected chairman of the "Hands-Off-China" committee of Greater New York. China was the subject of the meeting here.

After a street parade the audience packed the Labor Institute on Locust street, where Mr. Pickens and Mr. Wiesbord, the former leader of the successful Passaic textile strike, several Chinese scholars and students addressed them.

CHINESE, BLACKS AND WHITES PARADE

Philadelphia, Pa., April 5.—(Special to the Bee)—A parade and a mass meeting featuring 25 Chinese, 1,500 whites and a dozen or so colored people took place here Sunday. The principal speaker was William Pickens, New York, who has been elected chairman of the "Hands-off-China" Committee of greater New York, which plans demonstrations throughout the nation.

COLORED AMERICA, DO NOT JAZZ AWAY YOUR THOUGHTS RIGHT ALONG THROUGH HERE

Take a little time to learn what the whirl above you means. Danger is iminent. Were you in Washington, you would keenly realize the force of this statement. The President of the Unied States is in a serious frame of mind. He knits his brow as he talks with caution. Read his utterances on foreign conditions and trends. They are measured careful; brim full of significance! United States Senators are shaking their heads. they are seeing things from their heights that will not reach your vision in the valley for yet a while.

"There may be war with Mexico unless we arbitrate," said Senator Robinson. But he, and other senators know more than that! War with Mexico at this time will mean alliances with other nations against the United States and one of them might be Japan! It is a well-known fact that France, England, and other European countries are inwardly bitter against America, because of this nations insistance on payment of World War Debts owed this country. They are envious of this country's inde- ndent financial position and jealous of the flaunting antics of the newly rich who agitate by their haughtiness

Behold the Chinese of China

The great lesson comes out of China, For 2 decades and more, this nation of more than 450,000,000 has been fighting among themselves. They have two or more governments and armies, North and South. For hundreds of years China slept, though her civilization is one of the world's oldest. China's first awakening caused a change from Empire to Republic. The world's chief nations, grasping for weealth, went into China, and true to the white man's personal instinct, gave little thought to the real welfare of China, and proceeded, in the might of their power, or the power of their might, to make regulations to suit themselves They fixed it so they would be tried in the white courts for offences, and not by Chinese. Like this. Suppose there were thousands of Chinese in a community, as New York and Chicago, and they would say: "We are not amenable to your courts and judges, we will set up our own, and don't you molest us!" That's about they way things are in China's chief cities today.

They have set up "Jim Crow" regulations there against the Chinese! They have signs in certain Chinese parks, in China, reading: "CHINESE AND DOGS NOT ALLOWED!"

The Chinese, essentially a "colored" nation, have become "sick and tired" of all this and are demanding fundamental justice. England is sending 15,000 soldiers into China. Warships, marines, and soldiers from the United States, Japan, France and other nations are hovering at Shanghai and other ports.

What followed the announcement of England's great military gesture of armed forces One of the foremost Generals of China said: "We are not going to be frightened by England's threat! This issue must be met sooner or later. The time has arrived. We have been fighting among ourselves, but we will quit this, and all join forces to resist England and all other nations that seek o disturb our sovereign rights." That is a historical statement. That sounds like business, and it may mean the beginning of the next war.

One is reminded of the scrap between man and wife, and the outsider who comes in to separate them, and the two forget their own scrapping and turn together, on the outsider. "Beware the Ides of March."

Race Problem - 1927

Europe.

-:- Germany as 1927 Closes -:-

By J. A. ROGERS

Berlin—Most Modern of European Cities

BERLIN.

BEFORE writing this article I travelled some 1,200 miles through Germany. From Amsterdam I went east to Berlin, passing through Osnabruck and Hanover, then south to Leipzig, Bayreuth, Nuremberg, Augsburg and Munich, then in a northwesterly direction to Stuggart, Karlsruhe, Baden-Baden, Heidelberg, Mainz, Weisbaden and down the Rhine to Cologne. I have also been in several of the villages and parts of the countryside, with the result that, although I know also no German, I have been able to gather an impression that is not altogether superficial. I was further fortunate enough to meet many persons who spoke either English or French. Indeed, I was struck by the large number of persons who spoke English more or less fluently.

First among my impressions is that the Germans are, perhaps, the most informally friendly people I have met so far. I said "perhaps," for one must be careful with these superlatives, as new impressions drive out old ones. The English people have the reputation of being stiff; yet, in the country parts they are just as approachable as the Negroes in the South or in the West Indies.

I discovered that it was very easy to strike up acquaintances in Germany. I travelled alone at first, but later met two students—white, and from America—and together we travelled. The rest of the trip was like a picnic for me. Not one of us understood German, but perhaps we would not have had as much fun if we did. We stopped all kinds of people, interrogating them for one thing or another. On the train trips between towns our attempts to speak German and our antics in general very often had the whole car in a roar of laughter.

My two companions had notebooks and insisted on almost every good-looking girl they met on the cars, in the stations, or the restaurants writing a bit of sentiment in them. This was invariably written in German. Then came the fun of knowing just what had been written. The notebooks would be passed around, causing, almost in every instance, a burst of laughter.

I found the Germans, at least those with whom I came in contact, as ready to laugh as the proverbial Negro. One would not think they had just been through a great and destructive war, which they had lost and for which they were now being heavily taxed. I shall have more to say of this phase of German temperament later.

I was also very much struck by the modern way of doing things in comparison with that of every other European country in which I have been. Many times, in Berlin particularly, I found myself thinking I was back in America on this account. The German railroads, for instance, are strikingly like the American ones, with the exception that some of the German cars are very old. They cannot afford to get many new ones, because of the huge debt which must be paid. System and order, as we would say in America, together compose the German's middle name.

I thought, also, as I wandered



— J. A. Rogers —

over Berlin seeing its magnificent monuments, of the important part this people had played in the development of art, literature, music, science, medicine. My mind ran on titanic minds like Beethoven, Wagner, Mozart, Mendelssohn; Kant, Goethe, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche; Heine, Schiller, Lessing; Martin Luther, Melancthon, Huss; Holbein, Klinger, Durer; even of Frederick the Great, Bismarck, the man of "Blood and Iron," and Moltke.

I thought, too, of the example that modern Germany had set to the world in the systematic and orderly conduct of life in all its details; of past financial success, marks of which I saw on every hand; of the still greater promise for humanity held out by this remarkable people, now all cut short or crippled by war. I said to myself: "Pity, oh, pity, that such a people should have been trapped by their leaders into such an act of self-demolition."

Then I thought again. Self-preservation, or, rather, that color consciousness forced into me by white America, was demanding: What would have happened to the Negro in America if Europe had not gone to war? He was rapidly being crowded to the wall by the incoming hordes of Europe; he was slowly sinking back into an economic condition worse than slavery. Then, much as I like peace, kindness, gentleness; literature, music, art; as much as I detest suffering, cruelty, injustice; as much as I have been touched by some of the misery I have seen in Europe, I fervently hoped that the psychology of these white nations toward one another would never change; that Frenchmen will remain Frenchmen; that Germans will remain Germans; that the jealousies, hatreds, aye, even the wars, will go on, for therein lies the salvation of the darker races.

The mere mention of Victor Hugo's name gives me a thrill, but when he speaks of a United States of Europe it chills me, as I know what it would mean.

It would mean concentrated attack on the prey; for, since the days of Sir John Hawkins, the darker races have been the prey of the white. As it is at present, the darker man is being taken in as some sort of assistant, in which position he is having an opportunity to learn, and by instruction will some day grow strong himself.

The dissensions of these European nations, so far as the darker races are concerned, are merely a case of one poison curbing another. It is like the war which goes on in the human body between dangerous microbes, which, were peace declared between them, would mean disaster to the body. Or, it is like a war between railroads or steamship companies, or any other kind of business, which means that the union against the consumer is broken and, because it is, he is going to get something like fair play.

Internationalism, or any other approach toward it, such as the League of Nations, is a menace to the darker man, even though there may be a few colored faces in evidence. In Africa, China, India, America, the European has a tendency to merge nationality to the detriment of the native.

The German people seem singularly free from color prejudice. The Negroes in Berlin, who are mostly from the former African colonies, told me that there had been a change in this respect for the worse, due to the use of black troops by the Allies and the presence of French Negro soldiers in the occupied district. This may be true, but I find it hard to believe it, because all with whom I came in contact were so spontaneously friendly. I also saw Negroes, very dark ones, in places and generally doing things they would not be permitted to do in America.

Yet it is these same Germans, or, for that matter, Europeans, who undergo such a change when they come to America or any other part of the black man's home. Dropping their nationalism, they pick up racialism. Their hate they simply pour from one vessel into another. Most of the slaughter in the Chicago riot was done by Irishmen, Poles, Germans, Austrians and other Europeans, who, had they remained at home, would have been very friendly towards Negroes and, in some cases, even servile.

Germany I regard as my intellectual motherland, for the French, English, Italian or Dutch I have nothing but the kindliest feeling and, because I wish to retain that feeling, I hope they will always remain as they are.

And there is little fear of the contrary. The rancor between France and Germany, for instance, dates back to 72 B. C., when the Teutons, crossing the Rhine into Gallic land, seized Alsace. It will not change as long as history is taught. The German treatment of the French in the last war and in 1871 must have been in no small way inspired by the treatment of the Germans by the French when the latter ravaged Germany in 1689-99, and when they occupied Berlin in 1806-08. Reprisal has been merely followed by reprisal. In 1918 it was again France's turn to occupy Berlin.

As a European city, Berlin is in

Writer Sees Very Few Reminders of the World War

a class by itself. It is laid out in squares like American cities, and, as I said, now and then one unconsciously feels himself back in America, a fact heightened by the familiarity of the names on the signs. The beer signs read the

same as they did in Chicago back in the year 1918 B. V. D. (before the Volstead Disaster). Most of the old town, I understand, was taken down and rebuilt in the '80's. Frederichstrasse, for instance, might well be a street in New York, but for the difference of language. Am Krog, the oldest street, narrow and winding, gives one an idea of what the old town was like.

Berlin, however, is laid out on more stately lines than any American city I know. With its buildings of almost uniform height, about four stories, and its sober decorations, it strikes one with its air of almost military correctness—handsome but not beautiful. As to Germany's most famous thoroughfare, Unter den Linden, I was much disappointed, as I had thought to see another Champs Elysees. Paris is much more beautiful than Berlin, though the latter has, on the whole, finer monuments—perhaps the finest in Europe.

The Unter den Linden is about 200 feet wide and two-thirds of a mile long. Through its center runs a promenade bordered on both sides by linden trees, while on both sides of the promenade are the shops of the elite, the shipping and tourist offices, etc.

At the west end is the Brandenburg Tor, or gate, which is the entrance to the city from the Tiergarten. It is one of the most striking monuments in Europe and was built on the model of the Propylea in Athens. It has five passages, separated by magnificent columns, and is surmounted by a Quadriga of Victory.

Two of the passages are for pedestrians and two for vehicles. As to the central one, I was told by an American woman that prior to the war no one but royalty was permitted to pass underneath. When I inquired of a German, however, he told me that it was not true. I had heard of a similar tale of the Marble Arch in London, which was said to be reserved for royal carriages, but on the following day I saw many pedestrians going through. This is but a sample of the conflicting information one gets of these places.

Not far from the Brandenburg Gate, and branching off from the Unter den Linden, is Wilhelmstrasse (William street), the center of German government and diplomacy. Many of the embassies, as well as the palace of President Hindenburg, the palace of Prince Leopold, the Treasury, and other public buildings are located here.

At the east end of the Unter den Linden is the monument to Frederick the Great, an impressive work. The King is on horseback, while the pedestal is ornamented with allegorical scenes from his life. Nearby is the palace of Kaiser William I. Berlin is the city of palaces—the last Kaiser had six sons and one daughter and each had a palace.

In my next article I shall continue a description of the city and tell something of the life of the German people.

Race Problem – Europe – 1927

Lawyers – 1927

France

LEGISLATOR OF FRANCE TO VISIT STATES

Deputy Delmont Plans Lecture Tour

By J. A. ROGERS

Paris, France.—France is known as the land of no color line. Just why it is so and what is France's colonial policy so far as her black citizens are concerned will be the privilege of Colored Americans to hear from the lips of a distinguished Colored Frenchman, Deputy Alcide Delmont, who is planning a trip to the United States in October this year.

Deputy Delmont, who belongs to the highest Masonic circles, is one of the leading lawyers in France. Three years ago while practicing law in Paris the people of his native land, Martinique, nominated and elected him to the French parliament, unknown to him.

Deputy Delmont has had a brilliant career. Arriving in France from Martinique without friends or fortune, he entered the law school of the University of Paris, where he won the Prix Pailhet. Soon after he took up practice in the palace of justice he was sent out by the government to take charge of an important case in Martinique. Two recent cases of his that attracted much attention were the Siki case and the suit brought by his colleague, Deputy Diagne of Senegal, against Rene Maran, author of "Batoula," both of which he won.

ENLISTED AS PRIVATE DURING LATE WAR

During the war Deputy Delmont enlisted as a private and was soon after promoted to a lieutenancy. He was awarded the Croix de Guerre with several citations. Always taking a keen interest in people of his Race, whether in Africa, the West Indies or France, he devoted himself to the interests of the black men in France after the war and was rewarded for his services with the Cross of the Legion of Honor.

FOUNDER OF IMPORTANT ORDER

Deputy Delmont is founder of the French Colonial institute, a member of the central committee of the Rights of Man, an organization that takes up the cause of the oppressed peoples everywhere; the author of several important books on law, and former counsel to the Paris Bar association, a position he was forced to relinquish because of his large practice and his duties in the chamber of deputies. After the war he ran on the ticket with Minister Painleve for deputy for the Paris district, receiving 45,000 votes. At present he is one of the most eloquent members of the French parliament, a stanch supporter of good government, and along with his colleague, Deputy Daigne, is always on the lookout for the interests of the Negro.

The visit in October will be the second one that Deputy Delmont has made to the United States.

Race Problem – 1927 →
~~Discrimination – 1922~~

British Journal Fights Color Bar in Behalf of American Negro Artists

Amsterdam News, Through Another One of Its Bona Fide European Correspondents, Again First to Give Other Side of Heated Question

My comment at this time is not very much as to the action taken by the VARIETY ARTISTE FEDERATION, but I am making a thorough investigation in regards to this matter and will state my views on the subject a little later on.

However, I regret that such a thing has come up and I personally consider it very unfortunate that the Negro or color question has entered into this matter, but of course there are many sides to a matter of this kind and there is nothing to do but wait and see what the results will be.

I must give lots and lots of credit to the Encore and their staff, who took this matter up at once, or as soon as the first articles were published in the daily papers, and it has stood out head and shoulders over all the papers in fighting the Variety Federation. I have always admired this theatrical magazine and, being one of the best papers over here, they have always been most fair to Negro artists. I am sure a letter of appreciation from any of the colored papers in America would be highly appreciated because the Encore deserves much credit indeed and FRANK WOOLF, Esq., one of the editors, is to my mind one of the finest Englishmen I have ever met.

It is through Encore that the Variety Artiste Federation are trying to retract what they have said about the Negro artists and in their latest articles they are trying to say that they were not referring to colored but to all foreign artists, regardless of color.

Having just arrived in England, it all is new to me, so until I find out what it's all about I won't say any more.

IVAN. H. BROWNING,
European theatrical correspondent the New York Amsterdam News, Alhambra Theatre, c/o 4 Harmony Kings, Leicester Square, London, England.

(From The Encore, London, Eng.)

The Yellow Peril has been supplanted. We have now a new danger hanging like a Damoclean sword over our heads. The whole Variety profession, according to its official sponsors, is viewing with timorous apprehension the approach of vast hordes of Negroes, coming to ravage Variety's fair realm. In place of a Yellow Peril we have got a Black Peril. International polity not being within our scope or understanding, we will make no comment on the Yellow Scare. As far as the Black Peril is concerned, we here and now label it as the most utter of unutterable tosh. The picture of V. A. F. officials in sackcloth and ashes, dismally wailing to a Government Department a jeremiad of the woes attendant on a negroid invasion is really affecting. Let us pause to shed a sympathetic tear.

And then let us get down to plain, stark, staring facts, as we usually do. Let us ask, first off all, why there is no official outcry against the White Peril? There are in our midst busy agents and bookers who literally comb the continent of Europe for acts suitable for British Variety. Were the V. A. F. consistent it would at once appeal to the Government to stop these men introducing aliens into our halls, aliens who are usurping the places of Britishers. Were the V. A. F. consistent it would nail to its flag-post the watchword, "Britain for the British," and perdition for every other nationality. But, unfortunately, as we have so many, many times had to point out, the V. A. F. is not always uniform in its principles. At times its officials act with almost Solomonic wisdom. At other times they show a decided lack of mental balance, sense of values, and common understanding. This is one of the times when all appreciation of proportionate estimation seems to be lost to sight.

Our first point, then, is that there is no official objection to Germans, Austrians or any other European nationality; a very sensible point of view, too. There is also no objection to performers from the States, either, so long as their complexion is of the proper hue authorized by the V. A. F. The objection, therefore, must have its root in the performers' color. If this is not correct, perhaps one of the Federation's ready writers will issue a disclaimer. Should there be no contradiction in the official organ we shall take it for granted that what has really happened is that the V. A. F. has got black fever, and got it badly. The Negro, because he is a Negro, must be banned. This certainly does not come very well from a country that was the first to abolish Negro slavery. We really should love to form a committee consisting of Layton and Johnstone, Scott and Whaley, Williams and Taylor, The Harmony Kings and a few more colored gentlemen we are proud to know, and ask the officials responsible for the proposed bar to come along and explain to them the why and the wherefore.

Common-sense tells us that no management would put more than one colored act on any bill. Common-sense tells us that, with this one act, there must be seven or more Variety acts. Common-sense tells us that this is a very good thing for Variety. Even should there be more than one colored act on a bill, there need never be any reason to fear a preponderance of Negro performers in this or any other country, for the simple reason that there are not enough to go round. We will grant that "Blackbirds" was a terrific success. For no other reason than that it was a success will it be possible for any other colored company to make a success. The standard is set. Anything less artistic, less entertaining, less acceptable than "Blackbirds" is foredoomed. One might conclude from the state of fright the V. A. F. has got itself into that to put on a "Blackbirds" show was just a matter of collecting a few colored performers and carrying on. Neither we nor our readers are quite so simple as to swallow that.

The truth is that Variety is cosmopolitan and, further, always has been. In all its history there never was a time when it was entirely free from the foreign element; and a good thing it never was. The Encore's view is that, so long as an artist can put over a good, clean, clever, original act, it matters very little what his nationality is. The Encore's view is that any Negro who has an act that is likely to prove a box-office attraction should be accorded a warm welcome to this country, if only in his capacity as a Variety missionary. Free trade in artistes is as essential as free trade in art. It would go ill with any country that excluded the best that other countries could send it.

We strongly advise the V. A. F. to drop this stupid business altogether. There is no danger of England being overrun by swarms of colored performers. There is as little fear that our theatres and music halls will all put on all-black shows. If the V. A. F. wants to do the profession a real service it should drop the Negro question and commence a crusade having for its aim the return of the scores of British acts that are in foreign countries. They would prove as welcome here as abroad, properly handled. In addition, it would make the importation of colored acts unnecessary.

Europe

White Americans Object To Doctors In French Hotel

'Prejudice' Shows Itself When Whites Meet Dr. Wilberforce Williams and Party in France.

(Special to The Pittsburgh Courier)

PARIS, France, July 14.—When Dr. Wilberforce Williams and his party of doctors entered the dining room of Hotel Degerman at Reims, France, fifteen strong, a party of white American tourists, numbering about 30, objected to their presence. The management attempted to get the guide, Delahaye, to take the colored doctors to another hotel across the way, but he refused, and finally the white Americans, rose in a body and left the dining-room. This section of France, which is in the neighborhood of Chateau Thierry, is thick with white Americans.

The guide, Delahaye, who is white, speaks in highest terms of the colored doctors.

Needless to say that such an incident would not have occurred if the persons in the dining room were Europeans.

Mayor Walker's Denial

MAYOR WALKER denies that he asked a cabaret owner in Rome to eject some Negroes from his place. He says the report is silly and adds: "It might be interesting for you to inquire why this foolish story persists."

THE STORY does sound silly. In the first place no thoroughbred gentleman tries to interfere with the customs of a house or a country in which he is a visitor; when in Rome he either does as the Romans do or keep a tactful silence. In the second place, Mayor Walker presides over a cosmopolitan city which has several hundred thousand Negro citizens, to insult whom would be both impolite and impolitic. 9-24-27

YET the story persists and the Mayor wishes to know why. It is easy to tell him. One reason is that white Americans are known throughout Europe for race prejudice. Another is that some of them think it gives them a stamp of superiority to air and assert that prejudice. A third is the statement of Anton Bragaglia, in whose cabaret the incident is said to have taken place, and whose story only makes it look worse.

THE MAYOR, according to Bragaglia, saw two dark men dancing with white women and protested. Bragaglia replied that he belonged to the Catholic Church, which not only recognized black people as brethren in Christ, but made some of them Bishops. In deference to the Mayor, however, he asked the dark men not to dance. They said they were not Negroes. He says he told this to the Mayor and the Mayor accepted the explanation. He says he got a friend to tell the dark men not to dance because he didn't want any fuss.

IF BRAGAGLIA feared a fuss, the Mayor's objection must have been vigorous. And "the Mayor accepted the explanation." Assuming that Bragaglia told the truth, that phrase is the ugliest part of it. Suppose the dark men had admitted that they were Negroes. It seems that as long as they denied that they were of the same race as three hundred thousand New York citizens it was all right with the Mayor.

BRAZILIAN CITIZENS REQUESTED TO LEAVE CABARET IN ROME; LEAVES IN DISGUST

While Negroes in New York City loudly acclaim the virtues of Tammany Hall and the square dealing of Governor Alfred J. Smith and his disciple, James J. Walker, the "best-dressed" mayor New York City ever had, the latter, in Rome, Italy, showed his true colors on the race problem by demanding that Negro citizens of Brazil be ejected from a cabaret in which he and his party were being entertained. A copyright dispatch to Il Progresso Italo-Americano, an Italian daily newspaper published in this city at 42 Elm street, carried information to that effect in its issue of Sept. 13.

According to the report, the incident took place while Mayor Walker was making a tour of amusement houses and cabarets in the Italian capital on the evening of September 10. During the course of the evening he and his party visited the famou Cabaret Bragaglia, among the patrons of which at the time were several Negroes.

When Mayor Walker entered the place and saw them seated quietly at tables in the place, he immediately lodged a protest against their presence there and demanded that they be asked to leave.

This the management hesitated to do, and attempted to explain to the Democratic mayor that in Italy there is no such thing as race prejudice, but Walker continued his protestations. He was told that the Negroes in question were Brazilian citizens of high standing in the community, but this did not appease his wrath and he protested their presence in the same room with him.

Later, in deference to the wishes of the visiting mayor, the management politely asked the Brazilians to leave the hall. They did so.

As the evening wore along the Negroes were permitted to return to the cabaret, but immediately upon their reappearance Mayor Walker renewed his protest and, failing to have them ejected the second time, left the cabaret in disgust.

The Amsterdam News publishes below a translation of the dispatch which appeared in the Italian newspaper here, along with a photographic engraving of the report itself as it appeared in that paper. The translation is as follows:

WALKER VISITS A CABARET AND PROTESTS THE PRESENCE OF SOME NEGROES

ROME, Sept. 12.—The Mayor of New York, Honorable James Walker, on Saturday last, after having visited various localities of the capital, accompanied by several friends, he went to the noted Cabaret Braggaglia.

Among the spectators present in the hall of the cabaret, the Hon. James Walker noted some Negroes. He immediately manifested his desire that the Negroes be dismissed. He was told that in Italy there is no existing race prejudice, and that the Negroes were Brazilian citizens. On the Honorable Walker's continued insistence, the Negroes were gently asked to leave the establishment. The Negroes after a while were allowed to return, and the Honorable Mayor Walker, noting their reappearance, renewed his protest and abandoned the cabaret. The episode was variously commented on, and not very favorably.

Upon reading this report Negroes here will undoubtedly contrast the Mayor's actions while in the Italian capital with his utterances here when he was a candidate for the office he now holds, having been given liberal support by citizens living in this and other sections of the city.

An attempt was made by a reporter of The Amsterdam News to bring the report to the attention of Judge Olvany, head of the Tammany Hall organization, but the judge was too busy to be seen.

MAYOR WALKER'S SLIP.

When a report was published in an Italian daily newspaper last week, that Mayor Walker, while in Rome had desired the dismissal of certain Negro spectators from a cabaret he was visiting, we were inclined to discredit the story as without foundation. Mayor Walker has always been credited with a sufficiency of good manners and good taste to prevent him making such a social blunder as to reflect upon the customs of his Italian hosts.

But a special cable to the New York World from Rome, purporting to be an emphatic denial of the story, only gave a more damaging version. Quoting Anton Bragaglia, the owner of the theatre and night club in question, it gave his statement as follows:

"I'm glad to have the chance to state the facts. Mayor Walker, seeing two dark men dancing here, told me he was surprised I allowed them to dance with white women. I replied the reason was that I am a Catholic and the Catholic Church not only recognized black people as brethren in Christ but the Pope creates Negro bishops.

"But since Mayor Walker was my distinguished guest that evening, I asked the Brazilians in question not to dance. They were very indignant and explained they were not Negroes but Creoles, and, moreover, French citizens, although Brazilian born, and artists. They were members of a French troupe then residing in Rome, they said.

"I told this to Mayor Walker and he accepted the explanation. I also asked a friend of mine to tell the Brazilians not to dance any more because I didn't want any fuss. They left off dancing. Mayor Walker did not leave my place before everything was over, and never even threatened to do so."

Why Mayor Walker should have expressed surprise at what he saw in this Roman night club, in view of what he has had the opportunity to see in the night clubs and cabarets of Harlem, is hard to determine. Such an expression might have been expected from a Georgia klan kleagle, but hardly from the amiable and sophisticated mayor of New York, whose urbanity and good taste are seldom lacking. If the incident was as reported in this so-called denial, the colored voters of Harlem who supported Walker at the polls, may wonder whether his lapse was owing to temporary exhilaration due to the absence of sumptuary restrictions.

Race Problem - 1927
Europe

All Black Frenchmen Must Serve A Year In The National Army Of France

And It's Not In Jim Crow Regiments Either Says Rogers. Europeans Joke Over Fact That There Is No Such "Animal" As White American Gentleman

By J. A. ROGERS

MARSEILLES, Frances—To give, as I promised in my last, the reasons why Marseilles with her colored migration has no color disturbances, while a similar condition in America, as say at Chicago or Carteret, would have cause a riot. I asked a good many French people, on and off the trains, just why this should be, and in nearly every case the reply was the same.

The answer? Suppose for instance that an American Nordic were to read that in some far off country we will call Vespucia, a part of the people were being denied their rights because they had red hair or some physical characteristic they were utterly unable to change; further that these people were being put to death by mobs or being burnt alive, what would those Nordics think of Vespucians in general? What they would think is precisely what the average European does think of America and what the people whom I questioned responded.

Worst Element Of Europe In U. S. A.

One of them gave as the reason the allegation that it was the worst element of the European people that migrated to America. "America," he said, "is only a European colony after all."

The opinion of the European regarding the white Americans is not at all flattering. Indeed, it is so poor, that I with no special love for them, feel that it is as overdone as is that of so many white people regarding Negroes. In short, founded on lack of contact and on prejudice.

No American Gentleman

The following story which is told here, for instance. Two men set out to see which could tell the most impossible story.

The first begins as follows: "The other day I met an American gentleman who---" "Stop!" cried the other, "you win, there aint no such animal."

Tales of injustice to Negroes, many of which find their way to the European papers do not help to improve matters, and many white Americans are quick to inform Europeans that they do not come from the part of America where these atrocities are permitted.

In A Restaurant

Some days ago in a restaurant in which I was a tall dark Negro with bushy hair entered and was seated by the head waiter at the long table built into the wall, between two white men. At once the one on his right shrank away closer to his companion, while the one on the left seemed not the least bit concerned.

Having finished my meal I went over to the Negro, and soon discovered that he was from the French West Indies, and was an actor who had played minor parts in several of the leading French theatres, among them the Folies-Bergere.

Ask For Garvey

Learning that I was from America he asked me after a while about Garvey and his imprisonment. Garvey seems to be the only Negro in America that the majority of white and colored people hear about. All of the latter with whom I have talked believe that the charge of theft against him was trumped up by the white people.

Wishing to explain to my questioner that a third would be taken off Garvey's sentence for good behavior I said "un tiers" (one-third) but failing to get the "tiers" over I turned to the two white men on the right, who had been listening eagerly to me, for aid, whereupon one of them replied: "We don't know French so well ourselves. We are Americans."

Frenchman Gets Excited

Thereupon quite a discussion on the race question ensued, during which the colored Frenchman got quite excited. "What I want to know," he said raising his voice and attracting the attention of nearly everyone "is why do you treat those people like that? All they are asking is to be able to live like a man as you are."

With attention centered on them I could see they weren't feeling very comfortable, and one of them hastened to explain that he came from a part of America where the Negro was treated quite differently, and appealing to me, asked me if it weren't true.

Personally I was enjoying their discomfiture, but I recalled the light of welcome in the eyes of both when I told them I was an American, and gave the desired assurance.

The Workers Differ

To return where I began. Another reason given me was that there was a big difference between the psychology of the French workingman and that of the American one. The former, I was told, was more sympathetic since he had felt the oppression of the bourgeoisie and the nobility, and saw in the Negro, a fellow worker like himself, while the latter had been made to feel that he was one with his master because of color. The American worker, he said, had even fought to uphold slavery, an institution that was against his own interests.

French Law Strict

To these and other reasons I will add the two following: first, the law in France is very strict. To illustrate. A singular fact is that in France the drug stores are forced to close on Sunday while most of the other places are open.

As I write I have before me a newspaper clipping telling of an instance where a husband took his wife to a pharmacy and although the woman was in a dying condition — she died a few minutes later — the druggist would not run the risk of violating the law. I could multiply instances, for I have been much in the French courts.

Don't Call Names

It is a criminal offense to call names, and I am waiting for the first cracker who calls me "nigger" to teach him a lesson. A few months ago a well-known American writer and poet was fined two hundred francs and costs for calling a ticket-taker an imbecile. I had always thought the Javert of Javert in Les Miserables an exaggeration.

North Africans, as I said, are not

Continued on Galley 2.

Contin. from No. 1.—Rogers's story much liked but let a group of French people try to mob one and the police would land on them like a ton of bricks.

All Must Enter Army

The second reason: French governmental policy is strictly opposed to color discrimination of any kind. With enemies pressing from without it is anxious to maintain national unity. Much is dependent on keeping its colored citizens in good temper. Recently, I read in the papers where the War Department refused to give colored men training unless there were groups of fifty or more.

What is the case here? After the student from the French colonies, black or yellow, finishes his studies, he is compelled to enter the army for one year, and it is not a jim-crow regiment, either.

No Anti-Negro Books

The Negro occupies a solid position in the French Republic, and I understand that it is as difficult to get a publisher or an editor to print an anti-Negro book or article in France as the same is easy in America. There are several Negroes in the French Parliament who in such a case would at once raise the cry of "the enemy within".

It will be recalled that when Americans raised the color bar in Paris some years ago these members at once got busy, and Premier Poincare issued not a plea asking them to stop, but a command. It is a government almost military in certain respects that runs the country.

Military Necessity

And this is not to say that all French people are bursting with love for black men, that all welcome him here, give him a square deal, and enjoy seeing him strolling the boulevards arm in arm with a beautiful white woman. I am told that many would like to have their say but dare not. Military necessity.

Besides the black men fought, not in separate ranks, but side by side with Frenchmen in the last war, and for which the latter are generally grateful. It is this service that has given the black men so much prestige in France, and many of them are more French than the French, a fact that America's treatment of their race serves to heighten.

I am told that before the war the Negro was little thought of in France and that the white women would associate with him only under cover as in America.

In a coming article I plan to give the names and the positions held by some of the French Negroes.

Alexander Dumas

I had hoped to include an account of a visit to the Chateau d' If made famous by France's most famous Negro, Alexander Dumas, but the wind was too strong for every day I was here. The chateau is on a small rocky isle out in the bay, and the boats cannot land passengers. From the large number of boats some of which are quite largely devoted to that special service, the chateau must be a favorite place of visitors. If fortune favors me I hope to be back here in the winter on my way to Egypt and North Africa, however.

My next article will be from Avignon, former home of the Popes, and a great wine district.

HONOR BLACK TROOPS IN FRENCH MEMORIAL

NEW YORK. — Despite the fact that there were thousands of colored troops who served at home and overseas in the World War, they are given no place in the huge story of the war on canvas shown as the Pantheon de la Guerre, a reproduction in colors, of the famous World War painting 402 feet long and 45 feet wide in Paris.

The panorama is being shown in New York under the auspices of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation.

The United States section shows a mounment to the unknown dead and includes the portrait of President Wilson, members of the War Cabinet, diplomats, army and navy officers, and civilians who took a prominent part in the struggle.

The French section crowded with notables, is portrayed on the Temple of Victory. A number of French diplomats are also seen, but a prominent place is given to the mounted African troops. Other French including the Colonials are in the background as far as the eyes can reach.

Paris Gives Cuban Taste of Fairness

By J. A. ROGERS

Paris, France, July 1.—Senor Rogelio Valdez della Torre, a young Cuban, rich, elegant, sportive and rather dark, does not love "Colored folks." His father, who lives in Havana, wishing to perfect his education, sent him to Paris, where, of course, like all good Cubans, Americans and South Americans, he starts in Montmartre.

Entering the Rat Mort, a luxurious cabaret, what was the first sight that met his eyes—the orchestra, composed of members of our Race, with dancers and singers the same. Then, as if that were not enough, he saw two men, dark as ebony, in tuxedos, supping joyously among the other white people, quite indifferent to their presence.

His Blood Boils

The dark Nordic blood of Senor Valdes boiled at the scene. Striding up to the surprised Blacks he descended on them with his fists, and soon the place was in an uproar. A policeman attempted to interfere and the irate Senor Valdes struck him, too.

The following day Senor Valdes appeared a prisoner in the Palais du Justice by a strange irony before the president of the 13th correctional chamber, a native of the French West Indies, M. Tronche-Maquaire. Gone was all the bellicosity of the senor. Indeed he showed himself so repentant that one would have imagined he had read "Uncle Tom's Cabin." M. Tronche-Maquaire sentenced him to two months imprisonment.

Whence He Came

Then his lawyer, Maitre Dusart, summoning all his eloquence, began to plead for his client. The senor, he said, came from a land where Negroes were barred from such places, a land where he had always been taught to believe that Negroes were inferior. "How could he know, your honor, that in Paris the black man is a king."

President Tronche-Maquaire conferred with his associates and finally reduced the sentence to eight days. Other pleading by the senor's lawyers and the Colored president let the prisoner go with a suspended sentence and the costs of the court.

Senor Valdes, a newcomer, had evidently never heard of the order that was issued by Premier Poincare a few years ago, warning all those who would attempt to draw the color line in public places. At that time a number of Americans booted Prince

Kojo and some of his companions from a Montmartre cabaret. Immediately following that a party of American tourists insisted on the expulsion of two African officers in a white regiment from a sight-seeing bus. Deputy Diagne and other dark deputies at once got busy and the French government issued a warning to race-hating tourists.

ROGERS MISSES PLANNED ROUTE AND LANDS IN MARSEILLES; WRITES OF RACE CONDITIONS

Marseilles, France, June 23.—I came very near missing Marseilles, and if I had I would never have forgiven myself, to indulge in an Irish bull. When I asked at Nice for a ticket to go to Geneva, the clerk told me that there was no direct route, and that I would either have to go back to Milan or go to Marseilles, which as one can see by the map is somewhat out of the way.

Large Number of Negroes Inhabit City

Next to Constantinople, Marseilles has perhaps, the highest percentage of Negroes of any European city. There are two black regiments, in addition to many other Negroes in the white regiments—Marseilles is the headquarters of a French Army Corps. There are also Negroes from Africa, the French and British West Indies, the United States, Maddgascar and elsewhere. Many of them were brought here during the war, while others came as sailors. Colored folk are so many that one almost fancies himself in a Negro neighborhood in America, except that a person of lighter complexion is rare.

As can be imagined then, Marseilles is an excellent place to study what we in America call race relations, and before I say anything on that I would like to say a word about the city itself.

Marseilles, a city of nearly a million souls, is more than 2,000 years older than any city in the new world. Under the Romans it was known as Massila, and was the great rival of Carthage. Readers of history will recall that it was one destroyed by Julius Caesar in his quarrel with Pompey. It is very old, too, in Christian tradition. Mary Magdalene and Lazarus, the one who was said to have been raised from the dead by Christ, are said to have been the first missionaries here.

Since humanity has been living in this spot for so long a time, naturally parts of the city present very aged appearance. This is particularly true of what is known as Le Vieux Port (The Old Port). Narrow winding streets on which the sun rarely shines; buildings so aged in places that a network of props for them fill the street; filthy, dissolute looking lanes with clothing and bed linen in all stages of deterioration strung across them; odorous humanity swarming over the rough cobblestones, piling in and out of shops, or driving sharp bargains at stalls which so fill the narrow streets that the crowd must filter through almost in Indian file.

Of course there is also the scristocratic section. Three blocks away is the Cannebiere, one of the most famous thoroughfares in Europe with its shops, not much behind those of Paris, its splendid hotels and its railway station with a marble stairway as magnificent a one as I have ever seen.

On a mountain overlooking the city as the famous cathedral of Notre Oame de la Garde. Worshippers at this church have an abundant opportunity of getting exercise for after leaving the tramway one has a rocky climb of several hundred yards. And the wind is so sarp that one is reminded of the land of which it was said that the men never had to use razors; all that was necessary was to expose their faces to the wind.

From this height noe gets a splendid view of the city, with its reddish stone roofs, its winding harbor with its ships from all the ports of the world, and the Chateau D'If, made famous by Dumas in Monte Cristo.

Race Relation Evident

Marseilles affords a splendid study in "race relations" for several reasons; first, the Negroes are newcomers—prior to the war there were almost none at all; second, at the time of writing this there is much unemployment, and we have heard it said, and I have said it myself, that competition for obs is the chief cause of racial disturbances; and third, that another fruitful cause of race riots is the association of black men and white women.

I shall proceed to tell ust what I learned about these things both by observation and inquriy.

I talked with not less than a hundred Negroes, sometimes with not less than fifteen at a time. The British West Indian and the American Negroes seemed especially glad to see me, and quickly brought others when they learned that I was connected with the newspapers.

With the exception of a few, all were about the most homesick set of human beings I have ever met. They had come to Marseilles on ships or had drifted there in the hope of finding one out. "Would you like to get back home?" I asked one Virginian in a state of rags equal to that of a Casablanca Arab. "Would I," he replied, "if I could swim I'd start back tomorrow."

Questioning about the attitude of the white people I found after a time that I was getting two different sets of replies. One was to the effect that the Frenchmen were jealous of the black men and the Frenchwomen and would not give Negroes work; the other reply was that there was no color prejudice of any sort; that the French people sometimes treated them better than their own people; and that as to their association with white women nobody seemed to trouble about it. Both the British West Indians and the Americans told me that they reported at the docks daily, and that sometimes they were given work, which many times they could not hold because they did not know the language. Both also said they had found France a paradise while the money lasted, but now it was the other way about. "Too much misery here," said one—a evry evident fact.

As to the French West Indians all proudly said they had felt no prejudice and that the French people were less prejudiced than their own colored folk. Some of these were officers and noncommissioned officers in the white regiments. There is no color line in the French army, Negroes, Caucasions and Indo-Chinese being mixed in many regiments and in the military schools.

White policemen, bartenders and beggars also told me that there never had been racial disturbances of any sort. In the bar-rooms I saw Negroes drinking at the same tables with white men and women; the same in the dance halls, in some of which the black sailors just landed with their money burning a hole in their pockets were receiving unusual attention from the ladies.

I saw pretty much the same in England, for the fact is that in these European countries with their comparative absence of colored women it is the white women, just as in Africa, with the absence of white women, the white men, if they are to have female association must seek the black woman.

Hard to Get Work

As I Isaid I met some Negroes who said that there was race prejudice and that they had difficulty in getting work because of the alleged jealousy of the Frenchmen. In view of what I saw I was inclined to discount this altogether until I discovered that those telling me so were North Africans, or Sidis, as they are called.

The North Africans are little liked for several alleged causes which I am told are that they are none too clean; that they are as addicted to the use of knives as the Mississippi and Texas whites to use of the rope and the torch; and also the fact that they are usually Mohammedan. Say anything against a North African and you will get uite a hearing from the average white Frenchman. A British West Indian merchant, rather light in complexion tells me that he once had an altercation with a conductor, and how surprised he was to see the manner the crowd took sides against him, shouting "Sidi" at him. Had the crowd known that he was not a North African, he said, its attitude would have been different. In short the difference between the manner in which the North African is regarded and that in which the other Negroes are, is due not to a difference of color, but of culture. The North African is sometimes very light.

Of one thing I am certain: if Marseilles as is were in America there would be many racial clashes, but here all is tranquil, not even an interracial society, or a collector of data, except myself. In similar places in America where the Negro is a newcomer even the better type of Negro would be refused service, as I have been in Utah, Los Angeles, and Iowa. But here they eat in the best places. I met Earl Granstaff, a New York globetrotter, and musicion, of whim I shall say more later, and he was living in one of the best hotels on the Cannebiere. Granstaff is quite dark.

What is the cause of all this? Why is there trouble in America and none in France? In my next letter I shall tell what many French pepole give as the reason, adding that of my own.

—qqNManoshrdleutaoinshrdlupuep

Race Problem - 1927 I.

Europe

J. A. ROGERS RECOVERS AND TELLS OF CONDITIONS IN AN AMERICAN HOSPITAL IN PARIS

PARIS, France, August 21.—Well, it feeds good to be out on the boulevards again, even if one's legs are a bit wobbly. Being laid aval for eight weeks is not much of a joke.

But still the laugh is on me and the drys. While almost everybody else was drinking wine, beer, and champagne I stuck religiously to my regime of two quarts of water daily. Two weeks after I had been in the hospital I read an article in one of the leading French papers calling attention to the fact that the drinking water of Paris was charged with typhoid germs, that the number of deaths from this disease had greatly increased, and that something ought to be done to sterilize the water.

Since them I have been learning much. Older Parisians have been telling me that 25 years ago there was a great epidemic of typhoid which swept off thousands, and since then there has been a tendency to avoid pipe water. Knowing ones either boil their water, or add a sterilizing acid before drinking it, that is, the few Parisians who do drink water.

Very little attention is paid to the purity of the water supply in Spain, Italy, France, and some other European countries, and it seems that a pretty fair percentage of American tourists contract this disease, something not advertised in the booklets of the tourist agencies. A recent victim was J. Ogden Armour, Chicago millionaire.

Travelling around one thinks of railroad, or steamship, or auto accidents, or some other form of violence. None of these happens but a little microbe reaches out from nowhere and hits one an invisible wallop that puts him away for a much longer time than the first of the world's champion pugilist would be likely to. Water, it is beginning to seem to me, hath its perils no less than wine. In the hospital at the same time with me was a man whose troubles were directly due to drinking too much liquor. Needless to say he is from a certain dry country.

At the present time I am as much afraid of water as I am of Lenox Avenue hootch, though I am told that I am immune to further attacks of typhoid. All of which reminds me of a little story. In the good old days of bar-rails and free lunches, when prohibition was still in napkins an enthusiastic dry was holding forth on a street corner on the virtues of water and the vices of wine. Presently up spoke a florid individual in the audience with the blossoms of Bacchus on his nose: "Say, Mr. Water-drinker, you've heard the story of Lazarus and Dives, haven't you?"

The speaker admitted that he had. "Dives was in hell, wasn't he?" continued the heckler."

"Yes," agreed the speaker.

"And what was the first thing that Dives called for?"

"Water," replied the speaker, confidently.

"Yes," mimicked the heckler, "he called for water. That's where all you bally teetotalers go."

Yes, as I said, I'm afraid of water.

But all of this is getting away from the theme. I'm to tell about the American Hospital of Paris.

Back in 1904 some far-seeing Americans of this city saw the necessity of having a hospital of their own. When one is sick it is all-important to be able to describe one's ills in one's mother tongue. Even if one speaks the foreign language fairly, when one is really ill, doing so calls for no little effort, and it is a relief to be able to lapse into one's own language. Besides, if the truth must be told, the European hospital, generally speaking, is much below the standard of the average American hospital so far as equipment and maintenance is concerned.

Four years later the hospital was built and opened with beds for 22 patients. It was then increased to 32, but this also proved inadequate as there was always a waiting list, some of the patients coming expressly as they do now from all parts of Europe, for even at that time the hospital was recognized as a model of its kind. In the meantime it was incorporated by Act of Congress.

Then came the war when it rendered important services to the French troops by conducting the American Ambulance Hospital. When the United States finally entered the war this was turned over to the United States Army and became Military Hospital No. 1.

After the war when the number of Americans increased in Paris there came the necessity for a still larger building, with the result that the present building with accommodation for 120 beds, eight private maternity rooms and several other departments, was erected at a cost of a million dollars, all of which was raised by public subscription, mostly from American residents and tourists in Paris. Although the hospital is exclusively for Americans, except in cases of emergency, French friends came forward liberally with unsolicited contributions, the hospital itself being a memorial to the American who died or took part in the war.

At present the American Hospital of Paris has the reputation of being the best in Europe, and as was said, sick Americans come thither from all parts of the continent. Its operating rooms, laboratory, radioscopy, X-ray, electrotherapy, eye, ear, nose and throat, and other departments are said to equal the best in America. For convalescing patients there is a solarium; two roof gardens with remarkable fine views of the city and environs, and a well kept garden situated just outside the gates of Paris in the suburb of Neuilly, the hospital is surrounded by beautiful suburban homes and lawns. As to maintenance the interior of the building is the perfection of cleanliness. All in all it is a structure of which Americans abroad can well be proud.

Prices range from two dollars a day in the wards to thirty dollars a day in the de luxe rooms. Private rooms can also be had for a little over three dollars a day.

Although chiefly for Americans the places of residence of the 1626 inpatients treated for the year 1926 shows a pretty good cosmopolitan range, China, Brazil and East Africa being included. France (mostly American residents) led with 407, with New York next with 377.

The Medical Board is composed of leading American and French physicians and surgeons in Paris, and supervises the medical work of the hospital. They are augmented by a consulting staff of eminent European specialists and more than 200 well-known practitioners who compose the Courtesy List. There is also a Medical Advisory Board in America composed of thirty leading physicians and surgeons. Internes are selected from the leading graduates of the best American medical schools.

The student and nursing staff comprises sixteen nationalities—Russian, Danish, American, French, English, American, etc.

But all of the above are facts and figures of greater or less interest to the average reader. What interests everyone, however, is the humanitarian side. How are you treated? A Negro audience will especially want to ask, "How are colored folks treated?" Here also I can speak in unqualified terms, and am glad to do so. I can recall few things in life that gives me as much pleasure as to speak well of the American Hospital. Typhoid fever reduces one almost to the last degree of helplessness, and I was cared for night and day almost as if I were an infant. Doctors and nurses, it seemed to me, did the maximum to make me as comfortable as possible. The nurse who attended me the most of five weeks, a young lady from California, Miss Janet Merkin, is one of the kindliest and most thoughful persons it has been my rare pleasure to meet. She never seemed to forget the slightest detail. And her cheerfulness was unfailing. When it was possible for me to eat everything was done in the way of nourishment to help me regain the large amount of weight I had lost.

Two other colored men, who were in the hospital the same time as myself voice my sentiments exactly or I voice theirs, as you will. They are W. Henry Lee, a chemist, native of Boston, who has been living here thirty years, and E. E. Thompson, former bandmaster of the 367th Infantry who has been playing in the leading European capitals.

Without wishing to dwell too much on the matter of my illness I might add that prior to going to the hospital I consulted three physicians in three weeks, all of whom were treating me for something else, due probably to the symptoms I gave them.

Tourists and others are welcome visitors at the hospital, colored visitors being as welcome as any others, I understand. And I believe too, that

donations, large or small, are also welcome from them, as the hospital is dependent on its maintenance largely on gifts. Under its charter it cannot be run on a profit so it is a purely humanitarian institution.

The American Negro population of Paris is increasing; so are colored tourists. The inevitable result is that from time to time one or two gets stranded and ill. More than one such has been treated free. And in any case it is a mighty fine thing to have such an institution to which one may go when in a foreign land. That, at least, is one fact I shan't forget.

My next article will be on colored Americans in France—who and what they are.

"VOICE OF THE NEGRO," A PARIS REVIEW

Paris, France, Jan. 15, 1927.—Although no color prejudice exists in France, a society for the protection of the colored race has been formed by a number of political and literary leaders, and is already receiving warm support.

The committee announces its aims thus: The preservation of the colored race; to combat calumny and prejudices, and to tighten the attachment of the Negro colonies to France. The publication of a new review is announced, "The Voice of the Negro". The editors are proclaiming that colored people are proud to be called Negroes. Sorbonne University professors are lauding the patience and studious capacity shown by colored people.

BUFFALO, N. Y.

Times

JAN 30 1927

Society for Colored

PARIS, Jan. 29.—A society for the protection of the colored race and to tighten the attachment of the negro colonies to France has been formed here. The publication of a new review, "The Voice of the Negro," is announeed.

BROOKLYN CITIZEN

JAN 26 1927

Society for Colored

PARIS.—A society for the protection of the colored race and to tighten the attachment of the Negro colonies to France has been formed here. The publication of a new review, "The Voice of the Negro," is announced.

$1,500 IS PRICE RUSSIA PAYS FOR FORDS

Richard Hill Back From Three Month Trip To Soviet Country

YOUNG RUSSIANS LOOK DOWN ON CHRISTIANITY

American Whites' Hatred Of Negro And The Jew Cited As Reason

America has a lot to learn from Russia, although that country has at present only 12,000 automobiles and a Ford costs $1,500 declared Richard Hurst Hill, senior at Lincoln University, who is home from a trip abroad.

Mr. Hill left June 26th on board the steamer, "Berengaria," for Russia, China, England, Holland, returning by way of Seattle, Washington, this week. He is a member of the celebrated Lincoln debating team which defeated Oxford here last winter and the trip was the result of a scholarship award from the Student Council of New York Committee of Student Delegation to Russia.



Mr. Hill

Most of the automobiles in Russia are Cadillacs, Packards and Lincolns. There are only a few Fords, declared Mr. Hill. The latter costs 3,000 rupees, about $1,500.

All Education Free

Citing the fields in which so-called Red Communists of Russia are far ahead of America, Mr. Hill declared that all education is free, including education in colleges, professional schools, medical schools and such high technical schools. Not only is the tuition free, but the board and lodging and other expenses of the students are paid by the government while the students are in school.

Compulsory education laws are enforced in some places and even the workers in factories manage to spend two or three hours a day in school.

Farmers Intelligent

"The lowest peasant on Russian farms is better informed about the economic condition of this country and of other countries than the average American.

"Standing for a few hours on an isolated Russian farm, a peasant asked me. 'Are they still mistreating and lynching colored people in the southern part of the United States?'

Afro In Russia

"I found copies of the AFRO AMERICAN in Moscow. Stribling's "Birthright," has been translated into the Russian as well as Walter White's novel "Flight", and books by Wm. Pickens.

Industry

"All industry is owned by the Soviet government except concessions to foreigners which revert to the government in time. The result is that

(Continued On Page Five)

the poor people of Russia long oppressed under the Czar are living peaceful and happy lives for the first time in history. Their pay is fixed by the government. Workers live in government owned houses. The standard of pay is not far below what we have in America.

"Special insurance provides for the worker and his family if for any reason he is ill or incapacitated for work.

"The average Russian is not only more intelligent than the average American, but he is more enthusiastic about what he terms 'our government.' He is more interested in its success and he works more ardently to bring it about.

No Church Interest

"Only the older people go to church. The young people use their Sundays in forums, in discussions and reading. The Catholics and Greek Orthodox churches there are bare of any furniture and the priests are ridiculed by the childen on the streets.

"Efforts to bring the American Protestant and Evangelical churches into Russia have failed. Russians have said, 'We want nothing of the Christianity, especially the American brand. Look what it has done for America where Jews and Negroes are hated and mistreated.'"

'Fake bodies of the saints reposing and foreheads of the saints exposed in the churches were exposed during the revolution. Portions of the hands in the coffins which thousands of persons visited daily, turned out to be only parched leather, imitation hands and foreheads.

Dead Lenin

"The body of Lenin, the father of the present system of government, lies in state in a glass case in Lenin garb and is visited by thousands of persons everyday."

Sex Equality

"There is no such thing as sex equality in Russia. We found in one medical school," Mr. Hill said, "more women than men."

AT LEAST TWO ROMAN CAESARS WERE COLORED SAYS ROGERS

Afro American

Busts Of Septimus Severus And Caracalla In Vatican Library Show It

5-7-27

Baltimore

JUVENAL QUOTED ON THE BLACK GLADIATORS

Saints Never Bathed Hence So Called "Odor Of Sanctity"?

By J. A. ROGERS

IN ROME—Taking up where I left off last week, I could go on to write of such interesting places as the old Aqueducts; the Imperial Forum; the Pantheon; the Doria Palace; the Villa Borghese; of San Stefano, the Ethiopian Church built in 450 A. D.; the American Academy; the Rocca di Papa, or Pope's Rock; of Frascati, the suburb in which Cicero lived and the Palace of the Vatican, where the Pope lives hence space must be reserved for mention of two of the leading ones: The Catacombs of San Callisto and the Vatican Library.

Catacombs

The first is to be found on the famed Appian Way about two miles from the city. Here was one the cemeteries of Rome, which was later used by the Christians as secret places of worship. These Catacombs are 32 acres in extent, twelve miles in length, and are in three stories, the first of which is forty feet underground. Almost all of the tombs were rifled by the Vandals.

Trappist Monks

The place is now under the care of the Trappist monks. One of them with his shaven crown, long flowing brown robe, and sandals, took us below after giving each of the party a candle. Unfortunately I saw little of the place as I chose the English-speaking group, in which were several American ladies, who asked to be taken out, after they had seen but a small part of it. "Oh," said one of them to the guide, "we'd better go out now. I guest the rest of the place is just like this." Visiting these historic places is like taking medicine to many of the American tourists, who'd much rather be in a Montmartre cabaret.

Vatican Library

The Vatican Library is perhaps the largest repository of art treasures in the world, and one walks through what must be miles and miles of rooms so filled with them that it is almost difficult to fix one's attention on any one object. Nevertheless one must be arrested by the paintings of Raphael in the rooms that bear his name; the Sistine Chapel with Michael Angelo's famous painting, "The Last Judgment"; the thousands of books with signatures sent to the Popes from America and all parts of the world, one of which is said to contain the names of 33,000 French persons, who declare themselves, "ready to suffer and die for the faith" and Nero's bath tub which is big enough for five persons.

Black Caesars

Of special interest to me was the Egyptian Room with one of the finest collection of Egyptian art and statuary in existence. This reminds me to say that if the busts of certain persons, known as Negroes in America, were to be made and placed beside some of those of the Caesars in the galleries here, particularly that of Septimus Severus, and Caracalla also, well the inference is obvious. For as far back as one can go in history Europe and Africa have been meeting and mating along these shores.

Roman Ladies

Besides the noble Roman ladies were particularly fond of the Negro gladiators and others as see the famous Sixth Satire of Juvenal who lived in 89 A. D.

Prisons For Paul And Peter

From a historical standpoint a most interesting spot is, of course, the Foro Romano, an enclosure of perhaps not less than a hundred acres, the heart of the old Roman Empire.

Approaching the Foro Romano, the first point of interest will be the Carcero Mamertino, or Mamertino Prison, where the Apostles Paul and Peter, were placed by order of Nero. It is a gloomy, underground dungeon entirely of stone, with barely enough room in the cells to stand erect. No one could complain of coddling prisoners in those days.

Caesars

One feels quite a thrill when he calls that on this same spot once trod Augustus Caesar, "who dead and turned to clay, will stop a hole to keep the wind away"; the Harlot-Empress, Messalina; Pompey and Cataline, and Cicero, and all the

Race Problem - 1927 II.

Europe

rest. In the hollow at the foot of the hill are the remains of the Forum in which they all held forth.

Jewish Ghetto

An interesting place nearby, on the outside, is the old Jewish Ghetto, a word meaning cut-off, and the fore-runner of all ghettos. It began its existence about 20 B. C., when Pompey brought the first Jewish captives to Rome, and lasted until 1880 A. D. Less than seventeen years later, however, the Jews had become a power to be reckoned with, as in the case of the Negroe who forty-five years after his destitute entry into Virginia, found himself faced with a law, prohibiting his buying white people. (See Hening's Statutes of Virginia. Vol. I.)

Seven Hills

On the hill, is the Palatine, one of the famous Seven Hills, adorned by the Palaces of the Caesars, now denuded of their costly marble and but cliffs of brick from which one may get a fine view of the city. The gardens are still there with orange trees laden with ripe fruit.

Descending again one finds himself among arches of brick so lofty and spacious that when the Christians came into power, they used the space as churches, many of which still bear their decorations.

Coliseum

In the vicinity is the Coliseum, so grizzled with age that it hardly seems to be the handiwork of man. This structure, which is almost half a mile in circumference, was completed in 80 A. D. by the Emperor Titus, and took the labor of thirty thousand slaves who were all freed.

100 Day Show

The Coliseum was opened with a performance lasting one hundred days, during which several thousand gladiators and wild animals tore one another to pieces. Readers of Quo Vadis will also recall how the Christians were thrown to the lions in the great arena, now but long sections of masonry with great holes between.

One feels like going into Ingersollian rhapsodies on seeing the Coliseum for the spot on which raged such barbarity and bloodshed are now parties of tourists and children playing hop-scotch. Much of the Coliseum, like that of the buildings in the Foro Romano, was also despoiled to furnish materials for other buildings. Considerable restoration has been done by one or two of the Popes.

Baths

Not far from the Coliseum are the Baths of Caracalla, a structure hardly less imposing than the Coliseum. This bath which could accomodate more than a thousand persons at once, was also a cultured centre, with libraries and art galleries. In several of the pools may still be seen the hot water pipes and the beautiful mosaic.

Bathing Out Of Favor

This bath is but one of many. Bathing went out of favor, however, with the Christian regime, and seems to be still out of favor in Catholic Europe, broadly speaking. Many of the early saints prided themselves on the fact that they never bathed, hence, the phrase "odor of sanctity."

Stadium For 300,000

In this vicinity, Via Cerchi (Circus Street) are the ruins of the Circus Maximus, where the Romans held their athletic games. The stadium accomodated 300,000 persons, almost four times as many as the Coliseum. Those old Roman certainly built with a robustness and vastness of conception beyond man, but it must be recalled that they had the example of the Greeks, who in turn had that of the Egyptians and Ethiopians.

My next article will be from Florence, in which I will also say something of Mussolini and of the every day life of the Italians.

Lynch Law in Italy?

IF the reports of what is taking place at the councils of the Fascist leaders are correct, events in Italy may take an exceedingly grave turn. For the attempt on the life of Signor MUSSOLINI there are no extenuating circumstances, save that its perpetrator was a mere lad and known to be mentally unbalanced, and the whole world shares the horror of the Italian people at the deed and their thankfulness at its failure. But the Fascist leaders cannot escape their share of the responsibility. They have deliberately based their regime on violence, and the wild statements—still unsupported by any evidence—of a formidable and widespread terrorist conspiracy suggest less the generous indignation of the patriot than the anger of men who see their own bad weapon turned against them. They can, it seems, find no better remedy than an intensification of the terror which is itself the natural incentive to crime. The non-Fascist press is silenced; outbreaks of mob violence are frequent and are even encouraged; lynch law is applauded and its general application approved. So important a man as Signor TURATI sees no hope for his cause save in a savage law of reprisal, which would amount, in fact, to judicial murder. It is difficult to believe that Signor MUSSOLINI fails to see the consequences of government by vendetta. Its doctrine of many eyes for one eye, its lists of hostages, its secret police, will rend Italy. Hitherto Signor MUSSOLINI has not only shown the greatest coolness in face of the attempts on his life, but has exerted himself to restrain the indiscriminate reprisals of his followers. This time he will have a harder task, but it will be even more necessary.

GERMAN BANS NEGRO REVUE

Elberfeld Mayor Bars Americans—Emden Film Forbidden, Too.

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By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ELBERFELD, Jan. 8.—On the ground that the Rhineland had suffered under "the Black Shame," by which he meant the presence of French negro troops in the occupied territory for six years, the Mayor of this city has forbidden the appearance here of a negro revue called "Black People."

The fact that the performers were American negroes who had already played elsewhere in Germany could not influence the Mayor to alter his decision.

COBLENZ, Jan. 9 (AP).—The Interallied Rhineland Commission has issued an order prohibiting the showing in the occupied area of a film picturing the exploits of the famous sea rover Emden during the World War.

INDIAN STUDENTS PROTEST COLOR BAR IN SCOTLAND

Association With White Women In Restaurants and Dance Halls Disapproved Of—Powerless to Act, Is Official View Given in Parliament

EDINBURGH, June.—A protest against the attitude of certain dance hall and restaurant proprietors in refusing admission to their premises of colored men accompanied by white women is contained in a telegram of congratulation on Empire Day sent to the King by the colored students of Edinburgh.

The telegram, which was sent by the secretary of the Edinburgh Indian Association to Lord Stamfordham, states:

"Edinburgh Indian Association send greetings on the anniversary of Empire Day, but regret the color ban under which the King's Indian subjects are placed in this famous university city where they have elected to pursue their studies."

There are 3,000 colored students attending the University of Edinburgh and extra-mural schools for medicine, the arts, dentistry, law and engineering.

Two dance halls exclude all colored people. One admits Chinese, but excludes other Orientals. Another admits all Asiatics, but the management has given permission to the dance instructress to refuse to dance with them.

In two restaurants not licensed to sell intoxicants dancing takes place at intervals. From one of these restaurants colored persons are excluded, while at the other they are admitted, but not allowed to dance.

"White patrons object to the presence of Asiatics," said the manager of the establishment to me. "We had to choose between losing the considerable body of regular patrons and having the colored people.

"No allegations of misconduct are made, but quarrels have arisen in the dance halls among the Orientals themselves."

Full accounts of what has happened, the students state, have been sent to the leading newspapers in the East, but the general opinion is that a mountain is being made out of a molehill.

Question Raised in Parliament

The color bar which has been introduced by certain restaurant and dance hall proprietors in Edinburgh was the subject of brief debate on the motion for the adjournment of the House of Commons on Tuesday night.

Mr. Saklatvala, who raised the question, said he was informed that the same thing was being done in other parts of Scotland—at Dundee, Aberdeen and Glasgow. He appeared to the House to put down the practice with as strong a hand as possible, and said his sole object in raising the matter publicly was to show the people of India, Africa, and the West Indies that neither the House nor the best elements of Scottish life encouraged the idea.

Dr. Drummond Shields, one of the members for Edinburgh, said he had no complaint to make at the subject being raised.

While he regretted the action of proprietors of dance halls and restaurants in putting up the bar, it must be remembered that it is done by private people who ran their places for commercial purposes.

The attitude of these people did not represent the feelings of the citizens of Edinburgh. Both as a city, and especially in its university, Edinburgh was cosmopolitan, and welcomed students and visitors from every part of the Empire and of the world.

The Secretary for Scotland (Sir John Gilmour) said he could not see what official action he could take. However much one might regret what had been done, it was really a matter for those who ran these particular places.

He thought that in the country generally there was none of that extreme racial antipathy that had been suggested, and hoped that the fact of the matter having been raised in the House would have some ameliorating effect.

Mr. Buchanan contended that as the action taken was an insult to India, it was the duty of the Secretary of State to act.

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the revelations contained in the complete collection of British diplomatic correspondence bearing upon the outbreak of the World war, published for the first time in London in December, 1926, is contributed by Professor Bernodotte E. Schmitt, of the University of Chicago.

Other articles are "The Political Development of the Irish Free State," by St. Nihal Singh, Anglo-Indian publicist and author, and "The Economic Advancement of the Irish Free State," by Professor Glen A. Blackburn, of Indiana Central college. The recent Communist revolt in Java is described by Professor A. J. Barnouw, of Columbia university, and recent political developments in Czechoslovakia are analyzed by Robert Machray.

World history during the month in each nation of the world is narrated, as usual, by fourteen historians who assist each month in compiling for Current History the Historians' Chronicle of the World.

THE WORLD'S WINDOW

BY PIERRE VAN PAASSEN.

Slavery Modernized.

A sensation was caused at the Congress of Colonial Peoples in Brussels last week by a Congo negro, named Senghor Lamine, who named French officials in the Congo, accusing them of a series of the most gruesome crimes against natives. That men and women for failure to bring the desired quota of rubber had the bones in their hands crushed between the plates of a copy-press, was but one of the minor accusations in a series of revolting and unspeakable outrages. The Chinese delegates were cheered by the assembled Hindus, Arabs, Sudanese, Congo dwellers, Zulus, Hottentots and Javanese. One African negro said: "Slavery is abolished, they tell us. Yes, it is not allowed to sell a human being, that is true. But they sell whole countries now. Who asked us if we wanted to become subjects of Germany when The Kamerun was sold years ago and who asked us if we wanted to become French or English subjects after the war. Slavery is not abolished, it is modernized."

* * * *

Gandhi.

Gandhi, the great Hindu leader, has just completed a year's absolute withdrawal from the world. He has spent the time meditating, studying the New Testament and expounding sacred Hindu writings. The Mahatma is reported to be wasted and extremely thin owing to a severe illness following his imprisonment. He is also a very sad man and confesses that he lacks the sense of communion with a personal God, professed by many Christians that gives to them a sense of joy. Nevertheless, he leans utterly upon God, as he understands Him. Gandhi has an extremely magnetic personality and there is a wonderful radiance in his eyes, we are told by a woman who interviewed him. Yet he is very unemotional and practical, and has given himself completely to God, and to the task of setting India free, as he understands freedom.

A Crusader.

Noonday boulevard crowds in Paris are on the lookout for a young abbe, who has been in the habit of raiding kiosks, picking out magazines with rather risque covers and tearing them into shreds. This zealous cleric has been arrested four times, but, as his trial does not come off for a month and he has been set at liberty, he returns to the charge each time he is out of the hoosegow. When the priest has worked his will upon the offending magazines, he turns to the crowd and explains his violence. We saw the reverend gentleman at work the other day and noticed that the crowd cheered him in his attack upon one kiosk, known for its glut of filth and pornography. But when two gendarmes came upon the scene and arrested the crusader, the crowd cheered again. So that it is difficult to estimate which way the wind blows with the Paris public.

* * * *

Sorel's Return.

Madame Cecile Sorel is back from the United States and has incensed a good section of the French newspaper reading public. Said Madame Sorel to the assembled reporters: "The longer I stayed in America, the better I liked it. I began to realize that we French are a backward people. After New York, Paris looks a little sleepy village!" "And we complain about the noise in our streets," says one paper. "At any rate this is still the freest and the most civilized country on earth," says La Presse. "Americans don't know how to live," adds another journal. "Madame Sorel admits it herself when she says that Americans don't want any intermission when they go to see a play. Americans work all day and want to be amused all night. Intermissions don't amuse them. They are lost time. And lost time is a crime in America."

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Pulse of Public Opinion

The Color Line In Europe

Dear Editor:

I promised, upon my departure for the Old Country, to write you concerning some of the things which might interest your readers. The thing foremost in my mind is France and her attitude toward the members of our group. I have gone to cafes, barber shops, hotels and even public dances, in every case I have been treated with respect and courtesy. On the other side, I have talked with French Negroes and those who have come from her colonies in various parts of Africa and their opinion is just the opposite of that held by the American Negroes.

Their opinion should be well considered by the Negro worshippers of France. I am informed that the French Colonial government is a gigantic tyranny. The natives are obliged to bring specified articles and in certain quantities, as ordered by the Colonial officials and at a certain price set by the Government, which is always below the real value of the objects.

As to head taxes, every native in the bush is obliged to pay a head tax to the Government. In return for the taxes, the native receives nothing. There are no schools except in a few centers. The instruction in these schools is not the same as given to the white boys in France, but is an inferior kind, arranged with the idea of not giving the natives any inspiration for self-government. Not only is this true of Africa, but all of her colonies with few exceptions. The officials are brutal. I am informed in French Central Africa, the population was 15,000,000 souls 25 years ago. French brutality has reduced this populous country to 3,000,000.

Furthermore I was informed that the French do not like the Negro any more than do the English or American. But the French are a sagacious race and naturally act differently from the above mentioned nations. She knows full well the day she loses her African colonies, she will speedily become a colony of Germany or Italy. She lulls the Negro to sleep by social equality, and he thinks all is well.

The French Negro is intelligent, probably more intellectual than the American, but there can be no comparison from a material point of view, from this viewpoinnt the American Negro is two hundred years ahead of the French Negro. They have no businesses in France and none worth mentioning in the colonies.

GERMANY'S ABILITY TO PAY UNDER DAWES PLAN DOUBTED

Ex-Minister of Finance Sees No Prospect of Meeting Increasing Reparations

Although the first two years' payments under the Dawes plan have been successfully met by Germany, recent discussions in the Reichstag, and statements by experts, seem to indicate a feeling of uncertainty in Germany as to continued ability to pay in the future. Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, former German finance minister, writing in March Current History, sums up these doubts as follows:

"The fundamental aims of the Dawes plan—business restoration, an increase of exports over imports, and the maintenance of a decent standard of living—seem so far unaccomplished and, at the same time, there is no prospect that Germany will have the means of meeting greatly increased payments."

Dr. Dernburg sees a tendency in Europe and the United States to protect home industries by high tariffs, special duties and anti-dumping legislation, thus "deliberately blocking the only way for Germany to increase her foreign trade." Germany, he says, is still crippled by her staggering losses of resources and it is manifestly out of the question to increase taxation. However, he asserts that "Germany will continue to try loyally to live up to the Dawes plan, trusting in the good faith and common sense of its administrators and hoping for a final solution bearable to all."

"Unvarnished Truth of History"

The question whether the "unvarnished truth of history" should be glossed over in an effort to preserve patriotic faith and illusions in the popular mind is debated by two historians, Walter Hart Blumenthal and Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard. Mr. Blumenthal protests against what he terms "the intellectual drugging of future citizens," and cites arguments to show that our "wise and pious" ancestors had their share of human failings; that "our patriotic forefathers' conduct in the Revolutionary war is much too romantically praised, as they were, to a great extent, 'slackers,' and Washington's heart was nearly broken by the incompetency, insubordination and corruption which he had to endure." He attacks the dissemination of stories that have been proved myths and indicts the "dehumanization" of our great men, George Washington in particular, in a mistaken effort to show them as "spotless saints." Professor Hart takes the latter point as the main object of his rebuttal, protesting in his turn against "digging into the youth of great men in order to find some rash, foolish or dishonorable action," though he admits that such personages should be prepared for a certain amount of publicity. Incidentally he offers $100 to any one who will show him the original or an authentic copy of a holograph letter from Washington to Lafayette, which Mr. Blumenthal quotes, containing an immoral statement, but the actual existence of which is doubted by Professor Hart.

Monroe Doctrine Discussed

The conduct of the United States in the existing Mexican and Nicaraguan controversies is seen by Professor Felipe Barreda, of the University of San Marcos, at Lima, Peru, as conclusive evidence that our interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine today is quite different from Monroe's original intention. Professor Barreda says Monroe's pronouncement was aimed exclusively at the European powers, but that of recent years the United States has twisted it to justify intervention in all cases of internal political strife or revolution in Latin-American countries. He believes that its present aspect constitutes a serious menace to Pan-American amity and that some new understanding of it must be arrived at that will be satisfactory to all.

A case of our application of the Monroe Doctrine is treated in Alfred Tyrnauer's discussion of "The Tragedy of Emperor Maximilian of Mexico." Mr. Tyrnauer makes the statement, the basis for which he gleaned from recently disclosed secret diplomatic documents of the Austrian court, that the United States was the determining factor in the downfall of the Mexican empire through her backing of the Indian Jaurez, her demand that Napoleon III remove the supporting French troops, and her ultimatum to Austria when she planned to send reinforcements.

The question of segregation of negroes is discussed from both sides by Professor Kelly Miller, of Howard university, and Herbert J. Seligman, of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People.

In a recent issue of Current History, Professor T. N. Carver asserted that a new era of harmony was arising between capital and labor, fostered by the welfare work of employers and the increasing prosperity of labor, which is being allowed to buy stock and participate in profit-sharing undertakings.

Mrs. Mina Weisenberg, secretary of the New York chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy, does not share this optimism. She disapproves of most such welfare schemes as "industrial paternalism."

Russia in the World War

Russian war guilt is the subject of an article by Gunther Frantz, a German authority on the question. Herr Frantz stresses the belief of certain Russian authorities that diplomatic negotiations were kept up as long as possible in July, 1914, to blind the central powers to the fact that Russia was actually mobilizing, though such action was officially denied.

An article on the importance of

Continued on Front Page

Peace Problem - 1927

Europe

The "Little Sister" of Paris

Brussels in Belgium, However, Is Not as Gay

By J. A. ROGERS

BRUSSELS.

THIS city is often called "Little Paris" by its admirers, while others say it is a sister of Paris. Step-sister, perhaps, because it is difficult to find other than a superficial resemblance. French, of course, is the principal language and the menus are written in French. But first and foremost, what does one find? That instead of drinking wine the Belgians are drinking beer. In the cafes on the Boulevard Adolphe Max everyone has a glass of blond beer before him. And some of these glasses, or rather containers of beer, on some of the back streets, are big enough in which to wash your face. You have seen the glass top used in restaurants to cover cakes and pies—well, these glasses are the shape and about the size of that. Verily, the human stomach has unthinkable possibilities!

Don't the Belgians drink liquor in their cafes? Well, perhaps they would like to, but a semi-dry law came in with the war and was said to be found so beneficial that it was never repealed. Plenty of liquor is to be found for sale in the stores, but one needs his passport or card of identity to get it, I was told. However, the manufacturers got even by making a beer so strong that, if you are not an expert, a few glasses of it will put you under the table. I was also told that quite a little bootlegging goes on in the cafes, in spite of the heavy fine.

Another lack of resemblance between Paris and Brussels is that magnet which draws so many Anglo-Saxons to Paris is lacking, namely: the brilliant night life. Brussels has a great reputation for gaiety, and it was gay, but that was before the coming of the Germans, with their rapine and demand for an immediate two and a half billion dollars from the little kingdom.

Again another distinctive feature of Paris is lacking, namely: the peculiar rounded roofs and balconies and the wooded streets. Brussels has its spots of extreme beauty, as I shall endeavor to show later, while in Paris everywhere seems to be beautiful.

And so I could go on, but some of the other differences will appear in the course of my writing.

From Paris to Brussels is but a distance of four hours' ride on the express. One passes over scenes reminiscent of the late war—only reminiscent, for what was once a devastated area now is a rich agricultural area, with beet fields, apple and pear orchards, wheat fields, farmhouses, peaceful villages and busy towns. St. Quentin and Mons, which saw much of the worst fighting, look almost brand new with their spick-and-span railroad stations and new buildings going up.

The battlefields of Belgium are disappearing under the hands of man and of nature as they have done more than a score of times before. When Belgium was invaded by the Germans I felt extremely sorry for the people, but I could not join in the lament of "poor, bleeding Belgium." And this was inspired not so much by the treatment of the Congolese as was the fact that the reading of history had made me somewhat hard-boiled. I knew that there had not been a single one of the Allied Powers that had not invaded Belgium in the past and not one that was not ready in the future to do so, should "military necessity" dictate it.



— J. A. Rogers —

Belgium has been rightly called the cockpit of Europe. It is the cyclone center. Perhaps someone skilled at the same time in military strategy and economics will explain just why this should be so. In recorded history it began with Julius Caesar, who, if I remember rightly, described the Belgae, or was it the Nervii, a Belgian tribe, as being the most stubborn fighters he had ever encountered. After Caesar came the Gauls, and later in the thirteenth century the English besieged and captured Brussels. Then came the Austrians, Dutch, Spaniards, and under the latter the Belgians suffered in a far worse manner than under the Germans. There was that monster, the Duke of Alva, a Nero and Caligula incarnate, who at one time took several thousands of the defenders of one city, tied them back to back, and threw them into the sea.

Again, in the 1690s the French invaded Belgium and set Brussels on fire. Following the French came the Bavarians, now known as Germans, while it was on Belgian fields that the famous English general, the Duke of Marlborough, won his great battles of Blenheim, Oudenarde, Ramillies, and Malplaquet against the French.

Still later, in 1792, France, in order to strike at Austria, invaded Belgium and held it for nearly twenty years. Here also, not far from Brussels, is the famous battlefield of Waterloo, on which Belgians, British and Germans joined in fighting the French under Napoleon. In 1830 the Belgians fought Holland and finally won their independence, which was guaranteed by the then leading Powers, among them Prussia. Finally Prussia, now a part of Germany, to strike France, struck at Belgium, just as France—a little over a century before—in order to strike Austria, now an ally of Germany, had struck first at Belgium.

As my train sped on, my mind flew backward and I saw again those marching armies of past centuries ravaging in their turn this beautiful land; I saw also the late Germans. Then looking ahead I saw armies of the future doing the very same thing, should the peculiar conditions which make it the battling-ground of Europe still hold. For, are not the leading Powers—England, France, Italy, the United States, Japan—preparing for a more deadly and destructive war, their so-called peace conferences being utter failures?

Belgium also is a land of art—of beautiful old cities, magnificent cathedrals, fine hotels de ville, or town halls, beautiful palaces, splendid squares, old canals, and art museums. It is the home of Rubens, Van Dyck, Jourdaens, Ten Eyck, Maeterlinck, Verhaen. Brussels, as I said, has its spots of great beauty. There is the beautiful Bois de Cambre of 450 acres, with its artificial lake, finer than anything of its kind I have seen; the Grand Place, one of the finest squares of Europe, bordered with buildings of superb Gothic architecture, among them being the Ducal Palace and the homes of the Guilds, forerunners of our trade unions; the Royal Theatre; the King's Palace; the Houses of Parliament; the Column of Congress, at the base of which is the tomb of the Unknown Soldier; the Arch of Triumph, one of the finest things of its kind in all Europe; the Museum of the Cinquentennaire, or fifty years of Belgium independence (both of which, by the way, were built by King Leopold with money wrung from the Congo); the Palace of Justice; the Church of St. Gudule, and so many more.

I cannot recall ever seeing anywhere else a building of greater size, strength and majesty than this Palace of Justice. Standing on the summit of the hill, it resembles some Cyclopean mountain of rock carved into the shape of a building. It is the show-place of Brussels. It was easy to tell that. One can always tell the show-places by the number of guides and post-card sellers standing outside. In this case I counted nineteen of the latter, mostly women, rather seedily dressed.

The preceding evening, rather late, while standing on this hill, contemplating the city with its nondescript roofs, tall industrial chimneys, numerous church spires, and pall of smoke, a boy approached me and, without further ado, addressed me in excellent English, offering me post-cards. This set me to thinking. How did he know I spoke English? Here I was dressed in French hat, shoes, suit—in short, the only thing American made I had on was one upper under-garment. Did this youngster have an X-ray eye to perceive that, for I had not said a single word?

The next morning, while walking on the principal business street, I was addressed again in English by the canvassers for a tourist agency.

"How do you know I can speak English?" I now demanded.

"Why," said he, "I can see it in your face."

"But," I retorted, "you're mistaken; I'm from Java."

"Oh," he laughed, you're American. I'll bet there's an American passport in your pocket." After which there was no reply.

These persons, who make a living off tourists, have an infallible method of telling just what coun-

Traveler Tells of Europe's Battling Ground

American Traveler Likens Facism To Garveyism; Says All Italy Works, Bars Jazz

Visits Cathedral Which Seats 40,000 at Milan; Sees Opera House Where World's Greatest Stars May Be Heard For 36c.

By J. A. ROGERS

MILAN, Italy, Oct. 27.—This city of about 700,000 souls is the great manufacturing and commercial center of Italy. Its business section—the Duomo—compares favorably with that of our great American cities.

I shall, however, have little to say of Milan, as well as of Genoa, the chief shipping center, as I purpose devoting the greater part of this article, my last on Italy, to the most absorbing of all topics in this country—Mussolini.

The chief sight of Milan is the Duomo, or Cathedral, which is inferior in size only to St. Peter's. It is very ornate on the outside with its 4,500 niches and 3,000 statues of saints. And the interior! If I compared the pillars of the cathedral in Florence to the trunks of the giant trees of California, to what shall I liken these of Milan? The seating capacity, which is 40,000, will give some idea of its size.

Milan is also noted for its opera house—La Scala—in which one may hear the leading singers of Europe at prices ranging from 36 cents to $36. Among other sights are the Ambrosian Library, the oldest in Europe, and the Castello Sforesco, a fortress of the Middle Ages with thousands of loopholes and quite as impressive as the Tower of London.

A word about Genoa, in which I spent a day: Genoa, it will be recalled, is the birthplace of Christopher Columbus, to whom there is a monument in front of the railroad station. It is a city of hills so steep in places that as between going up and going down there isn't much of a choice.

The burning topic here, as was said, is Mussolini and Fascism. I used the singular because Mussolini and Fascism is like Garvey and Garveyism: it would take nothing short of one of those minds of the Middle Ages who could tell the exact number of angels that can dance on the point of a needle, to distinguish between them. I don't understand Italian, but I feel quite at home here, having been through the storm of discussion that waged around Garvey in Harlem in 1922. Not that there is any storm of discussion here about Fascism now, because Fascism is in the saddle, and Italy is like a one-way street, or one of those one-way sidewalks in Naples, from which you'll be chased by a policeman if you attempt to go in the opposite direction.

All Italy loves Mussolini and speaks well of him. To find out what some Italians really think of him one must read what was written about him before he got into power, or go to America, France, England or any other country outside of Italy. One might take a chance and express himself to the contrary in some of the larger towns, but I have been told by several Americans and English and French people who live here that it is worth one's life to say anything against him in the smaller towns. As I said in an earlier article, I soon discovered that I had better love him myself.

The charges against Fascism read very much like the history of the Klan in the reconstruction period—assassinations, whippings, maimings, the invasion and destruction of homes, the raiding and burning of newspaper offices and other outrages. In one year 76 persons were said to have been assassinated and 340 wounded, one of those killed being Matteotti, the chief opponent of Mussolini.

At the present time no newspaper is permitted to print any opinion hostile to Mussolini; labor unions are not allowed to strike; Italians have great difficulty in getting a passport to leave the country; the death sentence, which was abolished, has been revived; jazz is not permitted and has to be bootlegged, a reason why colored Americans are as plentiful in Italy as the proverbial hens' teeth; dancing and other amusements are reduced to a minimum and work is the order of the day. The Duce himself is a tireless worker and his aim is to make all Italy a copy—a carbon copy, of course—of himself.

The only pastime freely permitted is church-going, and it is said that the Duce is itching to regulate that, too, but the power of the church is too strong. Mussolini, it will be recalled, began by being a Socialist—a red-hot one—but later saw the error of his ways. And this is why the Socialists hate him so bitterly.

One bit of news that will be of particular interest to the ladies is that he has placed a tax on all bachelors over 25 years of age of $10 a year, I think. Did I hear a chorus of bachelors say it's more than worth the price? He also opposes beards, which makes him "solid" with the barbers and razor manufacturers.

Yes, Italy today is Mussolini, and Mussolini, Italy. All over the country his profile is stenciled at the corners of buildings; pictures, in innumerable poses of him, are the chief object in postcard and stationery stores. As in France, the public buildings bear the legend: "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," so in Italy they bear the symbol of Fascism: a bundle of sticks tied together—facing outwards in the bundle is a battle-ax. Fascist is from fascia, the band which holds a bundle of firewood together.

Italy has a king, but he seems to be about as important in comparison with Mussolini as one of those henpecked husbands one sees in movie comedies. Placards bearing the picture of himself and Mussolini, taken together, are posted all over the kingdom. In this picture Mussolini is shown to be shorter by a head than the king, which is certainly what Roosevelt would call nature-faking, for it is almost impossible to be smaller in size than the king. Victor Emmanuel is such a midget of a man that he wears ladies' heels, and I understand an inside heel, too.

Emerson's advice is that one should never be afraid to reverse himself. Mussolini isn't. In fact, he is the very reverse of what he was prior to the war. A Socialist and bitter anti-militarist who has served sentences in the prisons of five European countries for his convictions against capitalism, he has become the spokesman of capital. "Many think," he said, "and I am one of them, that capitalism is scarcely at the beginning of its history." Like the Pope, [illegible] opposed to Freemasonry. [illegible] joining of any other [illegible] by his followers would [illegible]

[illegible] other hand, all with [illegible] agree that they [illegible] Italy would [illegible] Mussolini. He has [illegible], all of which [illegible] by the government, officially; he has done much for education, improved the traffic system [illegible] finances of the country, for [illegible] fallen even lower than [illegible] in short restored order [illegible] of the chaos that followed the [illegible] of Versailles. I, for one, believe that his opponents, the Socialists and Communists, would have done nothing so near as well, for the tendency of the ultra-radical is to waste his time and that of others in bitter quarrel over inconsequential details, precisely as do very religious folk. Italy, in short, needed a strong dose of medicine, and it got Mussolini. It reminds one of the doses of castor oil that the Fascists used to pour down the throats of their opponents.

Another fact about Mussolini is that his whole desire seems to be to save his country. He asks nothing for himself. Besides, he is said to possess a deep love for humanity—in short, a benevolent despot.

It must not be forgotten that much of the violence suffered by the anti-Fascists has been invited by themselves. In other words, it was the latter who struck the first blow. Many young Fascists in the earlier days paid for their devotion with their lives. At Cremona 12 were killed in one day. The Duce himself has escaped assassination seven times. With deeply bronzed features and [illegible] whit as striking as his photograph, he is said to exhibit none of the Caesar pose with which his artist admirers paint him. To the majority, it may be imagined, Fascism means little more than the most fashionable form of excitement. Mussolini has won against tremendous odds, and the world loves success.

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try you're from. No matter into what country I go, some newsie will step forward to offer me not a foreign newspaper, but the New York Herald, rarely ever the Daily Mail, the latter the paper most read by English tourists.

As for me here in Europe, I can almost invariably tell a French Negro from an American one, just the same as I can spot an African the moment I see him. How? By their faces, their expressions.

The tourist agent, as I said, told me that he could tell I was American by my face. Immediately I said to myself: "My friend, if you were in America and said that, the Klan would certainly give you a hearing for it. Do you know what you have said? Why, you have said that, in spite of what the Shufeldts, Madison Grants, Stoddards, McDougals, Dowds, and others have written about 'race,' and in spite of the echo of 'Race, Race' by Negro leaders, that there is an expression about me that stamps me as belonging to the same clan as these Nordics, no matter how much we may mutually detest the thought.

"Why, you're actually saying that peoples who live in any given environment get to thinking in similar grooves, which, in turn, is indelibly stamped on their faces, giving them a similarity of expression, regardless of color."

"No, my friend," I mused, "this will never do. Here you are trying to throw a monkey wrench into this carefully built-up machinery of Nordic superiority as built on face and features. Further, you're imperilling the race program of Negro leaders. You're trying to create disorder. Lucky for you you aren't on the other side of the Atlantic."

Another noted sight in Brussels, as I said, is the Church of St. Gudule. Its stained-glass windows are perhaps the most famous in Europe, as also is its carved pulpit. After seeing the Church of St. Gudule and remembering the fate of Rheims and other cathedrals, one can easily understand why the Belgians surrendered Brussels so quietly.

But none of the above-mentioned monuments receives the attention that the quiet little statue of a boy on a street corner does. This statue is known as the Mannikin. The little boy is doing a thing quite natural, but specific mention of it will be too shocking for me to repeat in print for Anglo-Saxon eyes. Nevertheless, the people of Brussels are proud of the Mannikin, and on holidays dress him in uniforms and flowers. He has nine uniforms and that many pairs of gloves, all of which are kept in the Maison du Roi, or King's Palace. And this is no joke.

In my next article I shall tell of some more of the sights such as the spot where Edith Cavell was shot; of the life of the people, as well as the peculiar "race" problem which exists in Belgium.

Race Problem - 1927 I

Europe

ITALIANS SUGGEST JIM CROW FOR GERMAN R. R. TRAVELERS

Boche In Rome Treated Like Colored People Down In Dixie.

By J. A. ROGERS

Special Correspondence to the Afro

ROME, ITALY— For the past few days I have been wandering around the Eternal City.

Before I attempt anything let me tell a rather interesting incident that took place on the way from Naples. In the compartment in which I was were five others, a French lady, and four Italians, all Fascists.

As it happened all spoke French, and as the Latin is far less formal than the American or the Englishman we were soon in friendly conversation. The Italians had warmed up to me immediately as I spoke well of Mussonlini—indeed, I had better speak well of him.

For hours things went on like this until two Germans, a man and his wife entered the compartment, when suddenly there was a hush and a constraint. The effect was precisely as if the scene were in the smoker of a white Pullman car in the South, and a Negro had entered as a passenger.

GERMANS UNEASY

The Germans, apparently feeling as uneasy as the Negro would have been in the white smoker, kept to themselves, speaking in low tones in their own language the only outside remark being addressed to myself when the man wanted the loan of a French newspaper I had on the table. To me with no ill-will toward Germans in particular, the situation was to say the least interesting. But it was soon to become more so.

PRIEST ENTERS

Soon after a young priest looked in at the door and began to speak to the two Germans in their language. The priest was such a smiling, pleasant young fellow that I couldn't help smiling at him, whereupon one of my Fascists friends, lifting his newspaper to hide his face gave me ar ugly scowl as if to say that it wasn't the proper thing to show approval of Germans.

Later when the Germans had left one of the Fascists made a remark which had a quite familiar ring for me: he said that the species of "cochon" (swine) shouldn't have been permitted to ride among decent people, while t h e among decent

French lady who happens to be from Morocco, thanked heaven that Germans were not allowed to ride among decent people in Italy. Then I knew that I was in Europe.

Later when the Germans had left one of the Fascists made a remark which had a quite familiar ring for me: he said that the species of "cochon" (swine) shouldn't have been permitted to ride among decent people, while t h e among decent French lady who happens to be from Morocco, thanked heaven that Germans were not allowed to ride among decent people in Italy. Then I knew that I was in Europe.

the hors d'eoeuvre. You'll be lucky if it isn't double before your'e through.

ONE WHITE, ONE BLACK

Passing magnificient homes and fine gardens I came to a park where I **saw a white nurse leading by the hand, two little boys, one white, the other, dark and plainly of N e g r o ancestry.** He was dressed in a jaunty sailor suit and carried a cane. Both apparently belonged to a good family or families, and anxious to learn more I spoke to them, but unfortunately I know no Italian.

NO COLOR LINE

My next thrill was in arriving at the Campidoglio, or Capitol, built on one of the famous Seven Hills. It is now a remarkably fine square with time-stained statues, the central figure being that of Marcus Aurelius on horseback. Here it was that Julius Caesar, and Brutus and Cassius, Pompey, Cato and Cataline all held forth.

And right here it will be necessary to issue warning that in this and ensuing articles I am likely to get far away from the color question for the simple reason that there is none here. The few Negroes here, mostly Abyssinians and Somalis live precisely as white people, and if you're an American, black or white, you're likely to find the best hotels and the best of everything being wished on to you, as the popular belief is that all Americans are like the Treasury at Washington, bursting with gold.

Besides, getting away from the color question for a while will do us a world of good, at least, it has been of tremendous psychologic benefit to me in the last month or so. Already I'm beginning to feel that I am a human being again and not a problem.

ST. PETER'S

Looking away from the Castel San Angelo I spy a toweringi(etaaaabg a thrill tells me that there's St. Peter's the largest Christian Church in the world, and the foundation stone of the Christian religion.

The first thing that strikes one is the magnificent square with its colonnade leading to the very wide steps of the church. The colonnade is in two sweeps of 142 columns each with 90 pillars, and 192 statues of saints, each 16 feet high. In the centre of the square, or piazza, as it is called is a towering Egyptian obelisk, with two magnificent fountains on either side spouting water high in the air.

THE INTERIOR

I shall certainly not attempt to give a description of the interior of St. Peter's, except to say in the most unqualified terms that it is the grandest, most thrilling, most satisfying sight I have ever beheld. I have seen some of the most magnificent creations of man and of Nature but never anything to equal it. Use all the adjectives denoting wonder, magnificence, beauty, and one would still be far away from doing it a scintilla of justice, for is it not the handiwork, itself of the greatest geniuses of the human race, artists, sculptors, designers—for more than six hundred years?

Verily the men who designed this noble structure had something else on their brain besides the Charleston, the Black Bottom, the numbers, the base-ball and football scores. "Nigger Heaven," "Fine Clothes to the Jew," and the piffling, cabaretty stuff that white publishers in America would pin our Negro writers and thinkers down to. I felt indeed that my fellow-Negroes are as capable of doing as fine things as this, had they but the vision and the ambition, for was it not our earliest Negro ancestors that laid the foundation for all this especially in Egypt, from which most of Western art is derived?

POOR KU KLUX

Byron wrote: "While the Coliseum stands, Rome stands." To me Catho-

Ku Klux Invited To Come Over And See Catholic Wonders.

licism as well as Prostestanism mean as little as Mohammedamism—I believe that all have served their day—but feel like saying in a similar vein: "While St. Peter stands the Catholic Church stands." The poor Kluxers in America buried in their little holes, simply don't know what they're against. One feels that even the **Imperial W i z a r d himself would have great difficulty in concealing his admiration for this Temple of Beauty to which Catholics come by the hundreds of thousands annu**ally from all parts of the world as Mohammedans go to Mecca.

Among the noteworthy things in this cathedral are the great dome with its beautful ornamentation, up at which one looks, 450 feet; the Clementine Chapel, with a mosaic showing the saint drawing blood from a linen cloth; the Papal Altar; and **the bronze statue of St. Peter, the right foot of which is worn smooth by the kisses of devotees in the last fifteen hundred years.** As for me I contented myself by watching others in line doing so for more reasons than one.

St. Peter is built on the spot on which the Apostle Peter is buried. The Popes are his direct spiritual descendants, and in my next I will endeavor to show how this forlorn hope of early Christians, headed by Peter and Paul were able to overthrow the might of Imperial Rome, because of the firm faith in the justice of their cause and the zeal with which they worked in trying to bring it about. Truly there is hope for the Negro or any other persecuted group who will but go about to get what they want as if they meant it.

The Kaiser and Africa

Former Kaiser Wilhelm shocks the Caucasian world with his periodic outbursts on the yellow peril. However wrong he may be in his obsession that sooner or later Japan will lead China in over running Europe as did Attilla the Hun and as did the Turks prior to the fall of Constantinople, he is profoundly right in his latest sensational outburst as reported in the New York American. An awakened Africa that was taught to fight the white man in the World War, whose race consciousness has been aroused through its new ambitions and increasing intellect does imperil and will eventually overthrow the caucasian rule of Africa. There has been, there is and there will be no other solution. Had Germany won, its bloody despotism would have sooner or later meant the revolt of all the colored people of the world against her sway. The victory of the Allies has simply hastened the day of reckoning between the exploited and oppessed Africans and their English, Belgium, French, Spanish and Italian over Lords. Egypt, Abyssinia, the Tripoli States, the South Africans will not be long denied their equality nor their complete liberty in the land of their fathers. Africa will be for the Africans. The Kaiser for once is right.

Black French Chevalier And Deputy To Visit U. S. A.

France is known as the land of no color-line. Just why it is so, and what is France's colonial policy so far as her black citizens are concerned, it will be the privilege of colored Americans to hear from the lips of a distinguished colored Frenchman, Deputy Alcide Delmont, who is planning a trip to the United States in October, this year.

Deputy Delmont, who belongs to the highest Masonic circles, is one of the leading lawyers in France. Three years ago, while practicing law, in Paris, the people of his nativeland, Martinique, nominated and elected him to the French Parliament, unknown to him.

Deputy Delmont has had a brilliant career. Arriving in France from Martiniquee without friends or fortune he entered the law School of the University of Paris, where he won the Prix Pailhet. Soon after he took up practice in the Palace of Justice. He was sent by the government to take charge of an important case in Martinique. Two recent cases of his that attracted much attention were the Siki case and the suit brought by his colleague, Deputy Diagne of Senegal against Rene Moran, author of Batoula, both of which he won.

his that attracted much attention were the Siki case and the suit brought by his colleague, Deputy Diagne of Senegal against Rene Moran, author of Batoula, both of which he won.

During the war, Deputy Delmont enlisted as a private and was soon after promoted to a lieutenancy. He was awarded the Cross de Guerre with several citations. Always taking a keen interest in people of his race, whether in Africa, the West Indies or France, he devoted himself to the interests of the black men in France after the war, and was rewarded for his services with the Cross of the Legion of Honor.

Deputy Delmont is founder of the French Colonial Institute; a member of the Central Committee of the Rights of Man, an organization that takes up the cause of the oppressed people everywhere; the author of several important books on law, and former counsel to the Paris Bar Association—a position he was forced to relinquish because of his large practice and his duties in the Chamber of Deputies. After the war, he ran on the ticket with Minister Painleve for Deputy for the Paris district receiving 45,00 votes.

At present he is one of the most eloquent members of the French Parliament, and a staunch supporter of good government, and along with his colored colleague, Deputy Diagne, is always on the look out for the interests of the Negro.

The visit in October will be the second one that Deputy Delmont has made to the United States.

TO VISIT U. S.



M. ALCIDE DELMONT

One of the strongest members the French chamber of deputie who plans to visit the United Stat within the next few weeks to stu the American color problem close range. Deputy Delmont, native of Martinique, Seneg West Africa, is a distinguished torney and is called one of the m powerful characters in French pu lic life.

Landmark Of French Revolution Causes Writer To Predict Negro Some Day Will Crush Oppressors

"Paris, City of Love and Beauty, Is Shaped Like a Heart;" Taxis Famous For Their Noise

[Editor's Note—This is the first of four articles Mr. Rogers will write from Paris. The first is a general description of the city; the second will deal with Parisian life and types; the third, American Negroes in France, and the fourth, the French Negro.]

By J. A. ROGERS

PARIS, France, July 21.—Paris! Ville de beaute, de gaiete! Ville d'amour! Paris, ou tout le monde s'amuse!

This marvelous city by the Seine is nearly two thousand years old; each street corner, its entire periphery, teems with historical interest. In this spot, the Romans built an arena; over this place rode Joan of Arc; at this spot a king was assassinated; here, such and such a leader harangued the mob, which ended in a revolution; in this place Napoleon was married; through yonder the Germans entered in 1871; here, an angry mob destroyed a prison, a palace or a library; this is where a German shell fell in the last war, killing scores of persons. Old cathedrals, arcs de Triomphe, squares, gardens, towers, palaces, cemeteries, theaters, avenues, cafes, art museums! It would take many books to do anything approaching justice to the theme. We shall attempt it in a single article, however, and shall start from the tower of the Cathedral of Notre Dame. Here we arrive after a pretty stiff climb up winding stone stairs dimly lit by deep, narrow loopholes, and in some places so dark that one might as well be in an unlit cavern 1,000 feet under ground. On the way up names, innumerable names, from all parts of the world scratched into the eroding stone.

On emerging into daylight, the first thing that strikes one is the roar of the city. Paris is just as noisy as New York. It is true that Paris has no elevated railway to speak of, but it has its taxis, myriads of them, and one Paris taxi almost equals an elevated train. The horn of the Paris taxi is the loudest in existence, and on the Eiffel Tower, 1,000 feet in the air, all noises are still save that, which arises in one grand chorus.

From Notre Dame one looks out on a vast mass of dark weather-beaten roofs, relieved by the red and yellow of the tiny chimneys and ventilators; the yellowish-green of the Seine with its many bridges; the light-gray minarets of the Sacre Coeur of Montmarte; the greenish bronze roof of the Opera; the red of the Trocadero; the gilded cupola of the Invalides, with Napoleon's tomb; the huge mass of the Arc de Triumphe de l'Etoile; the green masses of the trees and many parks, for Paris is a city of trees, large trees; the whole picture lying, as it were, in a heart-shaped hollow, edged with wooded hills. Singular fact! Paris, city of love and beauty, is heart-shaped.

As to the Eiffel Tower, it is so tall, and so skinny, that it seems to be out of the picture altogether.

Notre Dame itself is fully 700 years old. A perfect gem of Gothic beauty, worthy of all the praise showered on it by Victor Hugo, it stands with its twin towers and delicate spire amid the surrounding buildings like some masterpiece of Rembrandt or Michael Angelo's in an exhibition of student art. Does mankind lose its sense of beauty, the older it gets?

And at that these other buildings are ever so much more artistic than in New York or any other American city. Paris is a city of beautiful buildings with balconies and rounded roofs, uniformly high. America compensates with convenience, but cannot comfort and beauty go hand in hand?

Notre Dame is on a little island in the Seine—Ile de la Cite. Here it was that Julius Caesar in 53 B. C. found the first Parisians—a tribe called the Parisii. The cathedral itself has had a chequered career. During the Revolution the mob destroyed many statues of the saints, putting in their place those of Voltaire and Rousseau; a ballet dancer took the place of the bishop at the altar, and still later it was turned into a storehouse for wine. In 1871 another mob set it on fire, but it was saved by medical students.

And so one could go on to write of Notre Dame alone. Most tourists miss seeing Notre Dame when it is most beautiful, that is at night, silhouetted against the stars.

Near Notre Dame is St. Julien the Poor, the oldest church in Paris, slowly falling into ruins. Not far away is the Cluny Museum, an old chateau built on the ruins of a Roman palace. It is filled with art treasures, some of the most striking of which are the chastity belts, which the knights used to fasten on their wives before leaving home. I am awfully tempted to give a description of these belts and to philosophise a bit on them, but had better refrain. So far I find myself leaving out of all the articles some of the most interesting things for two reasons: first, such as deal with the more esthetic side of art might not appeal to the masses of readers; second, things that would certainly appeal but which would also certainly bring the censor down on me.

A few blocks away is the Pantheon, formerly the Church of St. Genevieve, in which are buried the great dead of France, among them being Voltaire, Rousseau, Mirabeau, Cuvier, Victor Hugo, and Zola. In the vicinity is the Palace of the Luxembourg, now the French Senate, with a garden and park of the rarest beauty, particularly in the autumn.

But it will be impossible to take the places by neighborhoods. One must skip, so we cross the Seine and come to the Louvre, certainly the most immense building I have ever seen, extending on both sides with a garden between for several blocks. Except for one wing, which is occupied by the Minister of Finance, the rest is filled with art treasures. These are grouped in rooms according to periods, nationalities, races, and such noted artists as Rubens, Vandyck, Michael Angelo. Among the most famous originals are the Mona Lisa, the Venus de Milo, the Marriage of Cana of Galilee, in which the artist, Veronese, placed himself, Francis I, Charles V, the Sultan of Turkey, Mary Queen of Scots and several other personages. As to the Mona Lisa, it is the most valuable picture in existence, being worth several million dollars. It has been stolen more than once, and is carefully guarded night and day. Hundreds of millions of dollars worth of treasures are in the Louvre alone. Is it any wonder that the Germans were so eager to reach Paris?

The Louvre has also had its vicissitudes. During the Revolution the

mob descended on it and destroyed much of its treasures. Again in the Revolution of 1830 the same thing happened again, many of the most valuable documents being saved by Alexandere Dumas, pere. In the square, near where now stands the statue of Gambetta, the guillotine worked for several months, lopping off thousands of heads.

Nearby is the Arc de Triomphe de Carrousel, erected by Napoleon in commemoration of his victories. Passing under this, we come to the Tuileries Garden, formerly the site of a famous palace of the same name built originally by Catherine de Medici. But the mob also descended on this and leveled it to the ground in 1871, just as another mob had leveled the Bastille in 1793.

Passing through the Jardin de Tuileries, we come to the Place de la Concorde, a square several acres in extent with splendid fountains, statues representing the large cities of France, and an immense obelisk brought from Egypt in the center. At this latter spot was erected the guillotine in 1793 that took off the heads of more than 3,000 persons in five months, among them those of the beautiful Queen Marie Antoinette, King Louis XVI, Charlotte Corday, Robespierre, and the exquisite Madame Roland, who, at the moment of the descent of the knife, uttered the deathless saying: "Oh, Liberty! What crimes are committed in thy name."

Nevertheless, that revolution taught the rulers of the world a lesson. Let tyrants read and tremble, for that explosive power lies forever in the souls of men when goaded too far. I have an intuition that the oppressors of the Negro in America who have been getting away with murder, are going to have a change of luck some day, just like those old aristocrats. Read Carlyle's matchless account of the French Revolution, and Dickens' "Tale of Two Cities." Here are two books, the former especially, that will sweep you along with their sheer might.

In spite of the enormous traffic which cross and criss-cross, one cannot help but experience a great elevation of soul at the sight of this magnificent and spacious square, whose surroundings are equally stirring. In front is the Chamber of Deputies and the Seine; in the rear is the Hotel Crillon and the historic La Madeleine, on which a German shell fell in the last war, neatly decapitating one of the saints (Luke, I think), but doing no other damage; to the east is the Tuileries Garden, while to the west are wooded avenues, one of which is the famous Champs-Elysees (pronounced as shaansh-selyseh). Up this spacious avenue are the hotels in which stay the American millionaires; the palace of the French president, and the shops of the most famous dress-makers of the world. The Champs-Elysees terminates at the Arc de Triomphe de L'Etoile, the most massive structure of its kind in existence, and five or six times larger than the largest in Rome.

From the Arc, handsome boulevards radiate in all directions, one of the chief being the Avenue de Bois de Boulogne, which leads into the famous park of the same name. It is here that society goes horseback riding; here also are the noted race-tracks, Longchamps and Auteuil, as well as some very fine restaurants. Yes, colored folk are welcome if they have the price.

Return now to the Place de la Concorde, passing by the monument to Victor Hugo, and also stopping to see the statues to the three Dumas, grandfather, father and son, in the Place Malsherbes. We go northwards through the Rue Royale to the Grand Boulevards, which stretch onward for several miles.

The first of these is the Boulevard de Madeleine with its exquisite shops, the majority of whose customers seem to be Americans. Ask a question in this neighborhood in French, and if your native tongue is English you're very likely to be answered in it, as the Frenchman resognizes us by our accent just as we do him by his. In this neighborhood is the famous Cafe de la Paix, the Mecca, it seems of every foreigner who wants to register the fact that he is in Paris. At the corner is the qually famous Place de l'Opera, with the opera itself, said to be the largest of all theater buildings, covering, I understand, three acres. Its seating capacity is, however, not very large, as parts of the building are used as a library, museum, etc. Trying to cross in this section is quite as difficult as it is in Fifth avenue, New York.

From the Boulevard de la Madeleine we go into the Boulevard des Capucines, thence into the Boulevard des Italiens, Boulevard Montmartre, and so on—one continuous length of splendid shops, interspersed with cafes, which overflow on the sidewalks. Here one may sit and see strangers from the ends of the earth pass in review. Paris is cosmopolitan. Go some morning to the Prefecture of Police, where foreign residents must go for an identity card, and you will get an idea of the number and variety of strangers there are in this city of three millions.

And so we come to the end of the article without mentioning a visit to the Eiffel Tower, with its three landings; the tomb of Napoleon, perhaps the imposing spot in Europe, next to St. Peter, with its shrine lit by golden windows, and the red granite sarcophagus of the emperor surrounded by the flags which took him to defeat and also to victory slowly crumbling into dust; the Palace of the Trocadero with its magnificent view ,its art gallery, theater and statues of two Negro queens; Montmartre, with its cabarets of every variety, and the first place visited by all good Americans; the Halles, or market, where life begins at 3 A. M., with its Apache dens; Pere Lachaise, famous cemetery, with the tombs of Abelard and Heloise, Corot, Chopin, Balzac, Oscar Wilde, Rosa Bonheur and thousands of other famous men and women; the Park Monceau, one of the most delightful sylvan spots in existence; the Royal Palace, the Grand Palace and the Little Palace; the National library with its vast collections; the two American libraries; the Beaux Arts and other famous places.

There are so many places to be visited, so many sights to be seen, from the sublime to the silly, from the sacred to the sexy, that no one need ever have a full moment in Paris, provided—

With money in one's pocket one can be dull in New York, London, Rome, Geneva, in most of the great capitals, but never in Paris.

HOLLAND WETTIST AND DIRTIEST LAND

Rogers Finds Plenty Of Dirt For Dutch Housewife To Chase

CITY BUILT ON PILES

Cafe Man's Son-In-Law A Jazz Player

ROTTERDAM. — Holland is the wettest country on earth; not only is it the home of the famous Holland dike but it is like a leaky ship. Let the pumps stop working and it would soon disappear under water.

The Dutch have a saying: "God created the world, all with the exception of Holland, which was made by the Dutch themselves." And this is no exaggeration. Holland is really a vast swamp that has been made into habitable land by the energy of its people.

Three River Deltas

Look on the map and you will see that three great rivers of Central Europe, the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, spread their waters over Holland, which is, after all but the delta of these rivers, a deposit of earth that has been brought down by them through the ages. Napoleon, in seizing Holland, pithily justified himself by saying that Holland was but French soil brought down by these rivers.

Dig a foot or so in almost any part of Holland and you strike water. The result is that pumps, called polders, are at work in many places, day and night drawing off the water into the canals. Some of these pumps are windmills, aided sometimes by steam.

Water Department

Life in Holland, in short, is one long battle against water. In addition to a fire department there is a water department, whose chief is known as the dyk-graaf. This official has unlimited powers to press individuals and material into service in time of danger.

Since water is so near the surface all the houses in Holland are built on wooden piles driven deep into the earth, a fact that caused Erasmus, the witty Dutch reformer, to say that he knew a country in Europe whose inhabitants roosted on the tops of trees like chickens.

Kept Kaiser Out

But the Dutch have an added reason. The weakness of Holland is also its strength in many ways. The rivers that imperil its existence have brought down the rich surface soil of Central Europe and deposited it here of the most fertile countries on the globe.

Again, this natural enemy, all that ns necessary as a military defense, for in the case of invasion, all that ls necessary is to open the dikes and let in a few feet of water. Then no army would be able to cross for the canals and deep drains that cut the country in such large numbers would be just so many pits, as Louis XIV found out when he set out with his invading army of 100,000 men. Perhaps this, too, is what kept out the Kaiser.

Dirtiest People

And here I must record a change that travel is effecting in me. It is making a thorough sceptic of me for I am discovering that every generalization that has been put into my head about people, is false. For instance, I have heard it so often said that Negroes are the most care-free and the merriest people in the world, until I have come to believe it as gospel. I have since seen the Dutch peasants, and their neighbors, the Flemings. But more of that latter. What I want to call attention to is another illusion I had about the Dutch. Back in my school days I had read that they were the cleanest people on earth, indeed that one Dutch housewife had dropped from exhaustion in the attempt to scour a black man, white. In my subconscious being were also thoughts of a certain well-known advertisement of a Dutch woman chasing dirt.

I expected to find Holland a little paradise of cleanliness. Imagine, then, my surprise at seeing Rotterdam, which is one of the dirtiest, and most ill-kept cities I have seen. In one quarter, I won't say which, I had to hold my nose. The inside of the homes I saw were of the same degrees of cleanliness one finds in England, France, the United States, or elsewhere. I, for one, do not think that the Dutch are tidier housekeepers than the French or the Americans.

Colored Folk

There are a good many colored people in Rotterdam, most of them sailors. They come from Dutch Guiana, the Cape Verde Islands, the Dutch East Indies, Africa, and elsewhere, and may be found principally on a street bearing the formidable name of Schiedamschedjik.

Slicked Hair

Needless to say there aer no color restrictions of any sort. In one cafe when the proprietor learnt that I was from America, he eagerly brought his son-in-law, a dark Negro—a jazz player to meet me. He and his wife were as proud of him as a sheik is of his freshly slicked hair. I also heard of another American Negro, named Wilman, who was appearing with his wife, an Englishwoman, at the Luxor Theatre, in a song and dance act. On the placards he was advertised as a "Neger in a Black and White Act". To these simple-minded Nordics, this was thought a great novelty.

And this reminds me of another generalization: the use of the word, Nordic, to denote a people with color prejudice. Here are the real Nordics, at last, and they haven't any of it. The Danes, Scandinavians, and Russians, are all Nordics, and they haven't any either.

Brutal Boers

The Dutch, however, are the ancesters of the Boers, who, now that the Congo has performed, are more oppressive towards Negroes than other peoples, except Southerners. Read, also, Stedman's book on Dutch Guiana if you would learn how brutal Hollanders can become. They excelled even the French in Hayti in their cruelty to the slaves. Ergo, the white man—English, French, Dutch, German—is usually a gentleman until he becomes a colonist, when he is very likely to become something else.

"Brightest Side of My Trip"

By J. A. ROGERS
World Traveler Says Letters Cheered All the Way

— J. A. Rogers —

PARIS.

PERHAPS the most pleasant feature of my trip so far is the large number of letters I have received from readers of the articles. So far there have been 183, some of which ask questions and some of which are complimentary. This is all the more gratifying when one recalls that the average reader, which includes me, is apt to postpone indefinitely the writing of complimentary letters to the editor, while we rarely ever fail to register our displeasure at those articles we do not like.

It was impossible to answer all the letters, or even the greater part of them personally, so in this article I shall endeavor to compensate. But here again space will not permit my treating each letter separately, and so I shall group the questions as much as possible.

The greater part of the letters are from persons who wish to come to settle in Europe—



chiefly France—and want to know what are the chances of getting work, or of establishing themselves in business.

To the first half of this my opinion is that it would be the height of folly for the average working American to come to any part of Europe to look for work. To do so would be almost like carrying water to the sea. There is not a single European country I know of that has not an unemployment problem of some kind, notably England. Why, the height of ambition of no small number of Europeans is to get to America. In some countries there is a waiting list of two years at the American Consulate.

Besides, the rate of wages in every European country is lower than in America, while taxes and other expenses are disproportionately higher. I have been so far in nine European countries, and have seen not one in which the worker can live as comfortably and save as much proportionately as in America. Every European country is paying in some way for the war.

For a long time to come the movement from America to Europe will be what it is now, that is, the quest for pleasure, relaxation and culture. And if the American has money, he will find all three in abundance, for if the truth must be told not only is the average European more cultured than the American, but he is far more skilled in the art of savoir vivre, of knowing how to get the most out of life.

I have discovered that Negroes who come here in search of work very soon wish that they were home again. This is true to no small extent also of Negroes who come from regions other than the United States, a condition due not to color prejudice, but to the keener struggle for existence, the greater competition for the job. In Continental Europe the oppressed Negro from South Africa or the United States will find perfect freedom from color prejudice; he will also find, unless he has money, that it is one thing to have freedom, but another to have something with which to enjoy it. He will be reminded of the story of the rich man in the Arabian Nights, who took a hungry beggar to his sumptuous home, seated him at a magnificent table, and then had him served empty dishes. I have told of the hardships of Negroes in London, Marseilles and other places, and there is more to follow.

The single exception to the above has been the Negro musician, and that field is now overcrowded. With England doing her best to keep out Negro performers, France—and to speak strictly—Montmartre is really the only field worth speaking of in Europe.

My advice to those, colored or white, who must earn their daily bread is: Stay at home. You're lucky and don't know it! And let me add that this is an admission I make unwillingly.

The next most popular question is: What are the business chances? These, I have been told by persons who seem in a position to know, are good. But in an overcrowded country or countries, there is again the matter of keen competition. My advice, then, would be that if one knows the language thoroughly, is experienced in his particular line, and is willing to sink a considerable part of his capital in "getting on" to the business ways of the country, let him come if he has made up his mind. But I have been noticing that the only American firms who seem established in the large European cities are those firms with large branches at home like Woolworth.

The two European countries with the largest number of Negroes are England and France. In the former the chief business of these Negroes seems to be the sale of fake medicine and charms; in France it is music. In this latter case I am speaking of the American Negro.

I understand that the field is very good for dentists—American dentists are very highly thought of. Europeans seem to pay less attention to their teeth than Americans, and with a Good Teeth Campaign there ought to be plenty of work. Color makes no difference; indeed, it might help. I heard the rather amusing story of a Negro, a very dark one, of fine physique and flashy appearance, who made a lot of money in Paris and Deauville. Most of his clients were of the fair sex, who would consult him whether their teeth were good or bad. But even in dentistry there is also the matter of the language, except in England.

The third question in frequency is: What does a trip to Europe cost? Well, there are trips and trips, of course, but I am positive it could be made to cost as low as $300. Round trips are advertised for $175 by some of the leading companies. In addition there would be $10 for a passport, $10 for a visa, leaving a balance of $105. Now one could spend a fine month seeing Paris and its beautiful suburbs on that. A pretty good room, with hot and cold water, can be had in almost any one of the numerous hotels in the Latin quarter for fifteen francs (sixty cents) or lower, and one may eat at Boulant or Chartier, also in the Latin quarter, for forty cents a meal without wine—only two meals a day are eaten in France. In many restaurants passably good meals may be had for as low as twenty cents, or five francs, with wine. But, of course, the person attempting to come over on that must know a little of the language, or be expert in the sign language, or be in contact with English-speaking persons.

The fourth question: Are the Europeans really free from color prejudice as you have been saying or is it a case of their being merely polite?

Of course, it is impossible to look into anyone's mind, but one's actions are usually a pretty fair index, if one is a skilled observer. Persons who restrain their prejudices from mere politeness lack spontaneity. One meets with such a quality of friendliness from the average European that it is difficult to believe that it is a mere "put on." Negro tourists with whom I have exchanged experiences tell me that it seems to them that those with whom they come in contact seem to be kinder to them just because they are Negroes, which is my experience precisely.

When Mr. Anthony Bagley of Sheepshead, New York, was presented to the Pope recently, I learned that he received the most notice from him, getting a special blessing. Mr. Bagley was the only black person present. Many other instances could be cited. Instead of there being color prejudice in Europe, I should rather say there was col-

Greater Number From People Who Want to Settle Abroad

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or attraction. England is the only European country in which one is likely to find color prejudice, and, that I must say, is largely, perhaps, almost wholly due to the type of most Negroes found there. Britain is such a hard country for the Negro in which to find work that it is largely those of a certain type who can hold on there. In a recent article I told of some of the fine positions held by dark Negroes in France.

Several questions were asked about Morocco and segregations. As I said, there was no other prejudice there. As to whether the Moroccans were superstitious, I said that I thought the masses of them were, and gave instances. As to climate, Morocco is hot in the summer, but mild and agreeable in the winter months, though I am not sure whether there is plenty of rain. As to whether the Catholic religion is well established there, I am not prepared to say, though I hardly think so. The principal religion is Mohammedanism. Of the hospitals, of nursing, and as to whether United States agencies control such hospitals as are there, I regret that I am also unable to say.

One lady "double-dared" me to tell what I saw in those places in Pompeii from which ladies are barred. I see that she is trying to get both the editor of this paper and myself "in dutch."

Another writer wants to know what the French people think of the "colored boys" of the A. E. F. All with whom I have talked speak in the highest terms of Negro soldiers and say that they were polite and considerate, and never attempted to show any superiority. As will be recalled, Marshal Foch gave one Negro regiment (was it the 369th?) the honor of being the first to dip its flag in the Rhine.

Another, Emma Lue Sayers of the Pacific Coast News Bureau, sent me a charming letter and wished to know where my book "From Superman to Man" could be had. At 2293 Seventh avenue, New York City: $1.65 postpaid.

But I must cease answering questions as I wish to reserve space to pat myself on the back by publishing one or two excerpts from the letters:

Mrs. C. H. Dublin, 336 Willard street, Bridgeport, Conn., says "I trailed you from Morocco to Spain; then to Italy. . . . I enjoyed the trip with you to Monte Carlo very much indeed. The climate and open spaces! And when you wrote 'Rocks! Rocks! and ever so many more rocks?' I felt compelled to look up and see awing mountains and great precipices. It must be glorious to be there absolutely in person."

Mr. L. F. DeBeary, 1820 Wylie avenue, Pittsburgh: "I am writing these few lines to let you know how I admire your articles. I am a person that never cared for reading, but somehow I read your articles and the more I read them the more I want to read them. . . . Your articles are very educating to the young colored men and women. . . ."

Mrs. Hazel Thomas, 5730 Michigan avenue, Chicago, Ill., says in part: "I must tell you how we are enjoying your articles each week. We travel right along with you and we see and enjoy the beautiful and interesting sights that you do. Your versatile pen tells us many details that our eye would doubtless overlook. . . . Your description of Rome equalled that given in 'Ben Hur.'"

And with that I had better cease or the editor will begin to suspect that I am fishing for "a raise."

Many letters have come regarding my health and I will take the opportunity to say that I feel completely rehabilitated. Yesterday I walked twelve miles over the battlefields at Verdun and Douaumont without fatigue.

My next articles will be a series on Belgium, the first being on Brussels.

~~Towns and Settlements - 1927~~
Race Problem - 1927
Europe.

~~Europe~~

ENTERPRISE

Saranac Lake -
1-18-27

Negroes of Paris Live In Montmartre

Paris has a "Harlem" of its own. Gradually the large negro population that has poured in upon the French capital since the war has gravitated towards Montmartre.

The "colored boys" who call Paris home have come to France from many places. Some are from America, others from Africa, and many from Martinique, and the French West Indies.

"Charleston City" is the name Paris Caucasians have given to the section of Montmartre where the negroes live. Many of the members of the colony are dancers, jazz band musicians, door openers and messengers in establishments that go in for red and gold uniforms.

NEGRO SETTLEMENTS DISCOVERED

Sukhum, Caucasus, Sept. 14.—(By A. N. P.)—An expedition sent out by Moscow University has reported the discovery of a number of Negro settlements in the Kodorsk District. The inhabitants are said to be primitive Negroes, having retained the distinct indentity as to type, language and customs. This is peculiarly true, for it is generally known that these Negroes have partially assimilated with Caucasian tribes.

1-17-27

It is said that many years ago their ancestors were brought from Africa to the Black Sea coast by Europeans. They use a language characteristically their own, a mixture of African and local dialet. These people have until recently maintained a hostile attitude toward all intruders, but that attitude is said to be gradually changing.

Race Problem - 1927

Europe

Mentions 5 In French Parliament And 1 In Senate; Also 1 Governor

Black Man Commanded a French Cruiser and Marshal Joffre Was Captain Under Black General

By J. A. ROGERS

PARIS, Sept. 29.—For some reason or other the Latin peoples have shown a tendency to treat Negroes less as inferior and more like human beings than the Anglo-Saxons. A notable instance: modern Negro slavery really began in Southern Europe when a lieutenant of Prince Henry the navigator brought the first ten slaves from Guinea in 1442. Sixty years later with the discovery of the New World Negro slavery was introduced in the West Indies by colonists from Spain.

Negro slavery was not abolished in Southern Europe until 1773, that is, it lasted for 331 years, yet to the best of my knowledge, there was at no time a color problem. On the contrary, Azurara, an eye witness of the arrival of the first batch of slaves, tells how they were taught trades, adopted into families and even married to "the women of the country." (See his Chronicles, chapter 24 and 25.) Later all of those Negroes, hundreds of thousands of them, were absorbed—by the white population.

Although the black man was brutally treated by all the white colonists in the New World, yet under the Latins the tendency above mentioned held true, with the result that they showed more manhood and perhaps higher intellectual advance than their fellow Negroes under Anglo-Saxon rule. At a time when slavery was at its worst, in the French Colonies, the Chevalier St. George, a Negro from Gaudeloupe, noted swordsman, musician and composer of several operas, was one of the leading personages at the court of Louis XVI. Henri Diaz, a Negro slave, was one of three, who won the independence of Brazil; Antonio Maceo was the leader of the Cuban revolt, while another Negro slave, whose name I shall mention at another time, was the George Washington of a leading North American country, and its president for several years.

It was under French rule that the individual Negro has made the highest advance. Under Napoleon, Gen. Dumas, commanded the French troops in Egypt, while Magloire Pelage, commanded a brigade in the Peninsular war under Marshal Soult. Gen. Alfred A. Dodds, another Negro, recently dead, commanded the French troops during the Boxer rebellion in China. He it was also who won much of France's African empire, and Gen. Bonnier, under whom Marshal Joffre served as a captain, was in command at the capture of Timbuctoo, where he was killed.

Among the leading French Negroes at the present is M. Mortenol, former commandant of a French cruiser, who was in command of the aerial defense of Paris at Le Bourget during the War. Think of it, a Negro, and a dark one at that, holding this high post while our Colonel Charles A. Young, was sidetracked to Africa, evidently to keep him from well-earned promotion. I had two appointments with Commandant Mortenol, but was unable to keep them because of illness. I hope to say more about him later.

Another dark Negro, Hector Simoneau, was prefect of the Department of Cantal, a position equivalent to that of governor of a state. M. Simoneau is now paymaster general of the Department of L'Aube. I was informed that an American general in command in the first-named department objected to taking orders from M. Simoneau, and that the French government shifted him to St. Malo.

There are six Negroes in the French Parliament, five in the Lower House, and one in the Senate—at least several persons have told me Senator Lemery, who is from Guadeloupe, is colored. The other five are Deputies Delmont, Diagne, Severe, Jean Francois, and Candace. Deputy Candace, who has held and still holds important government positions, is a former professor of science in a French College. He is also a journalist and was editor of Clemenceau's famous paper, L'Action, as well as of other papers. He has been secretary to ex-Premier Viviani; and rapporteur-general on prisoners of war. A collaborateur of President Doumergue, he is interested in Colonia, Maritine and finance. He has been a member of the Finance Committee seven years, vice-president of the Merchant Marine Committee; rapporteur on State Railways, and has been in Parliament 15 years.

Deputy Delmont is one of the foremost lawyers of Paris and has a very large practice. He was awarded both the Croix de Guerre and the Legion of Honor for his services during the war. Deputy Diagne, who also holds important posts under the government, represents Senegal. Of Deputy Diagne I hope to say more later as illness also prevented my keeping interviews with him.

The presence of these Negroes in Parliament hade it difficult for color prejudice to creep into France, as has been shown more than once. Match these six deputies with the absence of Negroes in the British Parliament, England has a larger black population than France. Among other leading Negroes are Louis Beaudza who is chief clerk of the Grand Chancellory of the Legion of Honor; Isaac Beton, professor of the Lycee St. Louis, Raoul Cenac, professor of The Lycee St Michelet, (both government colleges); Col. Baibe, Intendant Militaire of the First Batt. of Artillery, and a graduate of the Polytechnic School. Among the leading lawyers are Georges Mamerville, and Clanvile Bloncourt, both of whom have a large practice.

Camille St. Rose Fanchine, a young Negro of fine ambition, is a bookkeeper in a leading bank. M. Fanchine who, is much interested in the Negro, tells me that among other leading French Negroes must be added Admiral Amiot, retired Gen. Lecamus, killed in the last war, and Pellieres Lacournee, captain of a warship, and who was nubbed in a cafe in New York. M. Fanchine is winner of the Croix de Guerre.

M. Charles Louisade, 42 rue Monsieur Le Prince, former principal and inspector of schools in France, is in the real estate business, and owns a hotel and a restaurant. He thinks France offers a splendid field for Negro investors.

In an earlier article I told of my meeting with Monsier Germany, an inspector in the French Customs. I have also mentioned Benglia, the noted actor. And so one could go to name others, near-whites from the French West Indies, who in America would be known as Negroes, but space must be reserved for one whose fame is world-wide, Rene Maran, author of "Batouala." Maran, who served for 15 years in the French colonia service, is the voice crying in the wilderness. He thinks that France has been very unjust to the black man, and Batouala, as its readers know, is a stirring indictment of French colonial rule.

Maran is a humanitarian of the first rank, and a leading contributor to radical French journals. Another book of his has recently appeared "Djouma." As Batouala, it has been translated into eight languages.

A word must be said in closing about the Negroes in the humbler walks of life. These may be encountered from time to time engaged in all kinds of occupations: driving an autobus, conducting a subway train, clerking in a department store and generally in all work Negroes are rarely found in America.

In my next article I will endeavor to answer some of the questions asked me in the large number of letters I have received from Courier readers.

GERMANY STARTS DRIVE TO OBTAIN FORMER COLONY

Opening Wedge Made in League Commission on Mandates for Lost Possessions.

BY HENRY WOOD.

Geneva, October 24.—(United News.)—Germany has begun her big drive for redistribution of mandated territories by which she would obtain a mandate over one of her former colonies.

The opening wedge in the German campaign was participation today, for the first time, of a German member of the League of Nations' permanent mandates commission.

Ludwig Kastel's presence in the commission conferences gives Germany the right to participate in the control over the present administration by the various mandatory powers of her former colonies.

Kastel was appointed by the last session of the league council following months of negotiations between German Foreign Minister Gustav Stresemann, Sir Austen Chamberlain Aristide Briand and the other mandatory powers represented in the council.

As a result of an understanding between Streseman and Mussolini, Italy, which might have raised objection to the German's appointment, is understood to have been won over.

The Italo-German understanding, however, gives Italy's claims for a mandate precedence over German claims in any future redistribution.

While the mandates commission itself has no power to make a revision or redistribution of mandates, it would be in a position to recommend such changes. The commission exercises control over the administration of al mandated territories and, during this session, will pass on the administration for the past year of Iraq, British Cameroons, Ruanda-Urandi, Samoa, and the Pacific islands under Japanese mandate.

The commission will make an especial study of the alleged increase in liquor traffic in the Cameroons and Togoland.

BELGIUM HAS NO LOVE FOR U. S.

Rogers' American Passport Riles Hotel Keeper To Eject Him

ANTWERP IS CITY OF MANY HAND ORGANS

Madame Walker And Poro Unknown Among Africans In Europe

By J. A. ROGERS

ANTWERP,—This city is noted as the home of Rubens, the great painter and as a port to which come

ships from all over the world but to me it will stand out as the city of music—music, good, bad, indifferent and execrable, mostly the last.

In front of the station on arrival I hear a hand organ; before I have gone five blocks on the main street I see six others, two on side streets; in a square, before the statue of Rubens, a band is playing; not to mention lone minstrels, one of which has a large monkey. At the waterfront, where, on some streets, every door is a saloon each saloon worthy of the name has a mechanical organ of circus size all going at full blast and creating a combination of sound that ceases to be music in its worst possible form and becomes bedlam. I must insist that I am not exaggerating. This last mentioned cacophony simply has to be heard to be believed.

Sunday

Sunday comes. Bands of workmen parade the streets, the number of hand organs and lone musicians playing before the cafes increases, while the mechanical organs begin earlier. But that is not at all. One might say, truthfully, that sleeping or waking, the Antwerpers are never out of music for more than seven minutes at a time. There is a cathedral, Notre Dame, with one of the largest clocks ever made. This clock chimes every seven minutes and a half, plays a short tune at the quarter of an hour and a long one at the hour. In addition, at the half-hour it strikes the full hour, that is to say, at 11.30 it strikes twelve, and twelve again at 12.

One Noisy Clock

While in this city I happened to find a room just beside the cathedral, and when the huge bell rang Sunday services the vibration seemed to go through every tissue of one's body, simply overwhelming.

How Men Get Money

Antwerp is one of the great seaports of the world and on the waterfront may be seen men of almost every ethnic origin. Negroes, mostly from the Congo, are plentiful. There are also some from America and the West Indies, many of whom are stranded, and would be glad to swim back home, if they could.

In every one of these large seaports I have visited — Marseilles, Havre, London, Rotterdam—it is the same old story. Some of these colored men resort to anything to get money, and as I suspected and late learned as a fact two of them, a West Indian and a New Yorker, both of whom had served long terms in English prisons, were planning to dope me and then rob me. But perhaps more of that story another time.

How some of these men live has been a mystery to me for a long time until I discovered that the plan, on arriving in a port where they are paid off, was to pay the landlady something in advance. If that sum ran out before they got another ship they would remain with her until they did on a promise of payment. Some, as I learned, owed over a thousand francs. Few are ever turned out as hope springs eternal in the human breast, including that of landladies. Kindness undoubtedly also has something to do with it. Europe exploits Africa, and the latter returns the compliment.

Whole Family Drinks

The fact is that these colored folk and white get along excellently well as in other parts of Europe. When the Negro has money he spends it liberally. They fraternize not only in the low class cafes but in the better ones, too.

Into some of the latter come the whole family, including the young children to drink beer and to dance. Here is a father, mother, and two daughters, one of whom is escorted by a Congolese. Later they dance to the apparent unconcern of everyone but myself.

More Self Respect

And a singular fact is that the American Negro, broadly speaking, is further advanced than the European one, except in one thing. The European Negro has greater self respect. He does not straighten his hair, and the few colored women one sees might as well be three million miles from a hair-straightening establishment instead of three thousand. They wear it straight up and kinky like the men. This is the European style, and some time ago a colored lady from the States went to an establishment—a white one, the only ones—to have her hair done and to her consternation, the coiffeuse instead of straightening it, began to kink it more, a la nature. And to make matters worse she couldn't explain what she wanted.

Reubens

Rubens is catalogued with more than 1,300 paintings, much of which is said to have been done by his students. His practice was to find out what each student could do, and after designing the picture would set him to work on his forte. Rubens himself, it is said, executed only these pictures for which he got large sums. It is also said that he was jealous of Van Dyck and sent him away to Italy. Later thru his manoeuvring also, Von Dyck went to England where he became a favorite at the court of Charles I, setting a style in beards.

Verlat's Colored Folk

Speaking again as an amateur the finest pictures I saw in this museum were the work of Verlat. He also paints religious pictures, but he brings human, every day figures. In his "Christ or Barrabas" one sees that he must have gone to the East and got his figures there—Jews, Arabs, Negroes, Mulattoes—just the same sort of crowd I saw in Morocco. His "Vox Populi, Vox Dei" is unforgetable both for its satire and its naturalness, while his "Defense of the Herd'," a scene in which a wild buffalo charges a lion pinning him to the earth, is certainly one of the most vigorous manifestations of genius I have ever seen.

Cost Of Living

The cost of living in Antwerp, as in other parts of Belgium, while high for a native is very cheap for an American, or for that matter, an English man or Swiss, or any one coming from a country with high exchange. The Belgium franc is even lower than the French—140 of the first for 100 of the second. A first-class meal in a good restaurant may be had for sixty cents, a good meal of six courses for half of that; and a fine room for ninety cents.

For this reason many Belgians resent Americans and others coming to their country now. One man in Brussels actually drove me out of his hotel when he saw my American passport. He had shown me a room at a price far higher than in Paris and even higher than in New York. I protested that the figure named was exorbitant, but as I was too lazy to search further I decided to take it for the night.

U. S. Passport

In all European hotels one is compelled to fill out a blank giving his full pedigree, telling where and why he was born, etc. While filling out this blank, the man was content to argue with me telling me that I should remember that Belgian rate of exchange was lower than the French and so on. When, however, I showed him my passport for the number, and when he saw that it was American, the vials of his wrath, scripturally speaking, opened. "Get out of my place," he shouted, "get out. You Americans, come to our country, and expect to live for nothing. Get out at once!"

Beds For Germans

It was on the tip of my tongue to tell him that if it were not for the Americans, he'd still be furnishing beds free to Germans instead. But I said nothing for two reasons, first, I keep out of these natiinal arguments—the race one has been thrust upon me, and that's enough; and second, I have so far discovered but one effective way of dealing with fool, whether their brand of lunacy be religious, racial or national, and that is to give them a liberal dose of ignoring. Later, as luck had it, I found a better room with a fine couple, at one-third less.

Race Problem - 1927
Europe

-:- The Kursaal at Ostend

Bathing Suit Left to Taste of the Wearer

By J. A. ROGERS

OSTEND

THIS fashionable resort is a miniature Atlantic City minus its places of amusement. The principal patrons seem to be English, and as one walks along the Digue (the promenade that takes the place of the boardwalk), one hears more English than French and sees many more English papers than Belgian ones for sale.

The beach is a fine wide stretch of sand, with heavy bathing houses drawn into the water by handsome horses. From these the bathers dismount into the waves. As to bathing suits—they are left to the taste of the wearer! The one-piece suit so much decried at home, is a favorite here. It is worn by all the men and by those ladies who have fine figures, or who think they have. The European, as I have already remarked, is ever so much less sex-conscious than the American. As to the other ladies, many of them wear a garment that looks like a nightshirt.

The show place of Ostend is the Kursaal or Casino. It is not so showy a bit of architecture as the Casino at Monte Carlo, but it is more artistic and perhaps larger, though lacking the fame of the latter. Inside is a very beautiful concert hall, a reading room with papers from all over the world, an art gallery, a fine porch from which one may sit and watch the bathers or listen to the music while sipping one's favorite drink.

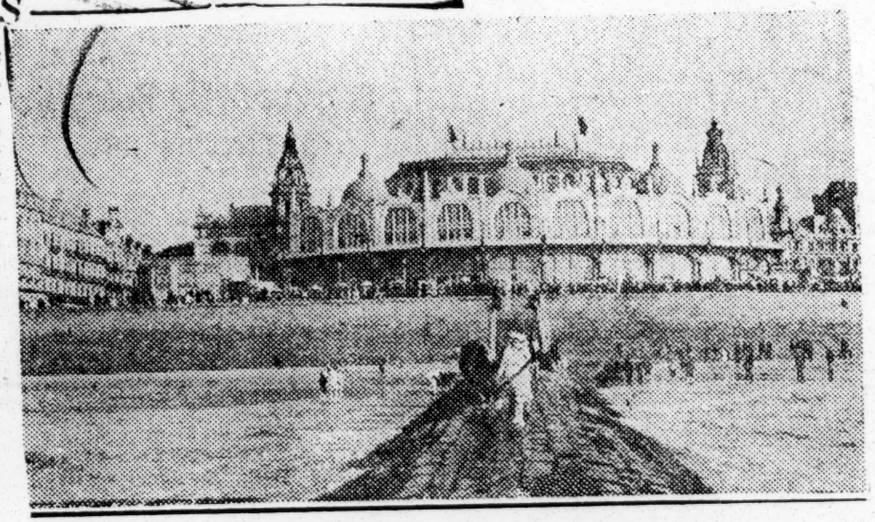
If, however, you are of an adventurous turn of mind, you can find something much more exciting than the above-named. Downstairs are roulette tables, though you'll find the atmosphere rather aristocratic, or rather it lacks the open democracy of Monte Carlo. That part of the Casino in Monte Carlo is the place into which the average visitor is permitted.

To enter the Kursaal one must fill out a blank stating his nationality, profession, his clubs, if any, etc. He then becomes a member and is free to enter, a mere formality something like entering one of the night-clubs in London, New York, or any other place where the police are a bit strict.

Because of my article on Monte Carlo, several readers were kind enough to send me lucky numbers; nevertheless, I contented myself this time with looking on.

In front of the Kursaal is a very beautiful garden rivalling that of Monte Carlo. Nearby, overlooking the beach, is the King's villa. I understand that this is part of the property that was handed over to the late King Leopold when he gave up the Congo to the Belgian people. It was Leopold's plan to make Ostend the finest bathing resort in the world, and the wherewithal was to have come from the Congo.

Ostend's crowd is clearly a holiday one, and one is immediately struck by the smartness and wealth of the costumes in contrast to what he has been seeing in other parts of Belgium. There are, of course, high class cabarets in which jazz bands whine and boom and snort. In one of these I saw a Negro, not light-colored like the ones Mayor Walker is said to have seen in Rome, but what the French call "noir noir"—that is, very black. He was dancing with a beautiful, well-dressed woman, and no one in that all crowd of white people seemed to have been expressing the least surprise. White Americans are few in Ostend—they stop at Deauville.



The Kursaal at Ostend, Belgium

Colored folk are extremely few in this part of Belgium, and I went over Brussels for eight days, visited Ghent, Bruges and other towns, and saw less than a dozen of them. Those with whom I talked were all from the Congo.

Colored folk being rare, one certainly gets "an eye" from the ladies. Recently I have been looking in the mirror and telling myself, like Richard the Third, that I cannot be such an ugly fellow after all. I was standing in the station in Bruges when a party of young women got off the train and began to pass me in groups of sixes and sevens. They stared at me so much that I began to feel uncomfortable, and recalled the look a Nordic gave me one day when crossing from Newport News to Norfolk, Va., on the boat I made the mistake of drawing some water from the "white" syphon, instead of the "colored" one.

Presently, one of the girls, looking back, stretched out her tongue at me. I lifted my hat. Calling the attention of the girl beside her, she turned again, as did the other, and threw kisses at me. Well, not to be outdone in gallantry, I returned the compliment and walked toward them. The party halted and several of them wanted to know if I was on a visit. I replied that I had come see the town and wanted a guide, whereupon two or three volunteered to show me, but I suddenly got woman-shy, and decided to do the town alone.

There is no color-line in any part of the European continent and if we on the other side of the Atlantic intend to establish one, we'll certainly need all of our mayors here, even from places like Cheehaw.

At Ostend is a remarkably fine panorama of the Battle of the Yser. Much of the heaviest fighting of the war occurred in this vicinity—Ypres, Dixmude and Zeebrugge.

On the return to Brussels I stopped at Bruges. I saw for the first time on the Continent someone chewing tobacco—a priest!

Bruges is a quaint old town—an embalmed bit, so to speak, of the Middle Ages. It has been rightly called by some one a museum. It is very quiet and calm, with plenty of canals, even more beautiful than those of Venice, for along the dark still water of these grow drooping trees and borders of flowers. Most beautiful of all these spots is the Minnewater Bridge over the Lac d'Amour, which washes the foot of one of the great towers of the old ramparts. I had no idea that the place was called Lac d'Amour (Lake of Love) until later, but on seeing it I immediately thought of honeymoons. Oh, no, it was for some hero and heroine I might one-day spin out of my brain. Later, when I mentioned this I was told of a story by Verhaeren, the Belgian writer, who had his hero and heroine spend their honeymoon in Bruges and were soon "scrapping" because of lack of any other excitement. I tell this for the benefit of future honeymooners.

Bruges, however, was not always like this. Considerable commerce used to come up its canals, until Antwerp took away its business.

Among the most interesting sights are the following: the Cathedral of St. Sauveur, which is of most imposing appearance within and without, and is noted for its tower with 402 steps, its tapestry, stained glass windows and Flemish and Italian paintings; the Church of Notre Dame, with the magnificent sarcophagi of Charles the Bold and Mary of Burgundy, a statue of the Madonna by Michael Angelo, a wondrously carved pulpit of oak in the style of Louis XV; the Memling Museum in the St. John's Hospital—Memling was the greatest of Bruges' great painters; the Municipal Museum with many masterpieces of the Dutch and Flemish schools, among them being two by Jan Van Eyck and three by David; the Halles or markets, together with the Beffroi, or Belfry, the latter a tower of most striking appearance.

Belgium, as was said, was once a part of Holland, and in this region one is reminded of the fact. Flemish seems to be the principal language, and in parts of the town one will find his French useless. Flemish is first cousin to Dutch.

Wooden shoes are also much in evidence. I had said Bruges was a quiet town. I had forgotten the wooden shoes which make quite a clatter on the pebbly streets. Wooden shoes come near attaining immortality in footwear. In the course of ages they wear away just a little on the side and all that one's great-grandson needs to do is to take them to the carpenter and have them planed. Nevertheless, the butcher, the baker, and the candlestick maker get theirs in another way, for these shoes are hard on sidewalks and socks. I noted the heels of some socks, which had been darned so much that they looked like the bark of one of those old California redwoods.

I walked about the peasant quarter, and found the folk very friendly. The children were playing hop-scotch, their wooden shoes making a queer but somewhat musical sound. I gave one of them

Would Take All U. S. Mayors to Draw Line

a coin and soon there was a whole swarm of them around me. Finally, I did just what I had done to the children in Morocco—taking a number of small coins I threw them into the grass and made my getaway. But precisely as in the latter case, one or two wiser ones came after me instead.

Cloth manufacturers must have a pretty hard time in Bruges, for it seemed to me that at least half the feminine population—young and old—was engaged in making cloth, most of all a very neat blue checkered pattern, their fingers flying over the bobbins with unbelievable speed. It was evening and the spinners were either sitting in the doorway or on the sidewalk.

Belgium is also noted for its lace. There is the famous Valenciennes, which takes a worker six months to make a half-yard, as well as the famous Mechlin, which is no longer made. Lace manufacturing is another art that the machine is helping to kill. I understand that there is a law protecting the hand-spinners and making it an offense to pass off machine work for hand work. I visited two or three of the factories in Brussels and saw some beautiful patterns being done by hand that were as enchanting as anything I have ever seen—poems in thread. One piece I was shown was valued at $5,000. Another bit was being woven for two and a half months, yet only nine inches of it had been made.

In traveling over Belgium one is struck by the number of towns great and small. Indeed, Belgium may be said to be all town, a fact that accounts for the density of its population which is, or used to be, greater than any other spot on earth, except the island of Barbadoes. It is a manufacturing country, and thus is highly dependent upon the outside world for raw material and food. There is, however, plenty of coal in the region adjoining France, and on the way to Brussels one passes what appear to be hills, but what are really mounds of earth taken from the coal mines.

With the low price of the franc —it is even lower than that of the French, and is only worth three cents—the lot of the average worker is not to be envied. Wages, too, are low—and used to be lower. The Socialist party, which is very strong in Belgium, is equal to that of the Catholic, the other leading party, has done much to improve the lot of the worker. The average Belgian worker is strongly class conscious. Still everything seems to move along smoothly; people drink their beer and are happy—a fact particularly true of the Flemings. And although the Flemings and the Walloons have their differences, there has never been a clash between them, I am told.

In my next article I shall write of Antwerp, a city with a large Negro population, but before I move further northward I must mention two other spots of interest in Brussels: the National Shooting Gallery in whose yard Edith Cavell was shot, and the Wiertz Museum. In the former place is the grave of this English nurse at the spot on which she fell. She was sitting on a chair, and the holes for the chair are still preserved. On this spot fifty-five other persons were shot.

In Wiertz Museum are the paintings of a mad artist of that name, whose works stamp themselves unforgettably on the mind by their colossal strength, burning intensity, and soul piercing reality. Among the number are "Napoleon in Hell"; "Greeks and Trojans Fighting Over the Body of Patroclus," one of orphans tearing at the coffin of their mother; and another of a dog lying in a doorway, which is so natural that one would not be surprised if the animal barked. This museum alone is worth a trip to Brussels.

Race Problem - 1927

Europe

Potsdam—A Suburb of Berlin

World War Is Still an Unhealed Wound

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BEFORE saying anything about this beautiful suburb of Berlin with its palace of San Souci, I must finish giving my impressions of the German economic situation, an account of which was begun in my last article.

As I said, the strain on the population must be great. The German railroads must pay annually one and a half billion marks ($375,000,000) to the Allies, which sum is being regularly met. Germany, too, it will be recalled, had to hand over an enormous amount of equipment after the peace was signed. In addition, it has its own internal expenses of the war, just as the United States or England. There is also the cost of the armies of occupation in the Rhine district, though I am not sure how this sum is met.

In July of this year German imports exceeded exports by $110,000,000, a large part of which went for foodstuffs. The employment situation, however, showed improvement with 420,000 unemployed, a condition much better than the English one. Hazarding an opinion, it seems that of the late leading combatants the English masses seem to be in the worst condition and the French in the best. I know nothing of Russia.

I walked about in many of the restaurants to see just what was being eaten, and found that these things were low in food values, being mostly sausages and kraut. Horse meat is extensively eaten—as it is in all the countries on the Continent. In France one may tell these butcheries by the sign of a horse's head.

Still many with whom I talked thought conditions now are almost paradise to what they were shortly after the war. Then, one would have considered himself fortunate if he had a piece of horse meat to go with his turnips and sawdust bread. The sausage had even more doubtful reputation than now. The goat sausages was rumored, were really made of missing children.

But, if this were true, it would not be first time cannibalism was practised in Germany. The ancient Teutons were cannibals and after the Thirty Years' War the people were reduced to such straits that it was necessary to place armed guards around the corpses of criminals who had been hung.

With this great burden and the loss of so much young manhood, can the German people come back? It remains to be seen. Her people are working hard. It must be recalled that she is also inured to war, having been at peace for perhaps not more than fifty years at any time in the last 2,000 years.

I found those with whom I came in contact reluctant to talk about the war. They seem to wish to forget it, but I understand that the military party is still strong, and that the spirit of no small part of young Germany is revenge. I did not see a single German wearing a war decoration or insignia of any kind, though I looked for them. I saw but one distinguished looking old aristacrat, evidently of the old school, wearing an Iron Cross, in the park at San Souci. This fact will be all the more striking to any one just coming out of France and Belgium, where reminders of the war, such as decorations and monuments, are very much in evidence. Is it because Germany can't afford it?

Germany seems to have forgotten the war, but needless to say it is only on the surface. Talk with anyone long enough and you'll soon discover the unhealed wound. The Germans think it very hard that after four years of unrecompensed service to the Fatherland they should now be called on to pay such heavy taxes. One waiter in Munich told me that at the end of the week his tips are added up, and one-tenth taken out as tax, "for America," he said. (In Germany one-tenth is added to the bill in restaurants for the waiter). "Yet," he complained, "I gave the Fatherland five years for nothing." This man had been held prisoner by the French.

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Writer Sees Former Home of the Kaiser

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Potsdam is full of memories of Frederick the Great, the chief of which is his palace of San Souci, a one-story structure on a hill surrounded by a beautiful sylvan park in which are many fuontains and much statuary. To reach the entrance, one mounts a broad flight of stairs, sixty six feet high, with six terraces. At each terrace, on a line with the steps, is a conservatory. From the entrance of the park to the palace is almost a mile. I am unable to tell anything of the interior as I arrived too late to see it.

In Potsdam also is the Garrison Church with the tomb of Frederick the Great and the new palace of the ex-Kaiser.

Going to Potsdam I had a commonplace but rather trying experience. As the conducted tour was rather expensive, I decided to do my own conducting. To think of it, I could afford it! At last I am wealthy; that is, I am worth $125,000. Unfortunately, however, I have not been able to find anyone to believe it but myself. Why, I could find not a banker who was willing to return even by original investment, namely, the nickel I paid for my fortune of half a million marks in 1921.

As I said, I decided to go alone and I learned for once the real helplessness of the foreigner. Leading into Berlin is a regular maze of suburban trains, and as luck would have it, I took the right train but had to change. Not knowing of the necessity of changing, I kept right on. Then, not finding anyone who could speak English or French, I really got lost for once in my life. After a desperate use of the sign language I finally found myself back in Berlin and finally arrived in Potsdam—two and a half hours after my first start. The trip takes but half an hour.

I have decided that if ever I return to Europe I intend to, I am going to learn the language. At least 90 per cent of the pleasure I could have had is lost.

In the next article I will tell something of Leipzig, and of Munich, beer capital of the world.

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Going to Potsdam I had a commonplace but rather trying experience. As the conducted tour was rather expensive, I decided to do my own conducting. To think of it, I could afford it! At last I am wealthy; that is, I am worth $125,000. Unfortunately, however, I have not been able to find anyone to believe it but myself. Why, I could find not a banker who was willing to return even by original investment, namely, the nickel I paid for my fortune of half a million marks in 1921.

As I said, I decided to go alone and I learned for once the real helplessness of the foreigner. Lead- finally arrived in Potsdam—two ing into Berlin is a regular maze of and a half hours after my first suburban trains, and as luck would start. The trip takes but half an have it, I took the right train but hour.

I have decided that if ever I re had to change. Not knowing of turn, and I intend to, I am going the necessity of changing, I kept to learn the language. At least right on. Then, not finding anyone 90 per cent of the pleasure I could who could speak English or have had is lost.

French, I really got lost for once In the next article I will tell in my life. After a desperate use something of Leipzig, and of of the sign language I finally Munich, beer capital of the world. found myself back in Berlin and

Race Problem - 1921

Europe

Berlin—A City of 4,000,000

Illiterates Few and Far Between in Germany

— By J. A. ROGERS —

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Amsterdam News 3-21-21 New York.

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On Sunday morning all over Germany the young folk may be seen in great numbers going for hikes, knapsack on back, while the farmers are at work in the fields. Unlike France, however, most of the business places are closed.

Berlin is remarkable for its monuments and public buildings. These, while lacking the grace of the French ones, compensate with their air of solidity and giant strength. At the east end of the Unter den Linden, on an island in the Spree, the river on which Berlin is built, is a group of these buildings and monuments, which presents a most impressive sight. Among them are Pergamon Museum, the National Gallery, the Old and the New Museums, the Cathedral, the National Monument to King William I, and the Kaiser's Palace. Nearby, across the river, are the New Library, Humboldt University, the War Museum, and the palace of the ex-Crown Prince, which is now used as an art gallery.

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Entering, you mount to the second floor by an inclined walk instead of steps, and feel that you are in just such a place as you expect a palace to be. Before entering the inner rooms, however, you are made to slip your shoes into loose felt slippers.

The principal features within are as follows: the State antechambers with portraits of Frederick the Great, Peter the Great, Catherine II of Russia and other great personages; the Throne Room, gorgeous, resplendent, of wondrous decoration; the Northern Wing with portraits, row on row, of all the Prussian monarchs; the great banqueting hall and picture gallery with its magnificent chandeliers, marvelous decorations, and picture of William I being crowned Emperor at Versailles after his victory over France in 1871; the White Saloon; and the Palace Chapel.

The silk hangings, inlaid floors of rarest beauty, tall porcelain stoves, magnificently carved fireplaces, gilded furniture, inlaid tables, crystal chandeliers and pictures, combine to give an impression that here—in this palace—wealth and artistry had reached its zenith in producing refinement and elegance in human habitation. My mind ran back on some of the hovels I have seen in my life, of how I myself lived, and I stood amazed at the inequality of human fortune and destiny. To



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At the west end of the town, facing the Tiergarten, is another group of massive buildings and monuments. Foremost of these is the Reichstag, or German House of Parliament, a very massive and impressive structure in the style of the Italian Renaissance. It is surmounted by a great glass dome over which are stripes of gilded metal. On the dome is a circle of columns bearing a lantern; above this is an imperial crown. At the four corners of the building, which is square and built of huge sandstone blocks, are four towers. The interior is even more impressive.

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Other noteworthy places are the Museums of Ethnology and Industry, Parochial Church, with its wonderful chimes; the Stock Exchange; the Monument to Martin Luther; the Prussian House of Lords; and the Isreal and the Wertheim Department Stores, almost as large as any in America, and more beautiful.

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In the markets and the stores of even the poorer neighborhoods I scanned the prices and found them so high that I almost fancied myself in America. A small cup of coffee of about the average American quality costs 30 pfennig or 7½ cents in the cheaper places; a glass of beer of the cheaper quality costs the same, while better beer is twice that. At the lunch counters in the cheaper places a ham or sardine sandwich is ten cents, that if, if one can call it a sandwich, because only one-half of a small roll is served with the meat exposed on top

Race Problem—1927

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Frankfurter Zeitung
3/27/27
New York.

Race Problem – 1927
Europe.

The American Hospital in Paris

-By J. A. ROGERS

Author Glad to Be Out After Eight Weeks' Stay

NEUILLY-SUR-SEINE.

WELL, it feels good to be out on the boulevards again, even if one's legs are a bit wobbly. Being laid away for eight weeks is not much of a joke.

But still, the laugh is on me—and the drys. While almost everybody else was drinking wine, beer and champagne, I stuck religiously to my regime of two quarts of water daily. Two weeks after I had been in hospital I read an article in one of the leading French papers calling attention to the fact that the drinking water of Paris was charged with typhoid germs, that the number of deaths from this disease had greatly increased, and that something ought to be done to sterilize the water.

Since then I have been learning much. Older Parisians have been telling me that twenty-five years ago there was an epidemic of typhoid which swept off thousands, and since then there has been a tendency to avoid pipe-water. Knowing ones either boil their water, or add a sterilizing acid before drinking it, that is, the few Parisians who do drink water.

Very little attention is paid to the purity of the water supply in Spain, Italy, France and some other European countries, and it seems that a pretty fair percentage of American tourists contract this disease, something not advertised in the booklets of the tourist agencies. A recent victim was J. Ogden Armour, Chicago millionaire.

Travelling around one thinks of railroad or steamship, or auto accidents, or some other form of violence. None of these happens but a little microbe reaches out from nowhere and hits one an invisible wallop that puts him away for a much longer time than the fist of the world's champion pugilist would be likely to. Water, it is beginning to seem to me, hath its perils no less than wine. In the hospital at the same time with me was a man whose troubles were directly due to drinking too much liquor. Needless to say he is from a certain dry country.

At the present, I am as much afraid of water as I am of Lenox avenue hootch, though I am told that I am immune to further attacks of typhoid. All of which reminds me of a little story: In the good old days of bar-rails and free lunches when prohibition was still in napkins, an enthusiastic dry was holding forth on a street corner on the virtuo of water and the vices of wine. Presently spoke a florid individual in the audience with the blossoms of Bacchus on his nose: "Say, Mr. Water-drinker, you've heard the story of Lazarus and Dives, haven't you?"

The speaker admitted that he had. "Dives was in hell, wasn't he?" continued the heckler.

"Yes," agreed the speaker.

"And what was the first thing that Dives called for? Whiskey?"

"No, water," replied the speaker confidently.

"Yes," mimicked the heckler, "he called for water. That's where all you bally teetotalers go."

Yes, as I said, I'm afraid of water.

But all of this is getting away from the theme. I'm to tell about the Ameican Hospital of Paris.

Back in 1904 some far-seeing Americans of this city saw the necessity of having a hospital of their own. When one is sick it is all-important to be able to describe one's ills in one's mother tongue. Even if one speaks the foreign language fairly, when one is really ill, doing so calls for no little effort, and it is a relief to be able to lapse into ones own language. Besides, if the truth must be told, the European hospital, generally speaking, is much below the



— J. A. Rogers —

standard of the average American hospital so far as equipment and maintenance are concerned.

Four years later the hospital was built and opened with beds for twenty-two patients. It was then increased to thirty-two, but this also proved inadequate as there was always a waiting list, some of the patients coming expressly as they do now from all parts of Europe, for even at that time the hospital was recognized as a model of its kind. In the meantime it was incorporated by Act of Congress.

Then came the war when it rendered important services to the French troops by conducting the American Ambulance Hospital. When the United States finally entered the war this was turned over to the United States army and became Military Hospital No. 1.

After the war when the number of Americans increased in Paris there came the necessity for a still larger building, with the result that the present building with accommodation for 120 beds, eight private maternity rooms, and several other departments, was erected at a cost of a million dollars, all of which was raised by public subscription, mostly from American residents and tourists in Paris.

Although the hospital is exclusively for Americans, except in cases of emergency, French friends came forward liberally with unsolicited contributions, the hospital itself being a memorial to the Americans who died or took part in the war.

At present the American Hospital of Paris has the reputation of being the best in Europe, and as was said, sick Americans come thither from all parts of the continent. Its operating rooms, laboratory, radioscopy, X-ray, electrotherapy, eye, ear, nose and throat, and other departments are said to equal the best in America.

For convalescing patients there are a solarium, two roof gardens with remarkable fine views of the city and environs, and a well kept garden situated just outside the gates of Paris in the suburb of Neuilly, the hospital is surrounded by beautiful suburban homes and lawns. As to maintenance the interior of the building is the perfection of cleanliness. All in all it is a structure of which Americans abroad can well be proud.

Prices range from $2 a day in the wards to $30 a day in the de luxe rooms. Private rooms can also be had for a little over three dollars a day.

Although chiefly for Americans the places of residence of the 1,626 in-patients treated for the year 1926, shows a pretty good cosmopolitan range, China, Brazil and East Africa, being included. France (mostly American residents) led with 407, with New York next with 377.

Writes in Glowing Tribute of Care He Received

The medical board, composed of leading American and French physicians and surgeons in Paris, supervises the medical work of the hospital. It is augmented by a consulting staff of eminent European specialists and more than 200 well-known practioners who compose the Courtesy List. There is also a medical advisory board in America composed of thirty leading physicians and surgeons. Internes are selected from the leading graduates of the best American medical schools.

The student and nursing staff comprises sixteen nationalities —Russian, Danish, American, French, English, etc.

But all of the above are facts and figures of greater or less interest to the average reader. What interests everyone, however, is the humanitarian side. How are you treated? A Negro audience will especially want to ask. How are colored folks treated?

Here also I can speak in unqualified terms, and glad to do so. I can recall few things in life that gives me as much pleasure as to speak well of the American Hospital.

Typhoid fever reduces one almost to the last degree of helplessness, and I was cared for night and day almost as if I were an infant. Doctors and nurses, it seemed to me, did the maximum to make me as comfortable as possible. The nurse who attended me the most of the five weeks, a young lady from California, Miss Janet Merkin, is one of the kindliest and most thoughtful persons it has been my rare pleasure to meet. She never seemed to forget the slightest detail. And her cheerfulness was unfailing. When it was possible for me to eat again everything was done in the way of nourishment to help me to regain the large amount of weight I had lost.

Two other Negroes, who were in the hospital the same time as myself voice my sentiments exactly or I voice theirs, as you will. They were W. Henry Lee, a chemist, native of Boston, who has been living here thirty years, and late E. E. Thompson, former bandmaster of the 367th Infantry, who had been playing in the leading European capitals, but who died recently of cancer.

Without wishing to dwell too much on the matter of my illness I might add that prior to my going to the hospital I consulted three physicians in three weeks all of whom were treating me for something else, due probably to the symptoms I gave them.

Tourists and others are welcome visitors at the hospital, Negro visitors being as welcome as any other, I understand. And I believe too that donations, large or small, are also welcome from them, as the hospital is dependent on its maintenance largely on gifts. Under its charter it cannot be run for profit so it is a purely humanitarian institution.

The American Negro population is increasing; so are the tourists. The inevitable result is that from time to time one or two get stranded and ill. More than one such has been treated free. And in any case it is a mighty fine thing to have such an institution to which one may go when in a foreign land. That, at least, is one fact I shan't forget.

My next article will be on Negro Americans in France, who and what they are.

Belgium's Race Problems

By J. A. ROGERS

While Not Based on Color, It Is Acute

BRUSSELS.

"OUI, monsieur," said the man who sat opposite me as we rode from Aix-la-Chapelle to Brussels, "the Flemings are the oppressed people of Belgium. For every Walloon killed or wounded during the war there were two Flemings, but no sooner was the war over than they began to call us 'Boche.'"

The above remark, reported exactly as uttered, is by way of saying that Belgium has a race problem of its own—a genuine race problem—in so far as it is possible to take any group of the human race and speak of it as a race. Here are two peoples—the Walloons and the Flemings: The former of French descent or with a leaning to French culture; the latter of Teutonic descent, with a language, or more strictly speaking, a dialect of its own, who won't blend with or accept the ways of the other. Each believes his traditions to be the better.

Another striking fact is that both are of the same color, and their features are so similar that it would take an expert to distinguish a Walloon from a Fleming. Here indeed is a genuine race problem, for every sociologist worth his salt these days is insisting that the difference between man and man lies not so much in their skin color and facial contour as it does in the ideas in their brain.

For instance, the Negro in America has been thoroughly absorbed mentally, he is so much of a white man within, that as I said in my last article, even the newsboys in Europe recognize him for an American the moment they see him. Further, the Negro reared in Europe or America is at once called "a white man" by the genuine Africans when the former goes amongst them.

Many interesting elements—social, religious, linguistic—enter into this problem, and I shall endeavor to give them as best as I understand them.

A thousand or so years ago, Clovis, King of the Franks, or what is now the French, invaded Flanders and settled it. At about the same time certain Germanic tribes also moved southward until they became next door neighbors of the French colony, or the Walloons, as they were known. Centuries passed during which English, Spanish, Austrian, Burgundian, French, Dutch and other invaders swept over or possessed the land, but never in a degree strong enough to alter the nature of the two original colonizers.

The latter statement must be modified, for while the Walloons gradually adopted the modern French language in the place of Walloon, which was a mixture of primitive French and that of the natives Clovis found there, the others (now the Flemings) held on to their language. This, of course, was also mixed in with that of the natives among whom they settled. Only a very small percentage of Belgians now speak Walloon. This rather dry detail is necessary to what is to follow.

The Flemish language now is really Low German, being strikingly like the language spoken in Holland. Both languages in turn are very much like German. The fact is, Flemish and Dutch are really German dialects, no matter how much patriots of both groups may dislike the idea. Incidentally, I might add that a large number of English words are precisely as they are in Flemish, and at the movies I could sometimes read the Flemish part of the sub-title, instead of the French one, and get a pretty good understanding of it. For car stop the French half of the sign would read. "Arret des Trems," while the Flemish half read, "Tram Still Stand."

All public notices and signs are written in the two languages, and Belgium is the paradise of the printer, the sign-painter, and the interpreter. Just imagine the people of our North speaking one language and the South another and both carrying on commercial, political and other intercourse and you'll have some idea of it. Here also it is a matter of North and South, for the Flemings are in the North.

I might add that this North and South problem seems to exist everywhere—in India, in Italy, in America, and even in France there is a certain rivalry between le Midi (South), and le Nord (North). People of the North sometimes call those of the South "Moko," which, by the way, is no term of affection.

To return to our theme. Belgium, as is known, became in time an independent nation, winning its independence from Holland. The revolt was also the result of a conflict of language—the Dutch insisted that the Belgians should use the Dutch language. To this the Flemings offered little opposition since their language is almost the same as Dutch, while the Walloons strenuously objected and took the lead in the revolt.

When independence was won, the Walloons, the leaders, for some reason did not make their language the official one, and in time there began a struggle for supremacy, with the final result that both languages were declared official and legal in all affairs.

But as we Negroes know only too well it is one thing to declare a thing legal, and quite another thing to be strong enough to assert its legality. The Walloons remain in power and the French language is dominant at least in those circles where money talks. The simple fact seems to be also that the Walloon is the more developed intellectually of the two. Of the 13 or so per cent of illiteracy, the Flemings furnished about 66 2-3 per cent, proportionally; of twenty-four leading dailies only one is Flemish. The Flemings are rather of the farming type and seem to furnish the most of the laboring class.

I asked many persons which of the two outnumbered the other, and was told by some that it was the Flemings; by others, the Walloons. looked up the figures and these were what I found: Flemings, 3,185,000; Walloons, 2,850,825. Speakers of both languages: 967,813. To find which really outnumbered the other it is necessary to know how much of the last named are Walloon, and how much Fleming. I think, however, that the majority of this last-named figure must be Flemings since they would need it to get positions from the Walloons.

For instance, the Fleming who would get work on the railroad must know French. The same holds true for all government positions and the leading places of business. French is also used in the universities and in only one of them are the two languages taught, the University of Ghent.

As I said in the opening, my traveling companion said that the Flemings are the oppressed people of Belgium, nevertheless I was unable to find any evidences of oppression, such as we know it in America.

While we were conversing the conductor came around for tickets and, seeing the Fleming smoking in a compartment reserved for non-smokers, he made him stop, whereupon the Fleming told me indignantly that if he were a Walloon the conductor would not have said anything. But the fact is that the train had just crossed the German border, and while the French and Belgians do not observe the rule as to smoking, the Germans strictly do.

Nevertheless, the Fleming position is not without justification. It is a very difficult thing to learn another language, especially one unlike yours. In the case of the Fleming, it is an economic loss and here there is cause for complaint.

The older generations of Flemings hold on to their traditions. They say: "De taal is gansch het volk." (The language is the life of the people.) Their children grow up speaking Fleming, to find that to get positions as above mentioned they must speak French. And growing up in Flemish traditions, they naturally feel that those are the best.

All the Flemings need do is to change their language. To us, who are asked to change our faces and undo the work of nature, this seems a piffling detail. But there is a hair in the soup. There is something much deeper involved: the Flemings are staunch Catholics; while the Walloons incline toward the anti-clerical and the liberal ways of France. Hence to hold on to their religion more strongly, the Flemings hold on to their language and their traditions.

In a religious land like Belgium, politics is, of course, strongly mixed with religion. The two strongest parties are the Catholics and the Socialists. According to the latest figures I was able to obtain the former dominate slightly in the Senate, while the latter have a very slight majority in the House, both being pretty evenly matched, a fact that makes the struggle keener. This contest between Church and State has been going on since independence was won in 1830.

A third party is called Liberals. These Liberals unite with the Socialists in putting the blame for the alleged high illiteracy of the Flemings on Catholicism. The Catholics, in reply, insist that they encourage education, since before young people are admitted to their first communion they are taught to read. Needless to say, education is not compulsory in Belgium.

One Walloon said to me that he felt sure that if the Flemings were a little less religious they would be much further ahead. And this seems to be sound sense. One has to choose symbolically between God and Mammon. That is, between things that have to do with the hereafter and those things that have to do with the here and now. And usually the man who is experienced in the one is ignorant in the other.

In my "salad days" I was very religious, and while I could tell quite positively such things as where Cain found his wife, and what happened in heaven, I knew far less than I do now of such things as scientific farming, of life as it is actually lived, of hygiene, in general of those things that make for a healthy, well-informed, competitive life on this earth.

Of course, in the life beyond, provided there is one, the religious man will be the expert while the earthy one will be a greenhorn. In that time the Flemings will be ahead of the Walloons and the Negro ahead of the Nordic.

Geographical position has also something to do with the dominance of the Walloons. They are in the south with its rich coal and iron districts, while the Flemings are in the agricultural area. It is astonishing what some mineral, as coal, iron, gold or oil, will do to mold and even to change the ways of a people, as for example, the Indians of Oklahoma.

It is difficult to tell how this problem will end. Because of the nearness of Holland, with its similarity of language, it might go on for still more centuries. Then too, Holland is near to Germany with its language, which is really low German.

Germany, it is said, is desirous of seeing the Flemings retain their language, hence it will be seen that the Fleming-Walloon problem has a deeper political significance than appears on the surface.

Race Problem-1927

Europe.

ALAINE LOCKE SAYS:—

"AMERICANS AT GENEVA ARE CONSISTENT DEMOCRATS"

WASHINGTON, Oct. 13.—Dr. Alain Locke, who has been in Geneva most of the summer, studying the work of the League of Nations with particular reference to the mandate system of colonial administration, arrived home last week on the Ile de France. He went immediately to Washington to resume his work at Howard University.

Seen shortly after his arrival, Dr. Locke had the following to say:

"My report, which will take some considerable time for preparation will be submitted first to the Foreign Policy Association of New York, under whose auspices I was sent to Geneva. However, I am free to say some things of general interest right off and without reservations. In the first place I am so impressed with the opportunities for study and contact at Geneva that I am planning to return next summer, and I hope some of our enterprising young men and women students will join the enthusiastic forward looking students of other peoples and nationalities who crowd Geneva every summer. They will see a new world in the making, and will be made welcome, because Geneva is the mecca of the liberal and progressive elements of all nations.

"This is equally true of the Americans at Geneva; they are the type that is the hope of America. They are trying their utmost unofficially to discharge America's moral obligations in the program of world reconstruction which the World War has made necessary and possible. They feel committed to this task, even though America officially does not take part. I was convinced by their courteous and cordial reception that unlike Mr. Wilson who committed them to this international task by his sponsorship of the League of Nations, they are consistent Democrats, as anxious for the enlargement of Democracy at home as abroad. I return more convinced that ever that the liberal and enlightened forces of our own country are with us in our struggle for self-determination and just recognition. But if we expect to be the beneficiaries of this new Democracy, we must ourselves participate in its birth struggles and help it into being. Our selfish isolation in our own group problems is inconsistent with what we expect from America and the world at large. To have a place in the sun we must come out of the shadow of the race problem and toil for the common good.

"Among the progressive movements of today none is more important than the work of the League of Nations. Its basic principles of the equality of nations, of the self-determination of peoples, and the moral responsibility of governments before the court of World opinion, are the only basis upon which we can hope for a world free of the oppressions and exploitations of the old order of things, the only program that may successfully avoid race war on a scale bigger even than the war we called 'the World War.' Though we have no political interests involved, the whole moral issue of the race question is at stake in such a program, and we are morally bound as Negroes particularly to helpfully participate."

It was, moreover, a great satisfaction to see at Geneva Abyssinia, Liberia and Hayti actively working in the family of nations; to hear, for example that the former Haytian representative, M. Bellegarde had left behind him the reputation of being one of the real statesmen and benefactors of the League. On the subject to which I was assigned, it was a new vision of Africa that the program of the League revealed. For the Mandate system, with its new sense of trusteeship for native interests and rights and the principle of international responsibility and guardianship, is a new departure in colonial policy which in time will by the very contrast of its methods and ideals force a revolutionary change of colonial practise all over A[illegible]. Already the colonial governments are being forced to make reforms in their colonies proper to escape the moral indictment of the enlightened programs in the Mandate areas.

"Intelligent participation in African affairs, constructive help in African reconstruction, will eventually be the Negro-American's world duty. Our schools and colleges should already be paying special attention to these problems and questions, preparing the younger generation for intelligent, skilled participation along these lines. The next few years must see a program formulated and undertaken which will redeem the limitations and fanaticism of Garveyism and which will make a small scale movement like the Pan-African Congress is but a forerunnerof a crusade. It's significant that this very summer, the Pan-African Congress, which owes its being to one of our outstanding liberals, should have come at last to America. It seems to me that nothing is more reprehensible in our race life today than the comparative lack of knowledge and interest about Africa.

"By coincidence it was from Geneva that it fell my lot to reply to the challenge of Mr. Lothrop Stoddard, the avowed champion of this losing principle of the inherent superiority and permanent overlordship of certain peoples and races. One could answer him almost serenely from a vantage point where one can really see how far in the opposite direction the world has already moved, and how all the significant trends point to a slow but peaceful abdication of that overlordship.

"You ask me what I think of our recent debate in the Forum? That is not for me to say; the public is the referee. I have a short rebuttal reply in the next issue. I would have been keenly disappointed if Mr. Stoddard had argued any differently. His very confusion of the question of intermarriage and amalgamation with the real question at issue—cultural opportunity and recognition, is an admission of the dilemma in which the creed of White Supremacy has involved itself. To shied itself from its own self-contradiction, it has to pretend to be the aggrieved party, menaced by a black peril. All that is a nightmare of moral indigestion. Fortunately there is growing up, even in the South, a generation with no such conscience and no such hysterical fears. They may be expected to appreciate the fact that social relations are matters of individual choice and personal prerogative; and that what the Negro asks and needs is civic equality and full cultural opportunities. And they may be expected to see that in granting this, Democracy has more to gain than the Negro."

Peace Palace at the Hague

By J. A. ROGERS

City Much Cleaner and Finer Than Rotterdam

THE HAGUE.

ON arriving here I was greeted at the station by a newsboy with the New York Herald. I still wore French clothes and spoke French this time, but he, too, insisted that I could speak English. "I can see it in your face," he said.

Many of these newsboys, postcard sellers and others make a living off English and American tourists and residents, and are as clever at detecting them as squirrels are in knowing the right kind of nut. Sometimes I tell them that I am an Indian, that I am Javanese, anything, but nearly always they are unconvinced. As for myself, I can nearly always tell a French Negro from an American one, or a French West Indian from a French West African.

And this is what shows in their true light our pseudo-sociologists alike Jerome Dowd, Lothrop Stoddard, Madison Grant and others of that ilk, including Negro echoes of them (in spite of the fact that the so-called Negro in America or any other country, for that matter, is, after centuries of contact, psychologically the same as the dominant group among which he lives) who continue to speak of "two races" in the United States on the assumption that color and nature of hair make race.

The fact is, that people who speak the same language, have the same ideals, worship the same God, get substantially the same kind of training in the schools, become, after a time, regimented into thinking the same kind of thoughts, no matter whether one came from Finland or from Fiji. This thinking shows itself in the face and hence one with little experience will at once recognize the English type, the American one, the Latin one, and so on. Words are living things; they have their roots deep in the past; they mold our lives and we carry their imprint in our faces. The only real "race" difference is in language, for not to know another's language is to be almost entirely cut off from him.

Still there seems no hope for it. This race falsehood is profitable, especially in America, and whatever is profitable will continue to thrive though false as Judas.

In Paris I heard the story of a very dark Negro, who had come to make his home in France, but finally went back home in disgust, because wherever he went people used to stare very much at him.

He thought, as I understood, that they stared at him because he was black, but the fact was that he was so distinctly American in face and manner that he looked like a white American who had blackened his face.

Of course, it is not flattering to a white racialist to be classed with a Negro on the ground of facial resemblance, still these newsboys may be forgiven much for perceiving the affinity of Americans under the skin. Business reasons compel them to be realists, just as it compels Messrs. Dowd, et al, to shut their eyes to the obvious.

I was told that I would find the Hague much cleaner and finer than Rotterdam, and I did. It is a fine residential city, with well-kept avenues, fine parks, and artistic buildings, the chief of which is the Peace Palace, perhaps the finest structure in Holboiling with hate for each other, or the fall of a lone drop of rain on a burning city. At the present time a court of international justice sits there. Visiting hours are for an hour and a half around midday. I arrived too late to see the interior and contented myself with walking around the very beautiful grounds.

Two miles straight from the Hague, through the leafy avenue of a fine, well-wooded park, is Scheviningen Beach, the most aristocratic beach in all Europe. It is the bathing place of the elite of the English, Russian, Danish and other North European tourists. I was told, as is the case with everything else, that the war had brought a change—the wealth having shifted from princely into plebeian hands. On the way one passes hundreds of cyclists. Every one seems to cycle in Holland, even dignified graybeards. It reminds one of American cities before the advent of the automobile. What is true of Holland is true of most of Europe. In the Bois de Boulogne, Paris, on a Saturday afternoon there is a continuous stream of cyclists four or five deep. A comparative few of the folks here can afford a car.

Scheviningen Beach presents a peculiar aspect. It looked precisely as if some one had taken thousands of whole peanut hulls and stood them end up on the sand. These, I later found, were wicker chairs with an opening in front land. At first I thought it was the Queen's palace, and was later surprised to see an ordinary-looking building in the heart of the business district, which was where the Queen really lived. The Hague is the seat of government.

The Peace Palace is the gift of Andrew Carnegie, and was intended as the center of arbitration for European differences. In the great crisis of 1914, however, its deliberations had about as much effect as the pleadings of a Salvation Army lass on two Chinese tongs who have been in which one sat while watching the bathers, who were shamelessly flaunting their one-piece suits. Facing the beach on the dunes, the first rising of the land I had seen in Holland, are fine hotels and cafes. Among the many thousands of visitors were a few Negroes. I have been told that several wealthy Negroes from Dutch Guiana make their home at the Hague, but I did not stay long enough to meet any.

Returning to the Hague, I stopped at a restaurant. The waiter could speak neither English nor French, so I gave him the card of the regular dinner and motioned him to bring that. I didn't understand a word that was written on it except coffee, which luckily sounds the same in all of these languages. It was all Dutch to me and I wondered just what I was going to get. Some dishes I had never heard of before. For instance, there was Snyboonen, and Aardappelen, and Kip. Kip—that at least was a familiar name and evoked memories of which the least said the better. Snyboonen, however, I found was nothing more dangerous than string beans; Aardappelen was our old friend, white potatoes; while Kip, by a queer coincidence, was chicken—chicken that was done pretty brown, too!

The cost of that meal was two and a half guilders or $1. The cost of living is high in Holland, and it is difficult to get a fairly decent meal in a restaurant under two guilders or 80 cents. The portions are very large, however, and for my dollar I got enough for three persons. There were three kinds of meat—sausage with the hors d'oeuvre, chicken and ham, not to mention some tasty meat balls I got with the soup. It is easy to understand why the majority of the Dutch people are so big and chubby. As to the Dutch ladies, well, they carry considerable tonnage, fore and aft, being plainly built for safety and not for speed. Most of them are of ruddy complexions. Rouge, it seems, is rarely if ever used, even by ladies on the Schiedamschedjik.

Hotel accommodation is also high, being about three times what it would be for an American in France or Belgium. Because of the difficulty of building and the scarcity of land, housing, I understand, is also high even for the natives. Dutch currency still retains its pre-war value. Unlike France and Belgium, there is much silver in currency. There is a silver 10-cent piece (four cents in our money) which is so small that it can be easily lost in one's vest pocket. Wages are fairly high, with little unemployment. Beggars are as scarce as they are plentiful in Italy and Spain. Indeed, I did not see one. The cost of living, on the whole, is about the same as it is in the smaller American towns.

Holland, however, is the smoker's paradise. Cigars, large ones, are plentiful and cheap. A 10-cent cigar in America costs 4 cents here. The Dutchman is very fond of his pipe. Some have pipes that are almost a marvel of architecture. Most of the tobacco used comes from Dutch Guiana and the East Indies.

Holland was once one of the leading powers of the world and had vast colonial possessions among them being New York State and Brazil. Although she lost them, in Guiana and the Dutch East Indies she has still very rich colonies of 783,000 square miles, and with a population at least eight times as large as her own. Among these are Java, Sumatra, North Guinea and North Borneo. In my next article, which will be on Amsterdam, I shall speak further of the part that Holland played in the colonization of America. It was from there that Henrik Hudson sailed. The Pilgrim Fathers also sailed not far from there.

On the way from the Hague, one passes through the city of Haarlem, from which our Harlem got its name. Haarlem is the flower capital of the world, and as far as the eye can see there are beds of tulip, a sea of crimson beauty. Between these beds are canals with boats laden with flowers. From Haarlem bulbs of snowdrops, Spanish iris, hyacinths, peonies, and tulips, mostly the latter, are shipped all over the world.

Haarlem was once the scene of a tulip craze that drove large numbers into brankruptcy until the government took a hand. The pride of each grower was to produce a tulip that no one else had. One, the Viceroy, sold for 4,200 florins or $1,680, while another—he Semper Augustus—fetched $5,200, which would be a still larger sum in our day.

One of Dumas' most famous stories, "The Black Tulip," deals with this craze, and tells, if I recall rightly, of a feud between two tulip fanciers for a perfectly black specimen which had astonished every one, and had won a large prize at the fair. A little thing to quarrel about, yet many folks feel the same way about postage stamps, some of which fetch, if I mistake not, more than $2,000.

Not far from the Hague also is Delft, home of the famous blue china and crockery of that name. Even pictures and plaques are made of this ware. Delft, however is noted principally as the burial place of William the Silent, Prince of Orange, who holds the same place in the hearts of the Dutch as Lincoln does in those of the American people. Like Lincoln he was the savior of his country and like him he was also assassinated by a religious fanatic, who was tortured to death in the most horrible manner. See Motley's "Rise of the Dutch Republics."

Delft is also the burial place of Hugo Grotius, the noted father of international law, who escaped from prison by having himself packed in with a quantity of books and taken through the gates.

Still another famous citizen of Delft was Leeuwenhoek, the inventor of the microscope and the father of modern bacteriology. Present day humanity, in its battle against syphilis, tuberculosis, typhoid, and other germ diseases, owes a vast debt to this Dutch scientist.

There is yet another Hollander to whom we owe even more. If we are to believe it, we owe our presence on earth to him. This gentleman, or maybe it's a lady, lives on the housetops where accommodation is made for him, and he may be seen standing impassively on one leg. He would not live in the house as it is from the housetops that he does his work. Of course, it would be a waste of words to name him, as we have all made his acquaintance.

Race Problem - 1927

South America.

The Nicaraguan Revolution

Negro Is Playing His Part in the Conflict Being Waged in South America

By A. M. THOMPSON

Up to the present the Negro has been a definite factor in the life of every nation. History passes over this fact slightly to others of apparently greater importance, but this does not alter the significance of the truth. A time will come, however, when the historian will set forth impartially the deeds and valor of Negroes as they will of men of other nations. On that day will dawn the greatest of Negro triumphs.

Nicaragua has her quota of Negroes. Many of these are fighting in the present revolution, but their purposes and aims are different from those of the Liberal party, which they aid. The aim of the Liberals is to drive out the usurpers, the Conservatives, and place Dr. Sacasa, the constitutional president, on the seat. But to understand the purposes of the Negroes, it becomes necessary to know a little of the history of the Nicaraguan nation.

Towards the early part of the nineteenth century, Nicaragua was divided longitudinally into two sections, the western section being governed by Spaniards and the eastern by a small tribe of Miskito Indians. The Indians enjoyed British protection; consequently, their schools and habits of living were largely adopted from the English. Natives of the West Indies migrated to this section also, and before long the language of the inhabitants of Eastern Nicaragua was English. The English-speaking element, many of whom were of Indian extraction, called themselves natives or Creoles to be distinguished from full-blooded Indians.

In the meantime, the Spaniards successfully invaded the territory of the Indians, and set up Spanish rule over the entire country. The natives were in sympathy with the Indians, whose lands were stolen by many of their oppressors. Again and again appeals were made to England for redress, but nothing ever was done to avenge the wrongs.

Among other difficulties to be met by the influx of the Spaniards was the interpretation of a new tongue. This took time because the natives were not disposed to free intercourse with the intruders.

Hardly had these people accustomed themselves to the change of events when they became aware of political injustices on the part of the Spaniards. Natives were not given offices in the government or were turned out upon the slightest pretext. By chicanery the ballot was made the swing against them in all elections. Exorbitant duties were collected on imports and used to swell the coffers of the favored of the government. Forty per cent of the revenues of Nicaragua was exacted from the Atlantic coast and used for the benefit and improvement of the cities in the west. The Atlantic coast suffered Negroes and Indians suffered alike with Spaniards who had settled in the east.

All this was endured for years without complaint. These Negroes, glorying in their fortitude, kept hoping that a change would come. It came magnificently when, with a new spirit of freedom, the new Nicaraguan Negro burst the chains of oppression, fighting side by side with his Spanish brother.

There was a great unrest in Nicaragua after Chamorro had declared himself Dictator. From every post he had the Liberal removed and replaced with the Conservative of his own party. Men were put in prison, shot and robbed. There arose a cry for a liberator from the tyrant. Who would answer? The heart of every native pulsed with new life when on Sunday morning, May 2, 1926, Col. George Hodgson, prominent Negro dentist led a band of Spaniards into the barracks at Bluefields and won the first decisive Liberal victory with the loss of one life.

From then until now the sentiment of the Negro is with the Liberal. The spirit which moves him has through the experience of war assumed a double significance. At the outset it was freedom for the natives of the Atlantic coast; now, regarding himself as a true son of Nicaragua, it becomes not for himself only but liberty for his native land.

He believes, like the Liberal, that the constitutional government should be in power; but regardless of the victor, Liberal or Conservative, it is his purpose to have the Nicaraguan government recognize him as a very vital part of its regime.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC ANNOUNCES ITS FIRST NATIONAL EXPOSITION

THE first national exposition of the Dominican Republic, which will be opened at Santiago de los Caballeros on May 5, is intended to show the progress made by the country in the last few years. Various possibilities offered by the natural resources of the republic will be featured, and the building of the Department of Agriculture will house interesting exhibits.

By means of a collection of photographs the Department of Public Works and Communications will show the conditions under which road and bridge construction are being pushed to the most remote parts of the country. Relief maps in colors will mark out each highway already completed. Up to 1916 hardly a road worthy of the name existed in Santo Domingo. Often, when the rivers were in flood, it took several weeks to cross the island from Santo Domingo to Monte Cristi.

Schools and hospitals will also have exhibits and native industries repre-

senting the manufacture of hardwood furniture, saddlery, cigars and cigarettes, the refining of sugar and the distilling of rum are to be shown.

Santiago de Los Caballeros, so named for having been founded by thirty Spanish gentlemen who followed in the trail of Columbus, is one of the largest cities in the Dominican Republic and is comparatively modern in appearance—as age is reckoned there. The ancient City of Santiago was destroyed by an earthquake in the eighteenth century. The present town occupies a site a few kilometers distant from that of the original.

A NOVEL FLASHLIGHT.

A BATTERYLESS flashlight has been invented by experts in the mechanical department of the army. It contains its own generator, which receives motive power through the action of a spring that winds up like a clock. A single winding will f nish enough power to make a c tinuous light for three minutes.

This message forms a supplementary greeting to the bush negroes, following the recent arrival of a curious communication from the "Great Upper Chieftain" of the tribe to Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General of the League, in which the chieftain reveals that he and his people only recently heard that the Great War had occurred and was over. The chieftain also expressed his fervent hope that peace would now dwell among the peoples of the earth.

Sir Eric acknowledged this letter, which came through the Dutch Government, by a formal letter, but afterward decided to send a more substantial message. He informed the "Great Upper Chieftain" that to ensure the reign of peace the envoys of all the world gather once a year "in the great meeting hall of the nations in Geneva, so that they may confer together and act for the benefit of all." Sir Eric also forwarded a picture showing the delegates of the nations gathered together at the last General Assembly of the League.

BUSH NEGROES TOLD OF WORK FOR PEACE

League of Nations Reassures Dutch Guianans, Who Have Just Learned of World War.

GENEVA, April 19 (AP).—To the faraway bush negroes who dwell along the upper reaches of one of the big rivers of Dutch Guiana, South America, has gone an official message from the League of Nations, informing them that the League is laboring incessantly, in order that peace may reign among all the peoples of the world.

London, England, July 29.—The London Times, one of the largest and strongest daily publications in Europe, recently issued a Brazil number. The issue, covering the entire life of the United States of Brazil, one of the largest countries in South America, states emphatically that the color line plays no part in the affairs. The social, economic and Anglo-Brazilian life of the country was discussed by correspondents of the paper who had been assigned to visit the country and study its life. Correspondents assigned to study the economic side of the country gave vivid reports on agriculture, the cultivation of cotton, the raising of coffee, maize, sugar, tobacco and coconuts, and rubber. The manufactures were described as thriving, due to the country's great wealth of raw material.

In presenting the number to the public the publishers in an editorial stated: "In presenting to our readers today a number entirely devoted to the United States of Brazil we draw attention to a country which sooner or later must play a great part in the affairs of the world." This country, with a population of 35,000,000, has only 1 per cent of its soil under cultivation. Brazil could hold three times the population of China and still remain a thinly settled country."

Commenting on the absence of color issues in Brazil, the Times says: "While the population of the basin of the Amazon is largely Indian, a far more difficult problem might have been presented by the large Negro element in the central maritime provinces. Yet no Negro question troubles Brazil. Color prejudice is unknown, and many of the white Brazilian population of the center, whose superior mental capacity still preserves their political and economic leadership, seem to have solved the 'color question' by refusing to admit that it exists."

COLOR LINE NO PROBLEM FOR BRAZIL

Just Does Not Exist, Says London Times